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THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES



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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES

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CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|--------|
| Rules of the Society | ix |
| List of Officers and Members | xiii |
| Proceedings of the Society, 1925-1926 | xviii |
| Financial Statement | xxxiii |
| Additions to the Library | xl |
| Accessions to the Catalogue of Slides | lxxxix |
| Notice to Contributors | lxxxix |
| ASHBURNER (W.) The Byzantine Mutiny Act | 80 |
| BUCKLER (W. H.) A Lydian Text on an Electrum Coin | 36 |
| CALDER (W. M.) Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum III. | 22 |
| CASSON (S.) A New Copy of a Portrait of Demosthenes | 72 |
| CHANDLER (LILIAN) The North-West Frontier of Attica | 1 |
| GENNADIUS (J.) A Correction in Hesychius | 42 |
| GOMME (A. W.) Two Notes on the <i>Constitution of Athens</i> | 171 |
| HANDFORD (S. A.) The Evidence of Aeneas Tacticus on the <i>βάλανος</i> and <i>βαλανάγγρα</i> | 181 |
| ILIFFE (J. H.)... .. An Attic Dinos in the British Museum | 250 |
| LAWRENCE (A. W.) The Date of the Nike of Samothrace | 213 |
| ” ” The Primitive Sculpture of Cyprus | 163 |
| MARSHALL (F. H.) An Eastern Patriarch's Education in England | 185 |
| MILLER (W.) The Historians Doukas and Phrantzes | 63 |
| NOCK (A. D.) Notes on Beliefs and Myths | 47 |
| ” ” Two Attic Epitaphs | 44 |
| PAYNE (H. G. G.) Cycladic Vase-Painting of the Seventh Century | 203 |
| SAYCE (A. H.) The Neo-Phrygian Texts | 29 |
| SMITH (A. H.) ‘The Tomb of Aspasia’ | 253 |
| SMITH (S.) The <i>Tridacna Squamosa</i> Shells in Asia | 179 |
| TARN (W. W.) The First Syrian War | 155 |
| TILLYARD (H. J. W.) A Byzantine Musical Handbook at Milan | 219 |
| URE (A. D.) Floral Black-figured Cups at Schimatari | 54 |
| WACE (A. J. B.) The Date of the Treasury of Atreus | 110 |

| | PAGE |
|---|----------|
| WOODWARD (A. M.) Archaeology in Greece, 1925-26 | 223 |
| Notices of Books | 121, 258 |
| Index of Subjects | 301 |
| Greek Index | 304 |
| List of Books Noticed | 305 |

LIST OF PLATES

- I. Map to illustrate the N.W. Frontier of Attica.
- II-IV. Black-figured Cups at Schimatari.
- V. Marble Head in the Ashmolean Museum.
- VI. Reliefs from Carchemish, Senjirli and Assyria.
- VII. Assyrian, Cypriote and Greek Sculptures.
- VIII. Griffon Vase in the British Museum.
- IX. Vases in Leyden and Turin.
- X. Vase in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.
- XI. Sculptures from Pergamon, Rome and Tegea.
- XII-XIII. Black-figured Dinos in the British Museum.
- XIV. Bronze Vase in the British Museum.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

The North-West Frontier of Attica

| | |
|--|----|
| Fig. 1. Sketch Plan of Phyle | 5 |
| „ 2. Sketch Plan of Panakton | 6 |
| „ 3. Panakton : Wall and Tower C. | 7 |
| „ 4. Sketch Plan of Oinoe | 9 |
| „ 5. Oinoe : Tower at N.E. Angle | 9 |
| „ 6. Eleutherai (Gyphtocastro) : Sketch Plan | 10 |
| „ 7. Eleutherai : Part of N.E. Wall and Tower | 11 |
| „ 8. Palaiochori : Part of Circuit Wall | 14 |
| „ 9. Plakoto : Round Tower | 14 |
| „ 10. Sketch Plan of Rhamnous | 17 |
| „ 11. Tower at Varnava | 18 |
| „ 12. Masonry at Hagia Paraskevi | 20 |
| „ 13. The Wall at Epáno Liosia | 20 |
| „ 14. Detail of Wall at Epáno Liosia, showing Gateway | 20 |

Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum III.

| | |
|--|----|
| Fig. 1. Old Phrygian Inscription... .. | 26 |
| „ 2. Inscription from Bayat | 26 |

CONTENTS

vii

A Lydian Text on an Electrum Coin

PAGE

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| Fig. 1. | Electrum Coin in the A. B. Cook Collection... .. | 36 |
| „ 2. | „ „ in Munich | 37 |
| „ 3. | „ „ in the British Museum | 37 |
| „ 4. | „ „ in Constantinople | 37 |
| „ 5. | „ „ in Constantinople | 37 |
| „ 6. | Lydian Electrum Coins | 39 |

Two Attic Epitaphs

| | | |
|---------|---------------------------|----|
| Fig. 1. | Tombstone of Hagne | 44 |
| „ 2. | „ of Fortunatus | 46 |

Notes on Beliefs and Myths

| | | |
|---------|---|----|
| Fig. 1. | Jason stealing the Golden Fleece | 49 |
|---------|---|----|

Floral Black-figured Cups at Schimatari

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| Fig. 1. | Black-figured Cup : Nauplia 122 | 56 |
| „ 2. | „ „ Athens CC 1117 | 56 |
| „ 3. | „ „ Munich 2246 | 57 |
| „ 4. | „ „ Athens CC 1116 | 57 |
| „ 5. | „ „ Nauplia 539 | 61 |
| „ 6. | „ „ Nauplia 533 | 61 |

A New Copy of a Portrait of Demosthenes

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| Fig. 1. | Marble Head in the Ashmolean Museum | 72 |
| „ 2. | Head in Athens | 73 |
| „ 3. | The Piombino Amethyst | 74 |
| „ 4. | Head in Athens | 76 |
| „ 5. | The Petworth Head of Demosthenes | 78 |

The Date of the Treasury of Atreus

| | | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-----|
| Fig. 1. | From the Treasury of Atreus | 113 |
| „ 2. | From the Tomb of Clytemnestra | 113 |
| „ 3. | From the Megaron at Tiryns | 113 |
| „ 4. | From the Treasury of Atreus | 115 |

The Primitive Sculpture of Cyprus

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| Fig. 1. | Egyptian Flute-player : British Museum | 164 |
| „ 2. | ‘ Bluebeard ’ : Acropolis Museum, Athens | 164 |
| „ 3. | Bronze Statuette in Boston | 166 |
| „ 4. | Assyrian Relief in the British Museum | 167 |
| „ 5. | Kore, from the Acropolis of Athens | 168 |

The *Tridacna Squamosa* Shells in Asia

| | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----|
| Fig. 1. | Shell Found at Bethlehem | 179 |
|---------|---------------------------------|-----|

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| The Evidence of Aeneas Tacticus on the βάλανος and βαλανάγρα | |
| Fig. 1. Section of βάλανος | 182 |
| „ 2. Side View of βάλανος | 183 |
| „ 3. βάλανος within βαλανάγρα | 183 |
| An Eastern Patriarch's Education in England | |
| Fig. 1. Portrait of Metrophanes Critopoulos | 186 |
| Cycladic Vase-painting of the Seventh Century | |
| Fig. 1. Detail of the Burgon lebes (British Museum) | 207 |
| „ 2. Detail of Pl. IX. 2 (Turin) | 209 |
| The Date of the Nike of Samothrace | |
| Fig. 1. Nereid from Epidauros | 214 |
| „ 2. Artemis and Iphigenia (Copenhagen) | 215 |
| „ 3. Fragment from the Pedimental Sculptures, Tegea | 217 |
| „ 4. Statue from Cyrene | 217 |
| Archaeology in Greece, 1925-26 | |
| Fig. 1. Sparta: the Theatre Staircase | 228 |
| „ 2. Sparta: Archaic Pithos | 230 |
| ‘The Tomb of Aspasia’ | |
| Fig. 1. Marble Urn in the British Museum | 254 |
| „ 2. Gold Spray from the ‘Tomb of Aspasia’ | 255 |
| „ 3. Rim of the Bronze Vase | 257 |

RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

- (a) Undergraduates.
- (b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.
- (c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

October, 1925.

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DATES OF GENERAL MEETINGS, SESSION 1926—1927.

NOVEMBER 9th, 1926.

MAY 10th, 1927.

FEBRUARY 8th, 1927.

JUNE 28th, 1927.

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 Veniselos, E. K., 22, *Rue Beaujou, Paris.*
 Wace, Miss, *c/o Wilfred Baileys, Esq., Faircroft, Cobham, Surrey.*
 Waddington, Charles W., *Brampton Mill, Huntingdon.*
 Warmington, E. H., 49, *Mill Way, Mill Hill, N.W. 7.*
 Watson, J. M. H., *Font-les-bains, Amélie-les-bains, Pyrénées Orientales, France.*
 Whitfield, Miss V., *The University, Reading.*
 Willard, Miss M., *c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., 123, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.*
 Williams, Prof. W. H., *The University, Hobart, Tasmania.*
 Wilson, Rev. J. A., *Cross Green Cottage, Helperby, York.*
 Witherby, George, 23, *de Vere Gardens, W. 8.*
 Yerbury, S. G., 55, *Fairholme Road, Baron's Court, W. 14.*
 Young, Christopher J., 111, *London Road, Peterborough.*
 Young, F. S., *The College, Bishops Stortford.*
 Zahn, Prof. Dr. Robert, *Cranachstrasse 20, Berlin-Friedenau, Germany.*

STUDENT ASSOCIATES.

Elected during the year 1926 only.

- Allcock, J. G. M., *Jesus College, Cambridge.*
 Birkbeck, Edward, *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Carleston, Hadden H., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*
 Chapman, P. E., 18, *Bernard Gardens, Wimbledon.*
 Copeman, Michael H., *Clare College, Cambridge.*
 Crofts, F. N., *Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.*
 Durrell, Miss C. E., *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W. 3.*
 Evans, Miss Hélène R., *c/o American Legation, Warsaw, Poland.*
 Fairlie, H. W., 17, *Mayfield Road, Acton, W. 3.*
 Fewings-Tate, John F., 81, *Venner Road, Sydenham, S.E. 26.*
 Fishwick, David, *Burnwell House, Thackley, Bradford.*
 Glover, L. R. André, 72, *Milton Park, Highgate, N. 6.*
 Gundry, J., 27, *Vineyard, S.W. 19.*
 Heap, G. V. M., *The Rectory, Littlehempston, Totnes, Devon.*
 Holmes, Maurice, *Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
 Hunt, Charles Jeyes, *Exeter College, Oxford.*
 Jeeves, Colin Charles, *New College, Oxford.*
 Johnston, Miss H. G., 17, *The Avenue, Barnet, Herts.*
 Johnstone, Miss R. G., 2, *Queen's Gate, Plymouth.*
 Kirkby, R. N., *Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.*
 McDonald, W. F., *Campion Hall, Oxford.*
 Moule, G. W. H., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*
 Phillips, Miss C. M., 9, *Sylvan Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E. 19.*
 Rich, Cecil G., *Wellington School, Somerset.*
 Roberts, Brian R., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
 Sansbury, Cyril K., 69, *Mount Nod Road, Streatham, S.W. 16.*
 Snow, Miss Phyllis M., *St. Andrews Hall, Reading.*
 Townsend, Alexander C., *Magdalene College, Cambridge.*
 Vaughan, Miss E. J., *Westfield College, N.W. 3.*
 Vogel, C. E., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Wakefield, E. B., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
 Wallis, W. W., *Trinity College, Oxford.*
 Walsh, J. A., *St. Edmunds House, Cambridge.*
 Waterhouse, Ellis, *New College, Oxford.*
 Weber, Miss L. M., *Hadley Bourne, Barnet, Herts.*
 Wilding, Longworth Allen, *The Malt House Farm, Bradfield, Berks.*
 Wingate Saul, J. S., *Trinity College, Oxford.*

SUBSCRIBING LIBRARIES.

Elected during the year 1926 only.

- Berlin**, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Museen, *Berlin, C. 2.*
Bradfield, The Library of Bradfield College, *Bradfield, Berks.*
California, The Library of Southern Branch, 895, *North Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.*
Cambridge, The Library of Sidney Sussex College, *Cambridge.*
Dolgelley, The Library of Dr. William's School, *Dolgelley, N. Wales.*
Indianapolis, The Library of Butler College, *Indianapolis, U.S.A.*
Johannesburg, The Library of Witwatersrand, *Johannesburg, S.A.*
Liverpool, The Library of Liverpool College, *Huyton, Liverpool.*

Elected 1926 (*continued*)

Liverpool, The University Library, *Liverpool*.

London, The Library of Alleyn's School, *Dulwich, S.E. 22*.

London, The Library of Henrietta Barnett School, *Hampstead Garden Suburb, N.W. 11*.

Lund, The University Library, *Lund, Sweden*.

Montreal, The McGill University Library, *Montreal, Canada*.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, The Library of Armstrong College, *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*.

Rochester, The University Library, *Rochester, New York, U.S.A.*

Rugby, The Library of the Laurels School, *Dunchurch Road, Rugby*.

Watford, The Library of the London Orphan School, *Watford*.

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1925-26

THE following meetings were held during the past session :—

- (1) October 29th, 1925. Mr. S. Casson : *Early Greek Art*.
- (2) November 10th, 1925. Sir Arthur Evans : *Recent Investigations at Knossos and other Cretan Sites*. See below, p. xix.
- (3) November 19th, 1925. Mr. J. T. Sheppard : *Comedy in Greek Poetry*.
- (4) December 4th, 1925. Mr. F. H. Marshall : *Byzantine Greece and her Invaders*.
- (5) February 3rd, 1926. Mr. G. F. Hill : *Portraiture and Ancient Coinage*.
- (6) February 9th, 1926. Miss C. M. Jenkins : *The Sculptor Myron*. See below, p. xx.
- (7) March 5th, 1926. Mr. M. N. Tod : *Inscriptions and Greek Social Life*.
- (8) July 20th, 1926. Miss C. A. Hutton (Hon. Secretary) : *The Diaries of Robert Wood*. Mr. A. J. B. Wace : *A Cretan Goddess*. See below, p. xxxi.

- (9) The ANNUAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 29th, 1926, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, President of the Society, occupying the chair.

The Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton, presented the following :—

REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1925-26

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded :—

The Main Situation.

Through the generosity of members of the two Societies the cost of the new Joint Library, including all internal alterations, sanitation, decoration, book-cases and furniture, has now been paid in full.

Further, the annual increase of expenditure due to the upkeep of larger premises is in a fair way of being met by a gratifying increase in the membership.

But the debt to the bank for the loan to purchase the lease (£2,250) has yet to be faced.

Obituary.

In the course of the Session the Society has sustained the loss by death of several honoured members. These include Dr. Richard Caton, Lord Carmichael of Skirling, Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, Frau Dr. Deubner, Mr. A. D. Godley, the Rev. J. E. Odgers, the Bishop of Oxford, Sir J. F. Rotton, Bishop Ryle, and Sir John Struthers.

By the death of M. L'Abbé Duchesne the Society has lost one of its most distinguished Honorary members.

Changes on the Council.

The Council desire to nominate as a Vice-President their honoured colleague Mr. W. H. Buckler, whose work on ancient Sardis has long been known to those who have followed the American excavations on that remarkable site.

They have pleasure in nominating a distinguished scholar and an indefatigable promoter of classical study, the Rev. Dr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn, to the vacancy thus created on the Council.

They wish to nominate for re-election the ten members retiring under Rule 18. These are :—

Mr. N. H. Baynes, Mr. H. I. Bell, Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Lady Evans, Miss C. M. Knight, Prof. H. Ormerod, Mr. F. N. Pryce, Mr. M. S. Thompson, Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Mr. H. B. Walters.

General Meetings.

On November 10th, 1925, at the first General Meeting, Sir Arthur Evans laid before the Society the results of his recent excavations and investigations at Knossos and other Cretan sites. The following account is reproduced by courtesy of the Editor of *The Times* :—

Sir Arthur Evans said new traces had been found of a still earlier palace underlying that at Knossos, and they could only guess at its civilisation. There had been found remains of broken crystal and other objects showing that it had been very important. A clearer idea of this earlier palace was supplied by one now being dug out by members of the French School of Athens at Mallia, on the north coast of Crete. There was a square building with an entrance and a central court, and the plan which had been made out was practically the same as the later palaces already known at Knossos and Phaestos.

The discoveries which had been made by the French were of extraordinary interest. They found that the rooms in which the ruler lived—he was certainly a priest-king—were on one storey and that windows looked out upon an open corridor. Facing the central court was a raised stone platform, or loggia, approached by steps and with part of an altar on the top of it. The priest-king evidently went up from his rooms on the inside and showed himself to the people in the central court, and no doubt he performed certain rites or addressed the people.

In a little room the French investigators had found a pot which could be dated about 2100 B.C., and beside it a bronze dagger with gold-plated hilt and an immense bronze-sword longer than any ancient sword known in Europe. The sword was a beautiful fabric, gold-plated on the hilt and ending in a faceted crystal knob, which had a certain amount of amethystine colours, and it evidently belonged to the king-priest. Fragments of bone, which would probably prove to be human, were also found. There had been discovered also a bronze axe, the back of which was formed in the shape of a leopard and was covered with spiral ornamentation. This was a ceremonial axe that had belonged to a cult which came over, no doubt, from Asia Minor, and it was apparently the badge of the king's dignity as priest, as the sword was the badge of his civil power. These formed the first remains that had been found of one of the early prehistoric kings.

Dealing with the Palace at Knossos, the lecturer described the various discoveries which had been made there. Remains of a very fine porch had been found and an entrance passage with an earlier system of decoration, showing 'ladies in blue' seated and talking to one another over their toilets. Other frescoes showed youths bringing precious vases. In the Propylaeum of the Palace he found an underground stone cist, beautifully built, with painted stucco inside, but unfortunately only *débris* was left within it. In the earlier period, it was evident, the precious vases were kept in this chamber and they had been carried into the central court in procession to be shown to the people during the great feasts of the goddess. Although no specimen of the actual vases had been found, pictures of them were discovered. One very fine specimen of fresco work was illustrative of a theatre filled with people, showing the populousness of ancient Knossos.

One of the strongest impressions he had received from all the excavations of recent years was the populousness of this ancient town, which was packed with

houses in an area which in some places was over half a mile broad. It ascended the neighbouring hills, crossed streams and spread itself to limits that they did not know of. In some of the small ordinary houses had been found beautiful frescoes and in half-a-dozen others stores of bronze objects showing great wealth. The crowning impression was that Knossos must have had a population of at least 100,000, and, when the sparseness of the populations of antiquity was considered, one began to understand what a very important part this great city, which had inherited its greatness from immemorial times, must have performed in the civilisation of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Professor Sayce, in congratulating Sir Arthur Evans on his fresh chapter of Cretan exploration, quoted Babylonian records proving the importance of Crete as a trading centre.

On February 9th, at the second General Meeting, before the reading of the paper the occasion was taken to make a presentation to Professor Percy Gardner from his old pupils and friends. The President, on behalf of the contributors, handed Professor Gardner a cheque for the purchase at his discretion of some object which would commemorate his devoted labours in the cause of Hellenic studies and serve as an expression of the appreciation in which he was held by pupils and friends. Professor Gardner having expressed his high appreciation of the honour done him,

Miss C. K. Jenkins read a paper on the sculptor Myron. The work and style of Myron was first discussed as it was presented in the evidence of Greek and Roman writers, who unite in placing him in the very front rank. From the great number of notices in Roman writers it is evident that the Romans had an especial admiration for his work. Monumental evidence until quite lately was very disappointing. Only the Discobolus and Marsyas were known as certain works of his. The addition of the Perseus and Athena (Frankfort) necessarily brought in the Cassel Apollo. Through the Cassel Apollo the Medusa Rondanini was identified. Vertical photographs of the head of the Lancelotti (Massimi) copy of the Discobolus are misleading. When looked at in the proper way there was an unmistakable likeness between him and the Bologna-Dresden Athena. It was now suggested that she is the Athena in Myron's Samian group. This likeness was confirmed by the resemblance between the Athena and the Apollo, Perseus and Frankfort Athena. The Cassel Apollo brought in the Athena Albani, who must have been in a group with Ares and Diomedes. The Ares head in the Louvre and the Diomedes in the Palazzo Valentini were suggested as being in this group. The Uffizi Asclepius and Herculaneum Dionysus were identified as the Erechtheus and Dionysus of Myron. From the striking likeness between the Hermes on the Berlin Amphora and the Ludovisi Hermes it was suggested that the Amphora represents Myron's group, and that Hermes should be holding a jug and cup. Starting from Waldhauer's theory that the Rospigliosi Athena was contemporary with Myron, it was suggested that she was his work, the identification being based on the fact that he was a Boeotian and that there was a Boeotian legend of the birth of Athena from the brook Triton.

The President, Professor Ernest Gardner, Sir Charles Walston and Professor Percy Gardner took part in the subsequent discussion.

The third General Meeting, which was fixed for May, has, in consequence of the general strike, been postponed till July 20th. As already announced, the papers at this Meeting, will be 'The Diaries of Robert Wood' by Miss C. A. Hutton, Hon. Secretary, and 'A Cretan Goddess' by Mr. A. J. B. Wace. See below, p. xxxi.

In addition to the Meetings at Burlington House, the following lectures have been given under the auspices of the Council's Committee for the popularisation of the Classics.

Thursday, October 29th, Francis Holland Church of England School, Baker Street. Mr. S. Casson on 'Early Greek Art.'

Thursday, November 19th, City of London School. Mr. J. T. Sheppard on 'Comedy in Greek Poetry.'

Friday, December 4th, Merchant Taylors' School. Mr. F. H. Marshall on 'Byzantine Greece and her Frankish Invaders.'

Wednesday, February 3rd, Westminster School. Mr. G. F. Hill on 'Portraiture and Ancient Coinage.'

Friday, March 5th, St. Paul's School. Mr. Marcus N. Tod on 'Inscriptions on Greek Social Life.'

Professor Smiley's lecture on 'Later Greek Poetry,' at the North London Collegiate School for Girls, had unfortunately to be cancelled owing to the strike.

The Council wish to record their indebtedness both to the distinguished lecturers who have given valued help to the undertaking, and to the authorities of the various schools and colleges who have offered hospitality.

The Joint Library and Slide Collection.

The annexed plans show the general arrangement of the new Library. The following particulars are recorded for the interest of friends of the Society at a distance and abroad.

The Main Upper Library (Fig. 1) contains the works on Papyri, Inscriptions, Travel, Topography and Excavation, Prehellenic Studies, History, Modern Greek, Mythology, Antiquities and Art. In addition the most recent volumes of each periodical are housed here.

This Upper Library (formerly a billiard-room), is a spacious apartment now well lit by two full-length windows and a large skylight. Nearly all the book-cases for this room were brought from Bloomsbury Square and refitted. The numbering, recently added on antefixes surmounting the cases, is large and clear. A good reproduction in bronze of the listening faun from Pompeii has the place of honour in the decorative scheme and solicits a propitious silence: this is the gift of Mr. R. C. Bosanquet in memory of Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, formerly a member of the Hellenic Council. Below this hangs an illuminated transcript of the characterisation of Athens by Pericles from his famous *In Memoriam* speech. This is the work and gift of Miss A. Levy, a member of the Association of Friends of the Library.

This main room is approached by a corridor where are housed all the classical texts and commentaries in one alphabetical sequence. Here are also placed the 250 bound volumes of pamphlets, one of the Library's most valuable assets.

A spiral staircase descends from the corridor to the periodical room (Figs. 2, 4). Here a labyrinth of kitchen, pantries, and offices has been swept away and in their place Mr. Doll has created one large seemly room which houses all the Societies' periodicals and also does duty as a tea-room, a time-saving convenience which is much appreciated.

Underneath the main upper library are a small workshop and a large book-store (neither open to members). The book-store, at present empty, will one day be occupied by the most out-of-date numbers of periodicals and other obsolescent material. There is room for expansion for very many years: in fact, by the time all the annexes and book-store are full, it will be possible for a future librarian to weed the Library with a ruthless hand without really affecting its value, and thus secure vacant space for living books for another period of years.

Returning upstairs, in the middle of the house (Fig. 2) is the office and slide department administered by Mr. Wise. One of the great advantages of the new premises is that all the work in connection with the choice of slides and all the routine work of the office are carried on out of earshot of the Library.

In the front of the house is the Council Chamber (the former dining-room of the house), a dignified apartment panelled throughout in dark oak. A drawing of an angle of this room by Mr. Hanslip Fletcher is given among the plans (Fig. 5).

Below these two rooms are the domestic quarters occupied by resident caretakers. The whole of the upper part of the house is let to the London Association of Accountants.

In summarising thus the main features of the new premises, the Council wish to record the Societies' debt to Mr. Arthur Smith and Mr. Maurice Thompson, members of the New Premises Committee, for their wise counsel in every emergency. The Societies also owe much to the skill and patience of their hon. architect, Mr. Christian Doll, and to the devoted work of their permanent staff, Mr. John Penoyre, C.B.E., and Mr. F. Wise.

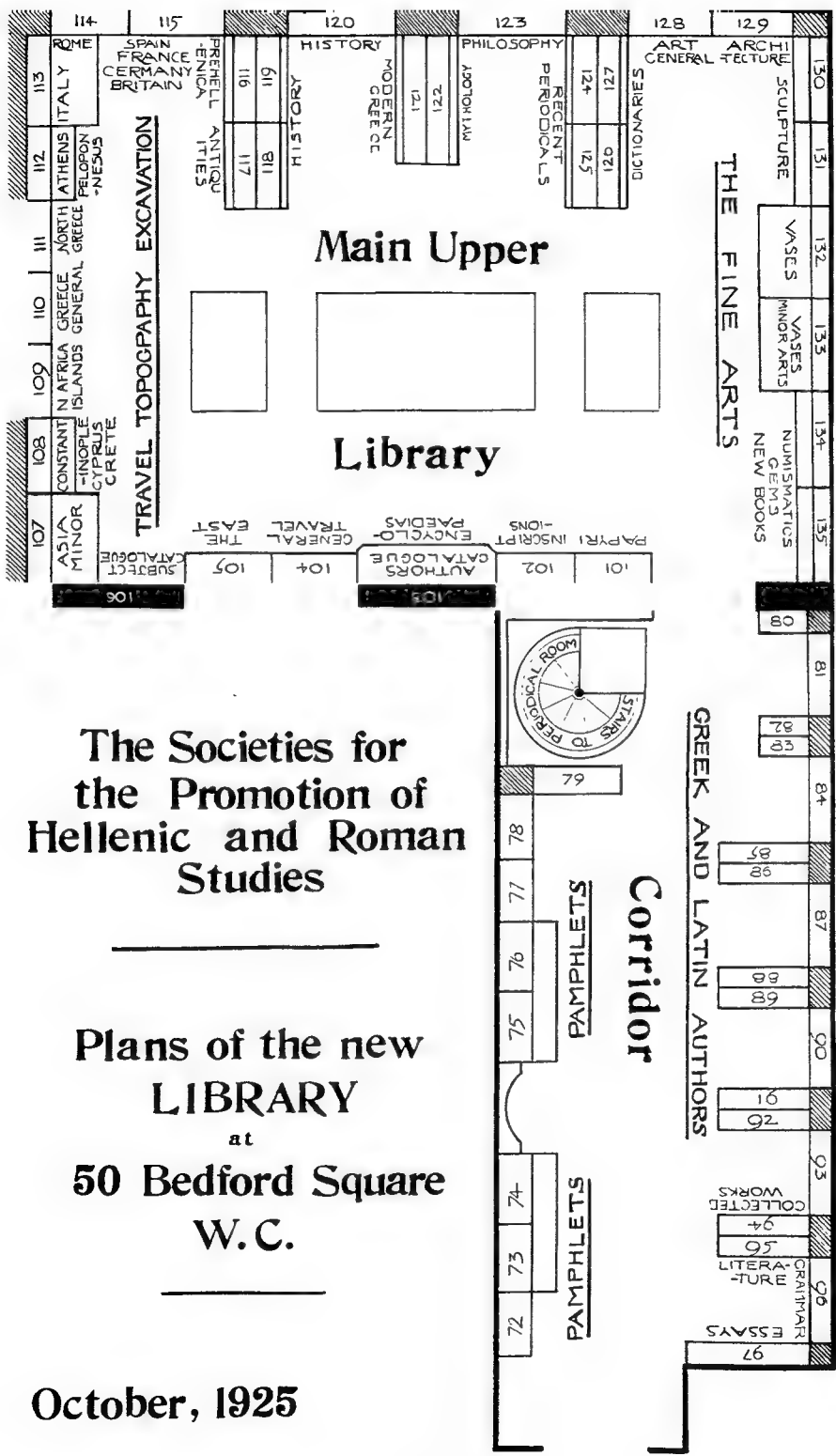
To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) last Session, and (c) the Session just concluded. It must be remembered that the Library and offices were closed for more than three months of this.

| | (a) 1912-13 | (b) 1924-25 | (c) 1925-26 |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Books added to the Library | 489 | 320 | 1,049 |
| Books borrowed | 938 | 2,490 | 1,930 |
| Slides added to the Collections ... | 363 | 479 | 324 |
| Slides borrowed | 3,578 | 9,959 | 11,047 |
| Slides sold | 506 | 1,805 | 1,864 |
| Photographs sold | 345 | 183 | 460 |

This has been a notable year in the development of the Library, apart from the change of quarters. At no other period of its history has it received so many generous and considered gifts. While closed for transit a remarkable addition was made by the gift on the part of Mr. A. H. Wood and his family of the complete collection of the original work of their ancestor, Robert Wood, the Homeric scholar and Syrian explorer. Wood's *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* anticipates in a remarkable degree the *Prolegomena* of Wolf: indeed Jebb in his *Introduction to Homer* points out that Wood's doctrine about writing becomes the very keystone of Wolf's theory. In 1750-51 Wood and his companions made an extensive tour in the Nearer East, the main result of which was the publication of his great works on Palmyra and Baalbek in 1753 and 1757 respectively. The collection as now arranged contains firstly the 16 volumes of diaries, inscription note-books and sketch-books which went to the making of this work, and secondly Wood's interleaved copy of Homer and other MS. material for his Homeric thesis. Fine copies of both works as published are included. The Council wish to record the Societies' sincere obligation to Mr. Wood and his family for this unique and interesting gift.

In September 1925 the President, Mr. Arthur Smith, gave 114 volumes, specially selected to fill gaps in the shelves of the Joint Library. It is not easy to give a general idea of this donation, which covers in fairly equal proportion the three domains of classical texts, museography and topography, but the following items show its interest and variety:—Spengel's *Rhetores Graeci* and texts of Celsus, Phrynicius and Plotinus: a collection of works dealing with the history of the British Museum, the valuable illustrated catalogues of the Clerc collection, Waagen's *Art Treasures in Great Britain*, and a fine copy of Millin's *Peintures des vases antiques*. There are also Delaborde's *Documentis sur Athènes*: Italian topographical works by Gell, Nibby and Piozzi: the fine 1806 edition of Camden's *Britannia* in four large folio volumes, and substantial sections of *Archaeologia* and the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*.

In December the Library was further enriched by a munificent donation from



The Societies for
the Promotion of
Hellenic and Roman
Studies

Plans of the new
LIBRARY
at
50 Bedford Square
W.C.

October, 1925

FIG. 1.

GROUND FLOOR Plan

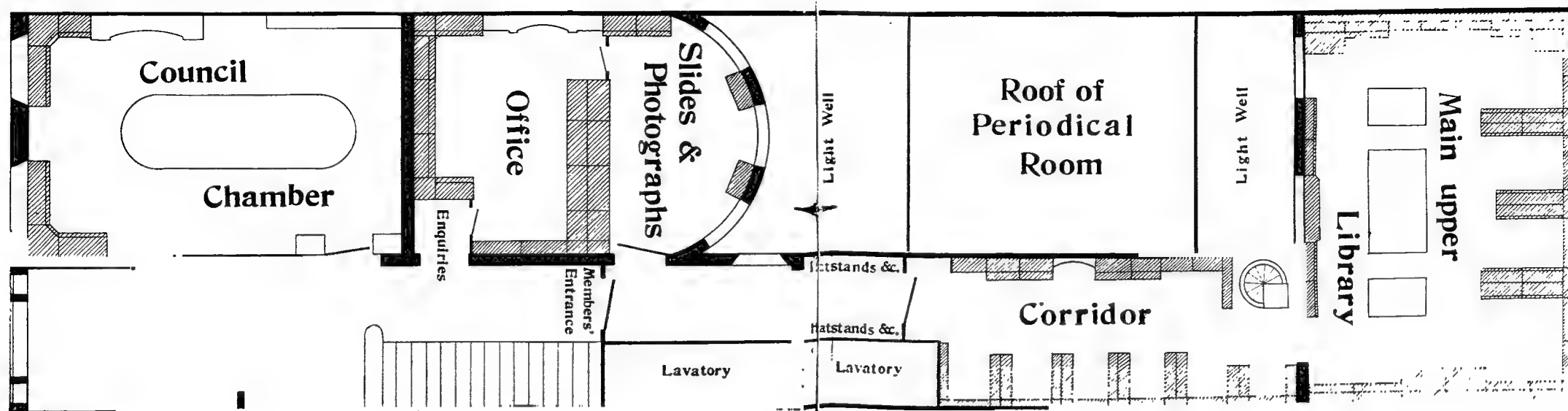


FIG. 2.

A Part of BLOOMSBURY

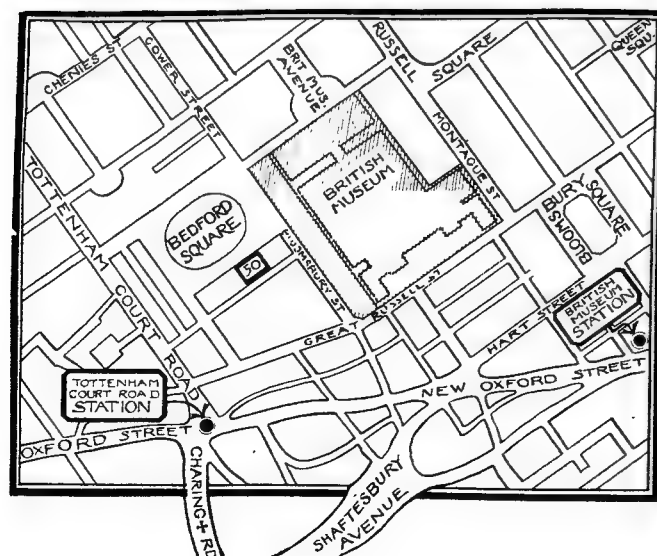


FIG. 3.

BASEMENT Plan (part of)

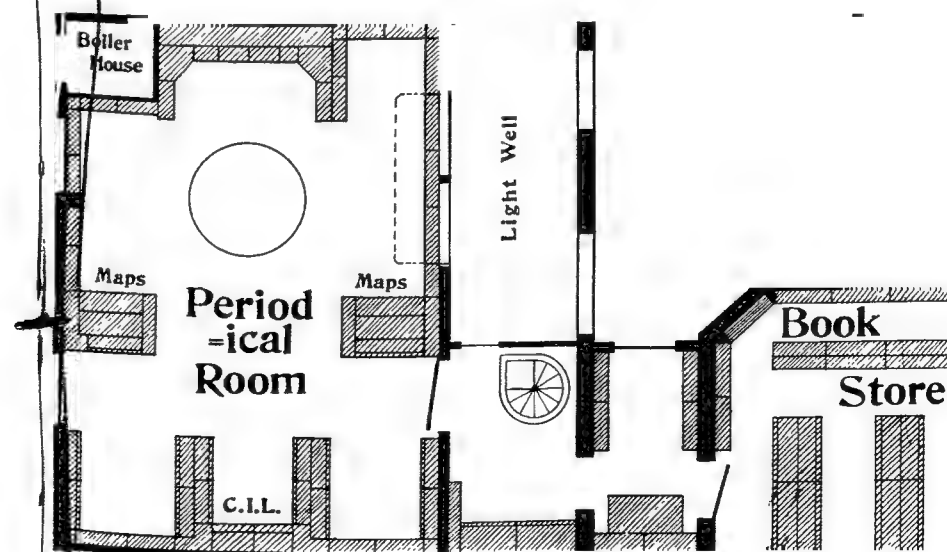


FIG. 4.



Hanslip Fletcher
1927

THE COUNCIL ROOM AT 50 BEDFORD SQUARE, W.C.

(From a drawing by Mr. Hanslip Fletcher)

This, the original dining-room of the house, will be available without alteration for Council and Committee purposes.

FIG. 5.

Dr. Walter Leaf. This comprised his Homeric library and about an equal quantity of miscellaneous works. The Homeric books included 33 editions of the Homeric poems, 64 volumes of commentaries and some 200 pamphlets, many of which would be difficult to find elsewhere. (These tracts are being bound in 16 volumes, which will form, though with a distinctive binding, vols. 251-266 of the Societies' large collection of bound pamphlets.) Included in the Homeric section are S. Clarke's edition of 1729 and 1740: Heyne's eight-volume text of the *Iliad*, 1802: the three large folios of the *Iliad* printed at Parma for the Bodoni classics, 1808, and the six quarto volumes of Eustathius' *Commentaries*.

Among the miscellaneous works given by Dr. Leaf are Dio Cassius, the two folios with notes by Reimar and others, Hamburg, 1750-2: Bentley's Horace, Amsterdam, 1728: Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae*: Stephanus Byzantius: Schneider's five-volume Theophrastus, and the finely printed Baskerville Virgil, 1757.

The Library also welcomes the important *Mélanges Greco-Romains* of St. Petersburg, which are made up of extracts from the Russian *Bulletin* translated into French or German. There is also a substantial addition to the modern Greek section of the Library. In all Dr. Leaf's donation amounts to 211 volumes and 228 tracts.

Minor additions of interest are a fine copy of Dallaway's *Sculpture among the Antients*, the gift of Miss Hutton, and a copiously illustrated work on Rhodes by Dr. Zervos from Mr. Macmillan. The Library has also received Doughty's *Arabia Deserta* and the four-volume translation of Homer by Sotherby, which contains the best rendering of the Flaxman plates.

While this report was going to press the Library has been further enriched by the gift of some twenty volumes, mostly on Roman history and the Latin language, the gift of an old helper of the Library, Mr. G. M. Young.

The Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for donations of books to the following:—

Authors: Dr. A. Andreades, Dr. Balint Kuzsinszky, Rev. H. A. Boys, Mr. F. Brewster, Mr. V. Gordon Childe, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, Prof. Ernest Gardner, Prof. Percy Gardner, The Misses Phyllis and Delphis Gardner, Prof. W. R. Halliday, Mr. R. R. James, Mr. George Jeffrey, Dr. G. Karo, Dr. Walter Leaf, Dr. S. Lindstam, Dr. A. Mahr, Dr. J. Grafton Milne, Dr. E. Nachmanson, Dr. G. P. Oeconomos, Mr. J. R. Oliver, Dr. V. Pärvan, Dr. F. Poulsen, Mr. P. D. Sakellarios, Mr. W. B. Sedgwick, Mr. Sikelianos, Dr. F. Studniczka, Mr. I. Sykroutes, Miss M. V. Taylor, Prof. Dr. Thiersch, Mr. Cecil Torr, Graf Woldemar Uxkull-Gyllenband, Dr. O. Waldhauer, Mr. R. C. Skyring Walters, Mr. S. E. Winbolt, and Mr. A. M. Woodward.

Donors of Miscellaneous Works: Dr. T. Ashby, Mrs. R. P. L. Booker, Mr. Ch. Brodribb, Miss K. M. Buck, Mr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. D. A. J. Buxton (in memory of Miss D. Roberts), Mr. Arthur Caspersz, Dr. J. Curle, Mr. C. C. Edgar, Dr. G. Gennadius, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, Dr. G. F. Hill, Miss C. A. Hutton, Miss L. Johnson, Dr. Walter Leaf, the Librarian, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne, Dr. F. Oswald, Dr. T. E. Page, Dr. G. McN. Rushforth, Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. W. W. Tarn, Mr. M. S. Thompson, and Mr. G. M. Young.

The Presses of the following Universities: Berlin, Cambridge, Chicago, Columbia, Gratz, Harvard, Illinois, Johns Hopkins, Liverpool, London, Michigan, Oxford, Toronto, Washington Catholic University, Wisconsin and Yale.

The following Academies and Associations: L'Académie des Beaux Arts, the Academy of Science and Letters of Oslo, the American Academy in Rome, the Anglo-Hellenic League, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Royal Institute of British Architects, L'Association Guillaume Budé, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, the Municipality of Colchester, the Museum of Constantinople, the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Egypt Exploration Society, the Fundació Bernat Metge, the Hellenic Travellers' Club, the Oesterreichisches Archäologisches Institut, the Museo Civico di Pola, the Museo Civico di Reggio, the Tolson Memorial Museum.

The following publishing houses : Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Fratelli Alinari, Almqvist & Wiksells Bogtrykeri, Appelsbergs Bogtrykeri, Bale & Danielsson, C. H. Beck, G. Bell & Sons, R. Bemporad, Bender, Benn Bros., A. & C. Black, B. Blackwell, Blickman & Sartorius, E. de Boccard, P. Branner, E. J. Brill, F. Bruckmann, Burns Oates & Washbourne, E. Champion, Constable, Dent, Dietrich, E. Ebering, W. Engelmann, W. Ernst, G. Ficker, Les presses universitaires de France, O. Füssli, F. L. Ganshof, P. Geuthner, Gowans & Gray, W. de Gruyter, Gyldendalske Boghandel, Librairie Hachette, J. P. Harland, G. Harrap, W. Heffer, W. Heinemann, J. C. Hindrichs, Hodder & Stoughton, Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, A. F. Host, L'Ile de France, Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, W. Kohlhammer, A. Kröner, A. Lahure, E. Leroux, J. Lintz, Kung-humanistika Vetenskapsam fundet i Lund, A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Luzac, Macmillan & Co., the Macmillan Publishing Co. of New York, Makris, F. Meiner, Methuen, John Murray, Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei in Wien, Payot, A. Picard, L. Röhrscheid, G. Routledge, P. D. Sakellarios, F. Schöningh, H. Schoetz, Schoetz & Parrhysius, A. W. Sijthoff, Imprimerie de la Cour, Sofia, Some & Co., The Studio, Teubner, A. Töpelmann, Wagner & Debes, M. & E. Weber, Weidmann, Williams & Norgate, C. Winter.

The figures given above referring to the collection of slides show how important a part of the Society's work this section has become. Mr. Wise deserves credit for the really remarkable feat of issuing 11,000 slides in one Session without failing any single lecturer. Our most generous donor to this department has been Mr. G. H. Hallam, who has put at our disposal his carefully collected series of negatives of Rome and Italy and in particular of Tivoli, which he has made his home. His considerate generosity has made the work of supplying slides on Roman subjects to Imperial Universities far easier to carry out.

It will be remembered that Mr. Hallam was the protagonist in the scheme for supplying sets of slides with lecture texts by recognised authorities. It may be of interest to reproduce here the complete list of these to date.

Greek :

The Prehellenic Age (no text).
The Geography of Greece (A. J. Toynbee).
Ancient Athens (S. Casson).
Ancient Architecture (D. S. Robertson).
Greek Sculpture (J. Penoyre).
The Parthenon (A. H. Smith).
Greek Vases (M. A. B. Braunholtz).
A Survey of early Greek Coins (P. Gardner).
Some Coins of Sicily (G. F. Hill).
Greek Papyri (H. I. Bell).
Olympia and Greek Athletics (E. N. Gardiner).
Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).
The Travels of St. Paul (no text).
The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).
Ancient Life, Greek (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).

Roman :

Rome (H. M. Last).
The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).
The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).
The Via Appia (R. Gardner).
The Roman Campagna (T. Ashby).
Roman Portraiture (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).
Horace (G. H. Hallam).
Pompeii (A. van Buren).
Ostia (T. Ashby).
Sicily (H. E. Butler).
The Roman Rhone (S. E. Winbolt).
Timgad (H. E. Butler).
Roman Britain (Mortimer Wheeler).
The Roman Wall (R. G. Collingwood).
Ancient Life, Roman (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).

The thanks of the Societies are due to the following for gifts of negatives :—
 The Royal Numismatic Society, Mr. R. H. Barrow, Mrs. Louis Buxton, Mr. A.

Caspersz, Mr. G. H. Hallam, Mr. G. F. Hill, Miss G. Holding, Miss C. K. Jenkins, Miss D. Lowe, Miss E. Middleton, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne, the Rev. A. B. Purdie, Mr. P. C. Sands, Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard, Prof. H. J. W. Tillyard, and Mr. S. E. Winbolt.

As before, the Societies owe much to the Association of Friends of the Library, which has never been a more valuable aid than during the recent changes. The task of re-labelling some 12,000 volumes, with all the attendant changes in catalogues and registers, has proceeded without a hitch and is now complete. Our chief helpers have been Mrs. Barge, Mrs. Brook, Mrs. Cully, Miss Geare, Miss Levy, Mrs. Milne, Miss Nash and Mrs. Williamson.

There is one change in the Library that needs a small paragraph to itself. Dr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne have gone into residence in Oxford. The Library congratulates the Ashmolean Museum and deplores its own loss.

Many Members would be surprised to learn how many of the facilities which they enjoy are really due to the patient help contributed by the Friends of the Library. Probably there are others resident in London who would be willing to lend a hand if they realised how welcome they would be. There will be room and need for additional Friends in the autumn. The chief requisites are a clear handwriting and a good temper.

Acknowledgment is also due to the clerical staff of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, who, without supervision, contributed valuable help in the arrangement and labelling of the books.

Finance.

The most interesting item in the accounts is the statement of the expenditure and receipts in connexion with the acquisition of the new premises at 50 Bedford Square. This will be found in the balance-sheet (see p. xxxv of this report), where it is shown that up to December 31st, 1925, donations to the Joint Library Fund had been received to the amount of £1,760, while on the other side a total of £4,119 had been expended.

No part of the excess of expenditure over income has been written off in the current year's account, but it is proposed to write off to Income and Expenditure account in future years a proportion of whatever balance remains so as to provide that the whole amount, not recovered by donations, will have been charged in that account by the time the lease expires.

The item of £2,250 shown in this account represents a premium paid for the purchase of an eight-years remainder on an old lease of the premises. As it would have been impossible to begin the expense and labour of moving the Library all over again after a lapse of only eight years, negotiations were set on foot with the Bedford Estate with a view to obtaining greater security of tenure. These have come to a good issue and the Library is now definitely installed in its new home for a period of at least twenty-five years, expiring at Christmas 1949. In addition to this, part of the premises have been sublet at a very satisfactory rental, with the result that the much-improved accommodation has been acquired at a comparatively small increase in rent. Some considerable additional outlay on upkeep is, of course, involved, but this will be more than compensated by the increased amenities afforded by the change. It should be noted that the accounts, published herewith, take no heed of expenditure after December 31st, 1925. Since that date further expenditure of about £1,000 has been incurred and in great part defrayed.

One item, which will probably be more conspicuous in the next year's accounts, is the charge for interest on the overdraft at the Society's bank. This, of course, will be beneficially affected by the receipt of further donations to the Library Fund

and by any other augmentation of the Society's resources which it may be possible to compass.

There is perhaps little that calls for comment in the current year's finances, apart from the foregoing. Looking forward, so far as we can see at the present, we require an assured income of at least another £100 per annum to keep our Income and Expenditure account balanced. The Income and Expenditure account this year shows a balance on the wrong side of nearly £71. This was only to be expected owing to the increased expenditure at Bedford Square, and is already in a fair way of being met by an increase in membership.

The Council desire to express to the members their most sincere appreciation of the support accorded to the new Library. As the account shows, of the £4,100 already spent there was actually recovered by December 31st a sum of £1,760, while at the time when this report goes to press (June 19th, 1926) further contributions amounting to over £150 have been received. At the same time a number of members have increased their ordinary annual subscriptions. This method of support has been received by the Council with peculiar appreciation. It must be borne in mind that, despite the great increase of costs in every direction, the subscription to the Society remains what it was before the war—an annual guinea. In return for this the members have the *Journal* and the Library and the slide collections and the meetings.

The Council's endeavour has been, throughout, not to reduce facilities to meet a straitened income, but to increase them by means of an ever-increasing membership. They claim that, so far, this effort and policy have been successful, and they feel that, if only they can continue to count on the support of which they have had ungrudging instance this year, both in the matter of donations and the securing of fresh recruits, a fair future awaits the promotion of Hellenic Studies by the Society.

The President then put the above Report to the Meeting for adoption. Dr. Van Buren seconded his motion and the Report was unanimously adopted.

Respecting the annual changes on the Council, it was announced from the chair that no alternative nominations had been received to those which had been circulated by the Council to the members. These nominations were therefore valid.

Members were then asked to confirm the italicised amplification of Rule 4. This amplification merely put into words the Council's practice since the foundation of the Society. The Council added the clause at the request of the Rating authorities. **RULE 4.**—The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, *provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money into or between any of its members.*

The Meeting unanimously approved the addition of the new clause.

A vote of thanks to the auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, moved by Professor Ernest Gardner and seconded by Mr. Penoyre, was carried unanimously.

The President then delivered his annual address which consisted on this occasion of a survey of the Architectural history of the Acropolis during the second half of the 5th century B.C. For a century and a half excavators and scholars have been collecting the fragments, bit by bit, so that the Corpus and its supplement and contributions in periodicals had become a bewildering mass. This has now been brought to order in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Editio Minor, volume I, by Hiller von Gaertringen, which made the basis of the survey.

Recent excavations have proved that there was an ancient altar and enclosure beneath the temple of Athena Nike or Wingless Victory, on the bastion of the Propylaea. The peace of Kallias (449 B.C.) imposed severe conditions on the Persian King, and in the following year the son of Kallias obtained a decree for erecting, on the site, a doorway, a temple and an altar of Victory according to the

plans of Kallikrates. But a committee of three lay assessors was appointed to sit with him, and apparently the work stood still. A subsequent decree (some twelve years later) was found in 1911. This appointed that the assembly should decide the material of the doorway, whether of bronze or gold and ivory. When that question was settled, a public competition was to be opened, with specified conditions as to the exhibition of the drawings, which were to be at least a cubit large, and then apparently there was to be a decision by the general vote as to the design to be chosen. The further stages, after the vote, were also laid down.

The building accounts of the Parthenon have been gradually taking shape, and it is now possible to read in them a fairly connected history of the building from the first quarrying of the stone on Pentelicus in 447 B.C. to its completion in 432. When it was halfway through Kallikrates was ordered to make the Acropolis secure against slaves seeking asylum, or thieves, as quickly and cheaply as possible.

The progress of the gold and ivory statue can be followed in the same way. It was followed by the building of the Propylaea. The accounts begin with the proceeds of the sales of material (tiles, boards and the like) cleared from the site, and close after five years with the sale of surplus blue paint.

The Peloponnesian war followed close on the completion of the Propylaea, and for ten years, until the peace of Nikias, important work was suspended. After the peace of Nikias, the erection of the statues of Athena and Hephaestus in the Hephaestum (in the lower town) was carried through. The inscriptions give the purchases of tin and bronze for the completion of the group, cramps for the stones of the pedestal, lead for the cramps, sledges for the transport, etc. During the interval between the peace of Nikias and the Sicilian expedition, the Erechtheum was half built, though inscriptional evidence is lacking. After four years, a decree nominated a commission to report on the state of the building, and to advise as to its completion. A large part of the Report of the Commission is preserved in Chandler's famous Erechtheum inscription in the British Museum. Other fragments have been found at Athens, and Dinsmore has made the discovery that two of them fit back to back, making a piece of the slab two inches thicker than Chandler's stone. Chandler's own account records that he had his slab reduced in weight by a mason for easier transport. He therefore unwittingly destroyed the greater part of the commission's specification for work to be done.

The curiously detailed accounts for the expenditure subsequent to the report have lately been brought into order. In fact they closely follow such parts of the Commission's specification as survive.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the President for his interesting address moved by Prof. Ernest Gardner and carried by acclamation.

At the third Meeting (postponed to July 20th on account of the general strike) Miss C. A. Hutton (Hon. Secretary) gave some account of the diaries and sketches which form part of the collection recently given to the Society by the descendants of Robert Wood (1717-1771).

These diaries and sketches are the record of a tour which he made between May 1st, 1750 and June 8th, 1751 in the company of John Bouverie and James Dawkins, during which they visited practically every important site in the Islands of the Aegean Sea and on the West coast of Asia Minor, from Constantinople to Egypt. Their tour included the Holy Land, Syria, Palmyra and Baalbek and ended with three weeks in Greece. Wherever they went their draughtsman made measured plans and sketches. Wood copied inscriptions, Bouverie, until his untimely death (Sept. 18th, 1750) at Magnesia ad Maeandrum, noted architectural details and antiquities, and Dawkins made notes on the physical features of the country. After showing slides illustrating their visits to the Trojan Plain, Laodicea and Palmyra, Miss Hutton gave in full the travellers' account of the Ionic Temple of

Artemis at Sardis, which is of great interest owing to its recent excavation by American archaeologists. The diaries and sketches solve two problems which have always interested archaeologists—which were the six columns of the N. Portico still standing in 1750, and which column did Wood excavate to get the measures of a real Ionic base?

Mr. A. J. B. Wace then gave an account of a stone statuette from Crete recently acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. It is of the Minoan period and dates from the 16th century B C. It is about nine inches high and represents a Mother Goddess clad in the usual full-flounced skirt and tight, but open bodice fashionable at that time. Over the skirt is a kind of apron and on the head is a high hat. This is the earliest Minoan example of true sculpture in the round yet known. It can be compared with the ivory and gold snake goddess at Boston and the faience snake goddess from Knossos, but from its hard material and excellent preservation is superior to both. There is no other Minoan figure of the period similar either in subject or material, and so this statuette is of the highest importance. It has also great artistic beauty from its simplicity and dignity and from the delicate workmanship. There are indications that the sculptor was influenced by earlier figurines in terra-cotta, but no statuette approaches the Fitzwilliam figure, which is thus the most valuable Minoan sculpture yet discovered.

| Dr. ' JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES ' ACCOUNT. | | From JANUARY 1, 1925, to DECEMBER 31, 1925. | | Cr. | |
|--|------------------|--|----------|------------------|--|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| To Printing and Paper. Vol. XLV | 539 7 7 | By Sales, including back Vols. | | | |
| " Plates | 85 2 2 | Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd. | 237 19 5 | | |
| " Drawing and Engraving | 36 15 0 | " Hellenic Society | 62 3 9 | | |
| " Editing and Reviews | 88 14 6 | | | 300 3 2 | |
| " Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members | 140 16 3 | " Receipts from Advertisements | | 26 16 0 | |
| | | " Contribution received towards cost of Article in the Journal | | 27 18 4 | |
| | | Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ... | | 535 18 0 | |
| | <u>£890 15 6</u> | | | <u>£890 15 6</u> | |

xxxiii

| LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. | | From JANUARY 1, 1925, to DECEMBER 31, 1925. | |
|--|------------------|---|------------------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| To Slides and Photographs for Sale..... | 66 14 0 | By Receipts from Sales and Hire | 150 11 2 |
| " Slides for Hire | 23 7 9 | " " Sale of Catalogues | 7 6 0 |
| " Photographs for Reference Collection | 6 8 2 | | |
| " Balance to Income and Expenditure Account..... | 61 7 3 | | |
| | <u>£157 17 2</u> | | <u>£157 17 2</u> |

| LIBRARY ACCOUNT. | | From JANUARY 1, 1925, to DECEMBER 31, 1925. | |
|--------------------|----------------|---|----------------|
| | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. |
| To Purchases | 16 1 8 | By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c. | 3 2 2 |
| " Binding | 51 19 6 | " Balance to Income and Expenditure Account | 64 19 0 |
| | <u>£68 1 2</u> | | <u>£68 1 2</u> |

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1925, TO DECEMBER 31, 1925.

| <i>Expenditure.</i> | | <i>£</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>£</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|--|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| To Rent | | 180 | 0 | 0 | 306 | 7 | 6 |
| " Salaries— | | 50 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Librarian and Secretary | | | | | | | |
| Assistant Treasurer | | 204 | 12 | 6 | | | |
| " Librarian | | | | | | | |
| Typist, &c. } | | | | | | | |
| Insurance | | 43 | 12 | 6 | | | |
| Miscellaneous Expenses | | 13 | 4 | 7 | | | |
| " Stationery | | 86 | 8 | 11½ | | | |
| " Postage | | 84 | 7 | 2 | | | |
| " Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c. | | 88 | 3 | 8½ | | | |
| " Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises | | 89 | 2 | 2 | | | |
| " Interest on Overdraft | | 169 | 4 | 2½ | | | |
| " Grants— | | 33 | 2 | 9 | | | |
| British School at Athens | | 100 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " " Rome | | 10 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Balance from Library Account | | | | | 110 | 10 | 0 |
| " Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account | | | | | 64 | 19 | 0 |
| " Depreciation of Stocks of Publications | | | | | 535 | 18 | 0 |
| | | | | | 12 | 0 | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-----|----|---|---|-----|---|---|
| Total | £ | 204 | 12 | 6 | £ | 306 | 7 | 6 |
|-------------|---|-----|----|---|---|-----|---|---|

Income.

| | <i>£</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>£</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| By Members' Subscriptions— | | | | | | |
| Arrears | | | | 18 | 18 | 0 |
| 1925 | | | | 1130 | 2 | 7 |
| Members' Entrance Fees | | | | 1149 | 0 | 7 |
| " Student Associates' Subscriptions | | | | 52 | 10 | 0 |
| " Libraries' Subscriptions— | | | | 36 | 4 | 6 |
| Arrears | | | | 8 | 8 | 0 |
| 1925 | | | | 261 | 9 | 0 |
| Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account | | | | 269 | 17 | 0 |
| " Dividends on Investments | | | | 57 | 15 | 0 |
| " Interest on Deposit Account | | | | 123 | 9 | 10 |
| " Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room | | | | 4 | 14 | 9 |
| " Rent of room occupied by the Royal Archaeological Institute | | | | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| " Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies | | | | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| " Rent from English Jersey Cattle Society ... | | | | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| " Sale of Excavations at Phylakopi | | | | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| " Sale of Aristophanes, Codex Venetus | | | | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| " Miscellaneous Receipts | | | | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| " Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account | | | | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| " Balance | | | | 61 | 7 | 3 |
| | | | | 70 | 16 | 7½ |

£2016 12 6½

BALANCE SHEET. DECEMBER 31, 1925.

| <i>Liabilities.</i> | | | <i>Assets.</i> | | |
|---|------|-----------|--|------|-----------|
| £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| To Overdraft at Bankers..... | 1493 | 1 5 | By Cash in Hand—Bank | | |
| " Debts Payable | 630 | 7 8 | Assistant Treasurer | 50 | 18 0 |
| " Subscriptions paid in advance | 51 | 19 6 | Petty Cash | 125 | 12 7½ |
| " Endowment Fund | 1102 | 5 0 | | | 176 10 7½ |
| (includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer) | | | " Debts Receivable | | 154 14 7½ |
| " Library Premises Account—Donations Received during year (for List see p. xxxvi) ... | | 1760 11 7 | " Investments (Life Compositions) | 1854 | 3 11 |
| " Life Compositions and Donations— | | | " " (Endowment Fund) | 1000 | 0 0 |
| Total at Jan. 1, 1925 | 2340 | 9 0 | Less Reserved against Depreciation | 100 | 0 0 |
| Received during year | 110 | 5 0 | | 2854 | 3 11 |
| | 2450 | 14 0 | | | 2754 3 11 |
| Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased..... | 57 | 15 0 | " Library Premises Account—Outlays | | |
| | 563 | 0 5½ | Purchase of Lease, 50 Bedford Square | 2250 | 0 0 |
| Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1925 | 2302 | 19 0 | Structural Alterations and Decorations | 1600 | 0 0 |
| Less Deficit Balance from Income and Expenditure Account..... | 70 | 16 7½ | Furniture | 173 | 6 2 |
| | | | Circulars and postages (Appeal)..... | 64 | 13 2 |
| Surplus Balance at December 31, 1925 | 492 | 3 10 | Balance from Emergency Fund | 31 | 1 6 |
| | | | | | 4119 0 10 |
| | | | " Valuations of Stocks of Publications | | 343 18 0 |
| | | | " " Library | | 350 0 0 |
| | | | " Paper in hand for printing Journal | | 25 0 0 |
| | | | | | £7923 8 0 |

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

FIRST LIST OF DONATIONS TO THE NEW JOINT LIBRARY FUND

Up to December 31, 1925

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|----|----|--------------------------------|----|----|----|
| Aberystwyth Branch of Classical Assoc., per A. Woodward | 1 | 1 | 0 | Carlisle, Miss M. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Adams, Miss E. M. ... | | 10 | 0 | Carter, J. H. ... | 10 | 0 | |
| Adcock, F. E. ... | 10 | 0 | 0 | Cary, M. ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Alexander, Mrs. K. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Case, Miss Janet ... | 10 | 6 | |
| Alford, Mrs. A. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Caskey, Mrs. L. D. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Alleyne, Miss S. M. ... | | 10 | 6 | Chance, A. F. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Anon. ... | 100 | 0 | 0 | Chance, R. J. F. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Armstead, Mrs. C. W. ... | 2 | 0 | 0 | Chapman, His Hon. Judge ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Armstead, Miss H. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Childe, V. G. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Ashburner, W. ... | 5 | 5 | 0 | Chitty, Rev. G. J. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Aston-Lewis, W. ... | 10 | 0 | 0 | Chitty, Miss J. E. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Austin, R. S. ... | 10 | 6 | | Clay, C. F. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bailey, J. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 | Clauson, A. C. ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Banister, Mrs. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Cole, S. C. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Barlow, Miss A. E. F. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Collett, A. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Barnard, Miss E. M. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | Cooper, Miss K. ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Barrow, R. H. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Courtauld, Miss S. R. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Batchelor, F. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 | Crees, Dr. J. H. E. ... | 10 | 0 | |
| Baty, C. W. ... | 10 | 6 | | Crewe, Marquess of ... | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Bell, E. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Cripps, R. ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Bell, H. I. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Crocker, A. J. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Benecke, P. V. M. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Cross, G. ... | 4 | 6 | |
| Benton, Miss S. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Cross, Geoffrey ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bevan, E. R. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Culley, Mrs. E. B. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Body, L. A. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Davidson, C. J. ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Bosanquet, G. C. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Davies, Prof. G. A. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Bosanquet, R. C. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Davies, Miss G. E. ... | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Bowes, G. K. ... | 1 | 11 | 6 | Davies, J. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Box, H. ... | 10 | 6 | | Dawkins, Prof. R. M. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Boxwell, Prof. J. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Dennis, Dr. C. P. L. ... | 10 | 6 | |
| Boys, Rev. H. A. ... | 10 | 0 | | Denstone College, Stafford ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Bradley, L. J. H. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Dobie, M. R. ... | 10 | 0 | |
| Braunholtz, G. E. K. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Dobson, Miss K. H. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Braunholtz, Mrs. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Droop, Prof. J. P. ... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Briggs, Miss M. G. ... | 10 | 0 | | Dundas, R. H. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Brooke, Mrs. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 | Dunn, Miss E. B. J. ... | 10 | 6 | |
| Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin ... | 2 | 2 | 0 | Earnshaw, Miss E. M. ... | 10 | 0 | |
| Brown, James ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Edgar, C. C. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Browne, Lady Gore ... | 3 | 3 | 0 | Elliot, Sir Francis ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Buckland, W. W. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Essen, Prof. C. van ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Buckler, W. H. and Mrs. Buckler | 100 | 0 | 0 | Eumorfopoulos, N. ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Buren, Dr. A. W. van ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Evans, D. E. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Burnside, Rev. Canon W. F. ... | 10 | 0 | | Evans, Lady ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Burton-Brown, Mrs. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 | Evans, Sir Arthur ... | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Buxton, Mrs. ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | Ewing, J. L. ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Cambridge, A. W. Pickard ... | 2 | 2 | 0 | Farquhar, Miss Helen ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Carbery, Lady ... | 1 | 1 | 0 | Farquhar, Miss Isabel ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | Fegan, Miss E. S. ... | 2 | 2 | 0 |

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|--------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Fitzgerald, Augustine | 10 | 0 | 0 | Liddell, Mrs. A. E. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Fitzgerald, G. M. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Lister, E. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Fleming, Miss Helen | 2 | 2 | 0 | Livingstone, R. W. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Forsdyke, E. J. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Lloyd, Miss M. E. H. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Frampton, Rev. R. E. E. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Lloyd-Baker, A. B. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Frazer, Sir James G. | 5 | 5 | 0 | Loeb, James | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Furneaux, L. R. | 10 | 6 | 0 | Low, Miss J. I. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Gair, Mrs. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Lucas, F. L. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Gardner, Miss A. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Lupton, Miss E. G. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Gardner, Prof. P. | 10 | 10 | 0 | Lynam, A. E. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Gardner, R. | 1 | 1 | 0 | McAlmon, Mrs. and Mrs. Aldington | 10 | 6 | 0 |
| Gardner, Willoughby | 1 | 1 | 0 | Macan, R. W. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Geare, Miss | 2 | 2 | 0 | Macdonald, Geo. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Geden, Rev. A. S. | 1 | 1 | 0 | McDonell, H. C. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Greene, H. W. | 5 | 5 | 0 | McElderry, Prof. R. K. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Greenwood, J. A. | 1 | 0 | 0 | McEvoy, C. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Greenwood, L. W. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Macgregor, D. C. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Hall, H. R. | 1 | 1 | 0 | MacIver, D. Randall- (fifty dollars) | 10 | 5 | 10 |
| Hall, Miss W. L. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mackail, J. W. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Hallam, G. H. | 52 | 10 | 0 | Mackinnon, Miss K. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hallam, Mrs. G. H. | 2 | 2 | 0 | MacLehose, Alec | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hastings, G. | 3 | 0 | 0 | MacLehose, James | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hayter, A. G. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Heberdey, Prof. Dr. R. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Macmillan, G. A. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Heitland, W. E. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Maillard, J. D. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hickie, E. Wynne | 1 | 0 | 0 | Marriage, Miss E. M. | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Hill, G. F. | 20 | 0 | 0 | Marshall, F. H. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hodges, H. W. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Matheson, P. E. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hodgkinson, H. R. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Mattingly, H. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Hogarth, D. G. | 3 | 3 | 0 | Maufe, F. B. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Holding, Miss G. E. | 2 | 2 | 0 | Miller, Miss G. E. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Holmes, Dr. T. Rice | 2 | 2 | 0 | Milne, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. | 10 | 0 | 0 |
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| Hopkinson, T. | 10 | 6 | 0 | Morley, F. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Horsfall, Miss K. | 5 | 0 | 0 | Moss, H. St. L. B. | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Hose, H. F. | 2 | 2 | 0 | Mozley, J. H. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hoste, Miss M. R. | 10 | 6 | 0 | Murray, Miss S. W. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
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| Innes-Hopkins, G. B. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Oldaker, W. H. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Ionides, A. C., Jun. | 5 | 0 | 0 | Ormerod, H. A. | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Irvine, A. L. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Oswald, F. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jardine, Lindsay | 1 | 0 | 0 | Owen, A. S. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Jex-Blake, Miss | 1 | 1 | 0 | Ozanne, R. J. T. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
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| Kenion, T. D. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Pearson, Prof. A. C. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Kenyon, Sir Frederic | 5 | 0 | 0 | Penoyre, Miss | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Lamb, Miss W. | 20 | 0 | 0 | Penoyre, Miss M. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Last, H. M. | 10 | 0 | 0 | Penrose, Miss E. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Laurie, G. E. | 2 | 2 | 0 | Percival, F. W. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Law, Mrs. G. M. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Perry, G. M. | 1 | 1 | 0 |
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| Lethaby, Prof. W. R. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Pickering, T. E. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
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xxxviii

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------------|-----|----|----|------------------------------------|------|----|----|
| Porter, W. H. | 1 | 1 | 0 | Sykes, Sir Percy | 1 | 1 | 0 |
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- Académie des Beaux-Arts.** Bulletin from vol. 1 (1925).
9 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Paris. *In Progress.*
- Albania.** Revue d'archéologie, d'histoire, d'art et des sciences
appliquées en Albanie et dans les Balkans. From vol. 1
(1925). 12 × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Paris. *In Progress.*
- Atti della pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia.** 3rd series.
Memorie. From vol. 1 (1923).
14 × 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Rome. *In Progress.*
- Rendiconti. From vol. 1 (1923).
10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Rome. *In Progress.*
- Bulletin** of the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology. January,
1926. 10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 15. Toronto. 1926.
- Dorpat.** Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis. B.
Humaniora. From vol. 5 (1924).
9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Tartu (Esthonia). *In Progress.*
- Ephemeris Dacoromana.** Annuario della scuola romana di Roma.
From vol. 1 (1923). 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Rome. *In Progress.*
- Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.** Proceedings: Literary and
Historical Section. From vol. 1 (1925).
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Leeds. *In Progress.*
- Mélanges Gréco-Romaines** tirés du Bulletin Historico-Philologique
de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg.
4 vols. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 in. St. Pétersbourg. 1855-1880.
- Mittheilungen** der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. 19.
4to. Vienna. 1889.
- Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch** für die Gesellschaft für vorge-
schichtliche Forschung. Band I. Bibliographie des Jahres
1924.
10 × 7 in. pp. vi + 157. Berlin and Leipsic. 1926.

Collected Essays

- Darbishire (H. D.)** Reliquiae philologicae: or essays in com-
parative philology. Ed. R. S. Conway.
8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xvi + 279. Cambridge. 1895.

* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of
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Vol. 5, Supplementary.

1. Notes on MSS. in the British Museum relating to Levant geography and travel. *B.S.A.*, 12.
2. Topographical drawings in the British Museum illustrating classical sites and remains in Greece and Turkey. *B.S.A.*, 18.
3. The Crypto-Christians of Trebizond. *J.H.S.*, 41.
4. Datcha—Stadia—Halikarnassos. *B.S.A.*, 18.
5. Constantinopolitana. *J.H.S.*, 43.
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11. A French inscription at Adalia. *B.S.A.*, 16.
12. The Caliph Mamoun and the Prophet Daniel. *J.H.S.*, 42.
13. Plato in the Folk-lore of the Konia plain. *B.S.A.*, 18.
14. Prentice Pillars : the architect and his pupil. *Folklore*, 30.
15. Notes on coin-collecting in Mysia. [*Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, 6.]
16. On imitations of the Venetian sequin struck for the Levant. *B.S.A.*, 18.

Haverfield (F.)

A supplementary volume of articles extracted from various reviews and bound as follows :—

Vol. 4. Roman Britain, etc.

1. Roman Inscriptions in Britain, 1888–1890. [*Arch. Journ.*, xlvii.] 1890.
2. Roman Inscriptions in Britain, 1890–1891. [*Arch. Journ.*, xlix.] 1892.
3. Roman Inscriptions in Britain, 1892–1893. [*Arch. Journ.*, l.] 1894.
4. Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee, 1894. [*Cumb. and West. Trans.*] 1895.
5. Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee, 1895. [*Cumb. and West. Trans.*] 1896.
6. Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee, 1896. [*Cumb. and West. Trans.*] 1897.
7. The Mother Goddesses. [*Arch. Ael.*] 1892.

In honorem works

Arndt (P.) Festschrift zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Münchner Freunden.

12 × 9 in. pp. 147. Munich. 1925.

Id. Another copy.

Institutions

- Bologna.** Universitati . . . Bononiensi ferias saeculares octavas . . . celebranti. Pindaric Ode in Greek by R. C. Jebb.
10 × 8 in. pp. 7. Cambridge. 1888.
- Allo studio di Bologna festeggiante l'ottavo suo centenario.
[Italian translation of above by G. Pelliccioni.]
10 × 7½ in. pp. 11. Bologna. 1888.

Educational

- Babington (C.)** An introductory lecture on archaeology delivered before the University of Cambridge.
9 × 5¾ in. pp. 80. Cambridge. 1865.
- Bailey (C.)** The Classical Ideal. [Froebel Institute Addresses, 7.]
9 × 6 in. pp. 19. Oxford. 1897.
- Boëthius (A.)** Antiken och vi. [Svensk Tidskrift.]
9¼ × 6¼ in. pp. 6. Stockholm.
- Burrows (R. M.)** Les études classiques en Angleterre. [Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles, ii, 1897.]
9½ × 6¼ in. pp. 16. Brussels. 1897.
- Cooper (Miss)** Personality and System. [Froebel Institute Addresses, 1.]
9 × 6 in. pp. 16. Oxford. 1896.
- Giles (Brother)** Latin and Greek in College entrance and College graduation requirements.
9¼ × 6 in. pp. xiii + 191. Washington. 1926.
- Matheson (P. E.)** Some thoughts on Education. [Froebel Institute Addresses, 2.]
9 × 6 in. pp. 19. 1896.
- Milner (A.)** Bustle. [Froebel Institute Addresses, 5.]
9 × 6 in. pp. 19. Oxford. 1897.
- Montefiore (C. G.)** College opportunities. [Froebel Institute Addresses, 6.]
9 × 6 in. pp. 16. Oxford. 1897.
- Princeton.** Conference of Classical Studies in liberal education held at Princeton University, June 1917.
9 × 6 in. pp. 16. [Princeton. 1917.]
- Sieger (R.)** Die Geographie und der Staat. [Rede zur feierlichen Inauguration des Rektors der Grazer Universität, 1925/26.]
9½ × 6½ in. pp. 55. Graz. 1925.

Biographies

- Bentley (R.)** MAEHLI (J.) Richard Bentley: eine Biographie.
8¾ × 5¼ in. iv + 179. Leipsic. 1868.
- Gennadius (J.)** ANASTASIDES (X.) Γεωργίου Γενναδίου βίος, ἔργα, ἐπιστολαί. 2 vols.
8 × 5¼ in. pp. xxiv + 543. Paris. 1926.
- Jackson (H.)** PARRY (R. St. J.) Henry Jackson, O.M.: a Memoir.
9¼ × 5¾ in. pp. vi + 300. Cambridge. 1926.
- Porson (R.)** Porsoniana: scraps from Porson's rich feast.
9¾ × 6¼ in. pp. xii + 23. 1814.
- Strachan-Davidson (J. L.)** MACKAIL (J. W.) James Leigh Strachan-Davidson, Master of Balliol: a Memoir.
9 × 5¾ in. pp. 124. Oxford. 1925.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

Greek Collected Works

- Anthologia graeca :** sive poetarum graecorum lusus. *Ed.* Brunck. Indices and commentary by F. Jacobs. 3 vols. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. v + 335 (av. per vol.) Leipsic. 1794.
- Bucolici.** Bucoliques grecs. I. Théocrite. Edited and translated into French by Ph. E. Legrand. [Association Guillaume Budé.] $8 \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xxxiv + 221 leaves. Paris. 1925.
- Comici.** KOCK (TH.) Comicorum atticorum fragmenta. 3 vols. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xiv + 714 (av. per vol.). Leipsic. 1880.
- Epici.** GARDNER (D.) and GARDNER (P.) The Tale of Troy retold in seven books. [Asphodel Press.] $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 72. 1925.
- Lyrici.** Antologia della melica Greca. *Ed.* A. Taccone. $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. viii + 272. Turin. 1919.

Greek Authors

- Achmes.** Achmetis Oneirocriticon. *Ed.* F. Drexl. [Teubner text.] $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xvi + 269. Leipsic. 1925.
- Aeschylus.** 2. Agamemnon, Libation-bearers, Eumenides, Fragments. Edited and translated by H. W. Smyth. [Loeb Class. Libr.] $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 528. 1926.
- THOMSON (J. A. K.) The religious background of the Prometheus Vincetus. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 37. S.L.E.D.
- Antiphon.** SYKOUTRES (I.) Κριτικά εἰς Ἀντιφῶντα. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 37. Athens. 1925.
- Apollonius Rhodius.** Argonautica. *Ed.* F. Asulanus. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4$ in. pp. 225. Venice. 1521.
- Argonautica. *Ed.* R. F. P. Brunck. vol. 1 only. $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xii + 709. Leipsic. 1810.
- BOLLING (G. M.) The participle in Apollonius Rhodius. [Studies in hon. of B. L. Gildersleeve.] 9×6 in. pp. 21. Baltimore. 1902.
- Aristeas.** The letter of Aristeas, translated with an appendix of ancient evidence on the origin of the Septuagint. By H. St. J. Thackeray. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. xx + 116. 1917.
- Aristides.** Libri rhetorici ii. *Ed.* G. Schmid. $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 146. Leipsic. 1926.
- Athenaeus.** Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri quindecim. *Ed.* G. H. Schaefer. 3 vols. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xiii + 407 (av. per vol.). Leipsic. 1796–1838.
- Callimachus.** KNIPER (K.) Studia Callimachea. ii. De Callimachi theologumenis. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in. pp. viii + 159. Leyden. 1898.
- Chrysostom.** DICKINSON (F. W. A.) The use of the Optative Mood in the works of St. John Chrysostom. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xvi + 179. Washington. 1926.

- Demosthenes.** The Orations of Demosthenes pronounced to excite the Athenians against Philip King of Macedon. Translated by Thomas Leland. 7 × 5 in. pp. vi + 189. 1853.
- LEVY (F. W.) De Demosthenis *περὶ συντάξεως* oratione. 8½ × 6½ in. pp. 65. Neustrelitz. 1919.
- Dio Cassius.** Historiae Romanae quae supersunt, cum annotationibus H. Valesii, J. A. Fabricii ac paucis aliorum : notas doctorum et suas cum apparatu et indicibus adiecit H. S. Reimarus. 2 vols. 16½ × 10½ in. pp. xxx + 1708. Hamburg. 1750-2.
- Roman History. viii. Edited and translated by E. Cary. [Loeb Class. Lib.] 6¾ × 4¼ in. pp. 482. 1925.
- Diogenes Laertius.** Lives of eminent philosophers. 2 vols. Edited and translated by R. D. Hicks. [Loeb Class. Lib.] 6¾ × 4¼ in. pp. 625 (av. per vol.). 1925.
- Euripides.** Ion. Ed. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. 8½ × 6 in. pp. 163. Berlin. 1926.
- Gregorius Nyssenus.** Gregorii Nysseni epistulae. Ed. G. Pasquali. 9¼ × 6¼ in. pp. lxxxii + 94. Berlin. 1926.
- Hermetica.** vol. iii. Notes on the Latin Asclepius and the Hermetic excerpts of Stobaeus. Ed. W. Scott. 9 × 6 in. pp. 632. Oxford. 1926.
- Id.* Another copy.

Homer.

The following works on Homer are almost entirely comprised in a generous donation of books from Dr. Walter Leaf, December 1925.

Texts, etc., of the Iliad and Odyssey

- Homer his Iliads translated, adorned with sculpture and illustrated with annotations by J. Ogilby. pp. xlv + 520. Homer his Odysseys translated, etc., *ut supra*. pp. iv + 358. 17 × 11 in. 1669.
- Homeri Ilias graece et latine. Ed. S. Clarke. 2 vols. bound together. 8 × 10½ in. pp. 355 + 370 + 18. 1729.
- Homeri Odyssea graece et latine. Ed. S. Clarke. 2 vols. bound together. 10½ × 8½ in. pp. 784 + 34. 1740.
- Homeri operum omnium quae extant. Tomus prior sive Ilias Graece et Latine juxta editionem S. Clarke.

This was the copy of Homer used by Wood in the preparation of his Essay On the original Genius and Writings of Homer. According to Professor Jebb (Introduction to Homer, p. 107) this was the work which had most effect before the appearance of Wolf's Prolegomena upon the Homeric question. Wood's doctrine about writing became in fact the very keystone of Wolf's theory.

- 6¾ × 4 in. pp. 619 + index of 9 pp., the whole with interleaved matter making a vol. of pp. 1256. Amsterdam. 1743.
- [Part of the Wood donation.]
- Flaxman's Illustrations.
- i. The Iliad of Homer engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman, R.A., Sculptor. 39 plates. 1805.

Homer.

- ii. The Odyssey of Homer engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman, R.A., Sculptor. 34 plates. 1805.
- iii. The Theogony, Works and Days and the Days of Hesiod, engraved from the compositions of John Flaxman, R.A., Sculptor. 37 plates. 1817.
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TRAVEL, TOPOGRAPHY, EXCAVATION, LOCAL HISTORY, ETC.

General Travel in the Levant

- Wood (Robert)** 1716-1771.

DIARIES

Diaries of JAMES DAWKINS, companion of R. Wood.

These diaries were copied by Wood's daughter. They are clearly written but the arrangement of the matter in the various volumes is not easy to follow. It is made clear in the following table.

| <i>Description.</i> | <i>Date.</i> | <i>Itinerary.</i> |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| 6 vols. bound in green vellum gold tooled. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. The 6 vols. contain in all about 500 pp. | 1750 | |
| 1. vol. i. | May 5—June 1. | Naples—Smyrna—Sardis. |
| 2. vol. ii. | June 2—June 22. | Sardis — Thyatira — Pergamum — Sinus Eleaticus — Constantinople. |
| 3. vol. iii. | June 23—July 13. | Constantinople—Boursa. |
| 4. vol. iv. right hand pp. | July 14—Aug. 8. | Boursa—Cyzicus—Lampsacus — Troy — Tenedos — Mytilene. |
| 5. vol. v. right hand pp. | Aug. 10—Sept. 3. | Lesbos — Phocaea — Scio — Neomene—Teos — Ephesus — Samos. |
| 6. vol. vi. right hand pp. | Sept. 4—Oct. 10. | Samos—Meander—Magnesia — Laodicea — Hierapolis — Antioch—Mylassa. |
| vol. vi. left hand pp. | Oct. 10—Nov. 26. | Halicarnassus—Cos—Cnidus — Rhodes — Alexandria — Cairo—Pyramids. |
| vol. v. left hand pp. | Nov. 27—Jan. 5, 1751. | Pyramids — Acre — Mount Carmel—Nazareth—Capernaum—Tiberias. |
| vol. iv. left hand pp. | Jan. 5—Feb. 6. | Nazareth—Jerusalem—Bethlehem—Rama—Carmel. |

The above are continued in :—

| | | |
|--|------------------|---|
| 7. Notebook in marble paper cover. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. ca. 180. | Feb. 6—April 18. | Carmel—Acre—Tyre—Sidon — Beyrout — Damascus — Baalbek—Tripoli—Cyprus. |
| 8. Notebook un- bound. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ in. pp. ca. 96. | April 18—June 8. | Stanchio—Delos—Athens— Marathon—Thermopylae— Chalcis—Thebes—Delphi— Corinth—Megara—Athens —Porto Leone. |

Diary of JOHN BOUVERIE, companion of R. Wood.

| <i>Description.</i> | <i>Date.</i> | <i>Itinerary.</i> |
|--|---|--|
| 9. Brown leather pocket book. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. ca. 86. | May 25–June 8. July 25–Aug. 3. Sept. 7. | Smyrna—Sardis — Thyatira —Pergamo. The Troad. Tour on the Menander. |

Diaries, etc., of ROBERT WOOD.

| | | |
|---|------------------------|---|
| 10. Unbound paper fascicule. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 36. | May 16–June 1. | Covers part of the same ground as No. 8 above. Contains also some inscriptions. |
| 11. Unbound paper fascicule. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 36. (probably by R. Wood) | Sept. 22–Oct. 8. | Covers part of the same ground as No. 6 above. |
| 12. Brown leather pocket book. $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Ca. pp. 144. (probably by R. Wood) | May 25–ca. Sept. 1. | Smyrna—Sardis—Thyatira —Pergamum—Constantinople—Troad—Tenedos—Mytilene—Phocaea—Ephesus. Covers the same ground as Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 9 above. |

SKETCH BOOKS

Drawings by BORRA, Italian artist companion of R. Wood.

| <i>Description.</i> | <i>Itinerary.</i> |
|---|--|
| 15. Parchment book with flap. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ca. pp. 288. | Sketchbook covering the tour. |
| 16. Parchment book with flap. 11×9 in. Ca. pp. 142. | Sketches of Naples, Asia Minor, Egypt. |
| 17. Paper fascicule, unbound. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ca. pp. 34. | Sketches of Damascus, Palmyra, etc. |

MISCELLANEOUS TRAVEL NOTES

| <i>Description.</i> | <i>Itinerary.</i> |
|---|--|
| 18. Parchment book. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Ca. pp. 174. | Extract from Robert Wood's MS. notes made by his daughter. |
| 19. Parchment book with flap. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Ca. pp. 200. | 'A Universal history.' This has the appearance of being historical studies made by the travellers for the purposes of their tour. The subject matter is arranged under the following headings: Egypt—Palestine—Syria—Asia Minor—Greece—Archipelago—Italy—Sicily—Cyprus. |

PUBLISHED RESULTS OF THE TOUR

| | |
|---|--|
| 20. Book in half morocco. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. iv + 80 + 106 plates. | WOOD (R.). The ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek. |
| 21. Unbound in brown paper cover. 12 × 9 in. pp. 120 + 57 plates. Paris, 1819. | WOOD (R.). Les ruines de Palmyra autrement dite Tedmore au désert. |

[The above form the major part of the Wood donation. For other items in this collection see under Homer (pp. xlv, xlix, l); Laurenberg (p. lxxi); Vignola (p. lxxvii); Barthelmy (p. lxxix); and Wood (p. lxxix)].

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- SCHLIEMANN (E.) Συνοπτικὴ ἀφῆγησις τῆς γενομένης ἀνακαλύψεως τοῦ ὁμηρικῶν Ἰλίου κατὰ τὰ ἔτη 1871–3.
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Topography, Excavation, &c.

Maps.

- c3350 The Greek mainland, the islands and the Asiatic coast.
- c3342 The Babylonian Empire. B.C. 560.
- c3343 Ancient Persia : Western section.
- c3344 " " Eastern section.
- c3351 Greek and Phœnician colonies, Western section.
- c3352 " " " Eastern section.
- c3345 Alexander's Empire, Western section.
- c3346 " " Eastern section.
- c3347 Roman Empire, 3rd cent. A.D., Western section.
- c3348 " " " Eastern section.
- c3341 Egyptian Empire. B.C. 1450.
- c3349 Sicily and part of S. Italy.

Eastern Area.

- c2490 Amman, Roman amphitheatre : columns and architrave.
- c2491 " " " " " "
- c2492 Amra, the khan or fort.
- c2493 Azrak, Kal'at al-, the fortress from without.
- c2494 " " from within.
- c2495 " " vaulting.
- B4253 Jerash (Gerasa). Steps from Via Principalis to Central temple.
- B4254 " " nymphaeum.
- c2496 Kharaneh, the khan or fort.

-
- c2363 Troy, the mound from the N. (Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion*, Beilage 1).
 - c2364 " 1st city wall (*id.*, Beilage 5).
 - c2365 " 6th city wall of S.W. tower (*id.*, Beilage 9).
 - c2366 " 2nd city, Megaron (*id.*, Beilage 11).
 - c2367 " 6th city, E. wall of tower (*id.*, Beilage 15).
 - c2368 " " inner wall of S. tower (*id.*, Beilage 17).
 - c2369 " " side walls (*id.*, p. 140, fig. 48).
-

- c3334 Rhodes, Lindus : Gothic doorway with armorial bearings.

Greece.

- c3365 Delphi, the stadion, general view.
- c3366 " " aphasis.
- c3367 " gymnasium, bathing pond and douches.
- c3368 " " douches.
- c3369 " Treasury of Athenians from above.

- C3370 **Delphi**, Temple of Apollo, subterranean passage.
 C3371 " " " " steps down to conduit.
 C3372 " " " " Castalian spring.
 C3353 **Athens** : the Olympieion, evening effect.
 C3364 **Aegina**, ramp leading to temple.

-
- C3291 Frankish capital from Laconia.
 C3292 " " " " "

Rome.

- B5009 View over Rome from summit of Janiculum.

The Forum Romanum.

- B8801 View looking towards the Capitol, during the floods of 1901.
 B5010 " " " " "
 B5014 " " " " "
 B8802 " " " " " in front, substructures of Aedes Vestae.
 B8701 Forum Tabularium.
 B5019 View from Capitol.
 B5011 View east from Temple of Saturn.
 B5030 View from Palatine.
 B5020 " " " "
 B5012 The Temple of Saturn.
 B9455 " " " " and temple of Vespasian.
 B5023 Shrine of Juturna, with puteal.
 B8806 S. Maria Liberatrice (built on the site of S. Maria Antiqua) being demolished, 1902.
 B5027 Atrium Vestae looking W.
 B8702 " " " " statue of Vestal Virgin.
 B5029 " " " " so-called Numa.
 B8803 Temple of Antoninus : the façade.
 B9456 " " " " the portico, looking towards Capitol.
 B9457 " " " " " " " " arch of Titus.

-
- B8703 The Palatine, the crypto—porticus.

-
- B5044 Arch of Constantine, view looking S.
 B5006 " " " " Drusus.
 B9459 " " " " Septimius Severus.
 B5037 " " " " Titus, view looking towards Capitol.
 B5040 " " " " and Colosseum from Palatine.

-
- B5042 The Colosseum : interior.
 B8807 St. Peter's from the Vatican garden.
 B8804 The ' Servian ' wall : the portion preserved in the station yard.
 B5005 Porta S. Sebastiano.
 B8805 Piazza del Popolo.
 B9462 Baths of Caracalla, composite capital with human figure.
 B9466 Forum Boarium.

-
- B8951 Palazzo Odescalchi court yard (*P.B.S.R.*, viii, fig. 15).
 B8950 " " " " (*id.*, fig. 16).
 B8952 British School at Rome : Valle Giulia : the façade.
 B8953 " " " " portico.
 B8954 " " " " portico with statuary

B 921 Map of ancient Campania (Mau, *Pompeii*, fig. 1).

B8808 The Via Appia : typical view of the road crossing the Campagna.

B8809 Via Praenestina : the Ponte Amato.

B8714 **Alatri** (Alatrium) general view.

B8811 „ „ with snow mountains behind.

B8810 „ „ oxen on the road with snow mountains behind.

B8715 „ „ Cyclopean masonry.

B8812 **Alban Hills** from Tellenae.

B8813 „ „ and Osa from near Trattoria dell' Osa.

B8814 **R. Anio**, near Vicovaro.

B8815 „ the Ponte Nomentano.

B8816 „ the Ponte Lugano at Tivoli.

B8843 „ Ponte Lupo.

B8817 **Assisi** : S. Francesco.

B8818 „ „ „ nearer view.

B8819 „ ' Temple of Minerva.'

B8820 „ street view.

B8821 „ ladder-like side street.

B8822 **Bieda** (Blera) from below.

B8823 „ ancient bridge.

B8824 „ „ „ nearer view.

B8825 „ mediaeval fortifications and Etruscan tomb.

B4256 **Bogliasco**, bridge.

B8826 **Bolsena**, lake (lacus Tarquinius).

B4255 **Caere**, Etruscan tumulus.

B8827 **Cori** (Cora), the city wall from without.

B8828 **Falerii**, Porta del Bove.

B8829 **Lautulae**, the pass of Ad Lautulas, looking towards Terracina.

B8830 **Narni** (Narnia). Augustan bridge by which the Via Flaminia crossed the Nar.

B8831 „ view outside, with ox carts.

B8832 **Nemi**, the lake from the Alban Hills.

B8833 **Ninfa**, ruined mediaeval town on the R. Nymphaeus, Latium.

B8834 **Norma** (Norba), general view.

B8835 „ view showing Sermoneta and Monte Circeo.

B8836 **Ostia** : entrance to theatre (cf. *Not. Scav.*, 1913, p. 204, fig. 1).

B8837 „ reed huts at.

B8838 **Palestrina** (Praeneste) : the Villa Barberini and Church of S. Pietro.

B8842 **Pisa** : the cathedral, W. façade, central door (by John of Bologna).

B8839 „ the leaning tower (1854).

B8840 „ the Campo Santo : view in the portico.

B8841 „ view on the Arno with mediaeval tower.

B 922 **Pompeii** : plan of forum (Mau, *Pompeii*, plan 2).

B 923 „ plan of House of Tragic Poet (Mau, *Pompeii*, fig. 145).

B 924 „ plan of House of the Vetii (Mau, *Pompeii*, fig. 151).

B 925 „ interior of public house, showing bar as excavated (*Not. Scav.*, 1912, pp. 113 14, fig. 11).

B8844 **Porto** : gate in the wall of Constantine.

B8968 **Pozzuoli**. Virgil's tomb.

B8974 „ „ „ present condition (1925).

B8970 „ The Serapeum, 1925.

B8971 „ „ „ the three columns, 1925.

B8969 „ „ „ „ „ 1905

B8846 **Spoleto** (Spoletium), general view.

- B8847 **Spoletum**, temple of Clitumnus.
 B8848 „ Arch of Drusus.
 B8849 „ aqueduct (the ' Ponte delle Torri ' on Monte Luco).
 B8850 „ the cathedral.
 B8851 „ S. Pietro.
 B8852 **Subiaco** (Sublaqueum), Ponte San Francesco a la Rocca, on the Anio.
 B8853 „ S. Scholastica.
 B8854 **Sutri** (Sutrium), Porta Romana.
 B8855 **Tivoli**, from Quintiliolo.
 B8856 „ from the Villa d'Este.
 B8857 „ general view of the cascades, town and temples.
 B8973 „ Cascade.
 B8858 „ the circular and quadrangular temples.
 B8859 „ the quadrangular temple, nearer view.
 B8860 „ Villa of Maecenas : Hall of the Augustoles, the arcade.
 B8861 „ ' Valle degli arci.'
 B8862 „ mediaeval houses.
 B8866 „ Villa of Hadrian : ' Canopus.'
 B8867 „ „ „ looking towards ' Nymphaeum.'
 B8868 „ „ „ ' Poikile.'
 B8869 „ „ „ ' Natatorium.'
 B8870 „ „ „ olives and cypress.
 B8871 „ „ „ view towards Monticelli.
 B8872 „ „ „ view towards Tivoli.
 B8863 „ (near) Horace's Sabine farm.
 B8864 „ „ olives of Villa of Quintilius Varus.
 B8865 „ „ Tomb of C. Naenius Bassus on the road to Vicovaro (Varia).
 B8753 „ „ Terrace of S. Antonio.
 B8845 „ „ San Cosimato from Vicovaro.
 B8873 **Toscanello** (Tuscanum) : a columbarium.
 B8874 **Venice**, the Bridge of Sighs.
 B8756 **Verona**, the amphitheatre.
 B8875 **Volterra** (Volaterrae), Porta del Arco.

C3333 **Girgenti**, Temple of Hercules : the re-erected columns.

Roman Empire.

- B4241 **Carthage**, the theatre.
 B4242 „ St. Cyprian.
 B4250 **Constantine** (near) the Medrasen : a Royal Numidian tomb.
 B4243 **Djemila**, Arch of Caracalla.
 B4252 **Kola** (near) the Kubr-er-Rumia, the Tomb of Juba II and Selene Cleopatra.
 B4248 **Lambaesis**, Arch of Septimius Severus.
 B4249 „ praetorium.
 B4251 **Marcuna**, Arch of Marcus Aurelius.
 B4244 **Thugga Trinina**, triumphal arch.
 B4245 „ „ theatre.
 B4246 „ „ temple of Dea Caelestis.
 B4247 „ „ funerary monument.

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- B8963 **Cordoba**, the bridge.
 B8964 „ „ „
 B8961 **Segovia**, the aqueduct.
 B8962 „ „ „

-
- B8958 **Gallia Narbonensis**, sketch map of.
-

- B4238 **Carpentras**, the triumphal arch.
 B8967 **Nîmes** : the amphitheatre, a corridor.
 B8876 **The Pont du Gard**.
 B8966 " " South side.
 B4237 **S. Remy**, the monument.

- B1732 **Folkestone** : View of Roman Villa from the air (*J.R.S.*, xiv, pl. 26).
 B8960 **Roman Wall** : S. Oswald's Church.
 B8959 " " Oswald's Hill (near Chollerford), inscription.
 B1731 **Wroxeter** : stone columns of portico of main street running N. and S. (*J.R.S.*, xiv, pl. 26, No. 1).
 B1733 **Wroxeter** : building inscription referring to forum (*J.R.S.*, xiv, p. 244, pl. 27).

Prehellenic.

- C3354 Head of Ningal, the moon goddess, from Ur, profile.
 C3355 " " " " " full face.
 C3357 Bull among marsh plants : engraved shell. Ur.
 C2478 Minoan statuette of a goddess, front view. Fitzwilliam Mus.
 C2479 " " " back view.
 C2480 " " " profile to R.
 C2482 " " " upper half, front view.
 C2484 " " " diagram showing construction.

- C3358 Minoan leopard : hilt of a ceremonial axe. Mallia.
 C3289 Babylonian seal : religious scene flanked by trees : developed cast.
 C3330 Persian chalcedony cylinder : the Persian Lion Gryphon : Beazley, *Lewis House Gems*, pl. 1, No. 8 (*J.H.S.*, 43, p. 159, fig. 2).

Sculpture.

* = taken from original or adequate reproduction.
 * -- taken from cast.

- C3359 Warrior found at Sparta.*
 C3360 Head of bronze ephēbus.* Pompeii.
 C3296 Bronze charioteer from Delphi.* Three-quarter face to right.
 C3297 Zeus.* Dresden Mus.
 C2377 Head of Athena at Bologna * (two positions).
 C2379 " " " and * head of the Cassel Apollo compared.
 C2375 " " " " * head of Lancelotti (Massimi) discobolus compared
 C2376 " " " " * head of Athena at Frankfurt compared.
 C2380 Athena at Frankfurt * (two positions).
 C2378 " " " head * (two positions).
 C2908 Nike adjusting sandal,* from Athens.
 Neo-Attic copy,* Munich (*J.H.S.*, 45, p. 207, fig. 4).
 C2907 Nikai and bull * : balustrade of temple of Nike Apteros, Athens.
 Neo-Attic copy of above,* Uffizi Mus. (*id.*, fig. 3).
 C3336 Nereid monument * : first frieze, Blocks 852, 853. Conflicts between peltasts, horse-men and barbarians.
 C3288 So-called 'Armed runner' of Agasias * : back profile view. Louvre.
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- C2372 **Ares**,* head of : Louvre Mus. Two views.
 C2374 **Asklepios**,* Hermitage Mus.
 C2381 **Athena**,* Uffizi Mus. (statue of the same type as the Ros-pigliosi Athena)
 C2373 Archaistic terminal bust,* possibly Poseidon. B.M. (2 views).

- c3335 **Hermes Farnese.*** BM. No. 1599.
 c2371 „ Head (at Broadlands) of the type of the Hermes Ludovisi. 3 views.
 (Furtw., Masterpieces, p. 58, fig. 13.)
 c3362 **Zeus.*** Head of so-called Olympian Zeus Cyrene.

- c3361 Head, probably of Asklepios, from Gerasa; has been called a head of Christ.

- c2382 Marble statue of a dog.* Uffizi Mus.

Late Reliefs.

Neo-Attic marble vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York :—

- c2901 2 general views * (*J.H.S.*, 45, pls. 6 and 7).
 c2902 „ „ * (*id.*, pl. 8).
 c2903 Maenads * (*id.*, pl. 7).
 c2904 A flute player * (*id.*, pl. 6).
 c2905 Two dancing figures * (*id.*, pl. 6).
 c2906 Relief of Pan and nymphs from Eleusis * (*id.*, p. 203, fig. 1).
 Three nymphs * (*id.*, pl. 8, central portion).
 c2912 Three-sided basis.* Lateran Mus. (*id.*, pl. 9).
 c2911 Lyre player.* Central figure in 3-sided basis. Lateran Mus. (cf. *id.*, pl. 9).

- B8975 Rock cut relief representing a ship, Italy.
 B8972 Relief from four-faced arch at Leptis Magna. Triumph of Septimius Severus.

Portraits.

- B4257 **Nerva,*** Head of Nerva found at Tivoli.
 c3300 **Periander,** a term. Mus. Vat.
 c3298 **Sophocles*** [?], small bust. Vat. Mus. (*J.H.S.*, 43, p. 60, fig. 3).
 B8965 **Vespasian,*** head of.

Terracottas.

- c3331 Frieze from Civit  Alba. Etruscan art of the 2nd cent. B.C. Bologna Mus.
 c3332 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „

- c3363 Archaic rhyton in form of a woman's head. Corneto.

Frescoes.

- B8877 **Rome, S. Maria Antiqua.** Madonna and child with 2 earlier layers of saints.
 B8878 „ „ „ The Crucifixion.
 B8879 „ „ „ The saints in prison.
 B8758 „ „ „

Coins.

- c3327 Simplified plan of arrangement of Greek coins on exhibition in the British Museum.
 c3326 **Aegina.** Design of land turtle from an Aeginetan coin: drawing.
 c3325 **Ephesus** [?]. Drawing of earliest inscribed coin (B.M. *Guide to the Department of Coins*, ed. 1922, p. 15, fig. 1).
 c3328 **Panticapaeum A.** The lion gryphon (*J.H.S.*, 43, p. 159, fig. 2).

- c3329 **Alexander the Great A.** Staters showing helmet of Athena with varied enrichments (*J.H.S.*, 43, p. 157, fig. 1).
 c3324 **Cleopatra R** (cf. B.M. *Guide*, vii, A. 14).

- c3322 Philip** of Macedon A' (cf. *B.M. Guide*, iii, A. 17).
- c3323 Tachos** of Egypt. Gold coin with Athenian types and Egyptian symbol. B.M.
- B8956 Vespasian.** Vespasian and his sons.
- i. *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 189, No. 1.
 - ii. *Id.*, p. 189, No. 11 and pl. 6¹⁰.
 - iii. *Id.*, p. 189, No. 9.
 - iv. *Id.*, p. 205, No. 1, and p. 207, No. 1.
- B8957 Vespasian** and his family.
- i. *Num. Chron.*, 1921, pp. 193, 194, No. 1³.
 - ii. *Id.*, p. 217, No. 2 and pl. 7⁸.
 - iii. *Id.*, p. 214, No. 7 and pl. 7⁶.
 - iv. *Id.*, p. 214, No. 7 and pl. 7⁷.
 - v. *Id.*, p. 215, No. 8.
 - vi. Coin of Caesarea Cappadociae. (*B.M. Cat. Galatia*, p. 48 and pl. 8¹⁴).
- B8955**
- i. Spain, civil wars. Evans collection: unique specimen (Mattingly, *Coins of R. Empire*, i, p. 293).
 - ii. Revolt of Civilis. Evans collection: unique specimen (*id.*, p. 308, and pl. 51²⁷).
 - iii. Germany, civil wars, B.M. (*id.*, p. 306 and pl. 51²¹).
 - iv. Revolt of Civilis. Haeblerlin collection: unique specimen (*id.*, pl. 51²⁶).

Miscellanea.

- c3373** School slate inscribed Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη τοῦ βίου τὰ γράμματα (Lamer, *Griech. Kultur*, fig. 122).

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου*, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ου* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαργος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrö.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores. |
| „ | II. | = | „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| „ | III. | = | „ „ aetatis Romanae. |
| „ | IV. | = | „ Argolidis. |
| „ | VII. | = | „ Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| „ | IX. | = | „ Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| „ | XII. | = | „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| „ | XIV. | = | „ Italiae et Siciliae. |

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʰ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF ATTICA

[PLATE I.]

OF all the states in ancient Greece, Attica seems to have had the most interesting and complete system of land defences. A chain of important fortresses, of most of which there are still considerable remains, follows the line of the Kithairon-Parnes range: Eleutherai, Oinoe, Panakton, Phyle, Dekeleia, Aphidna and Rhamnous. It may appear at first that this series of strongholds was designed expressly to mark off Athenian territory, but whilst incidentally and in large measure they served this end, in origin they were intended rather to defend the various roads from Attica into Boeotia. A fresh examination of these forts and their relation to the Attic frontier may be of some service and interest.

The natural boundary of Attica on the N.W. is the mountain ridge which begins on the Halkyonian sea-coast behind Aigosthena and continues almost due eastward to the Straits of Euboea, reaching the sea at Cape Kalamos. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the early tradition made the Megarid and Attica into a single kingdom.¹ Plato,² describing an idealised primitive Attica, gives as the boundaries the Isthmus and the heights of Kithairon and Parnes extending down to the sea, with Oropos on the right and the Asopos on the left. The Homeric catalogue treats the Megarid and Attica as a whole, inhabited by Ionians.³ According to Strabo,⁴ as the result of a number of disputes between Peloponnesians and Ionians concerning the land round Krommyon, a stele was set up at this place, inscribed on the one side, 'This is Peloponnesos, not Ionia,' and on the other, 'This is not Peloponnesos, but Ionia.'⁵ This, if authentic, is an interesting and early example of a boundary stone.

Though the whole ridge of Kithairon and the land south of it would seem to belong physically to Attica, the Kerata range which runs down to the sea opposite Salamis forms quite a definite secondary partition, which accounts for the legend of the division of the early kingdom. The story is told by Strabo,⁶ who quotes from various ancient authors who had written 'Atthides,' or Histories of Attica. King Pandion had four sons, among whom he divided the kingdom. To Nisos fell the part later called the Megarid, and he founded Nisa. A scholiast to Aristophanes⁷ relates the tradition that Pandion,

¹ Strabo, p. 392.

² *Kritias*, 110 D.

³ *Iliad*, ii. 546.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Cp. the inscription on Hadrian's gate at Athens.

⁶ P. 395.

⁷ *Wasps*, 1223.

dividing the land among his sons, gave the hill country or Diakria to Lykos, the part round Athens to Aegeus, the coast district to Pallas, and the Megarid to Nisos. After the Megarid became detached, the other three regions, according to the ancient tradition, became the Solonian divisions, the men of the hills, the men of the plain and the men of the coast. From the legend of the Return of the Herakleidai we gather that, driven from his kingdom of Pylos by the invading Dorians, Melanthos retreated to Attica, and there, as a reward for his valour in fighting Xanthos, king of Boeotia, was created king. During the reign of his son Kodros, the Herakleidai invaded Attica, but met with small success because Kodros sacrificed himself, and on their return journey they conquered the Megarid, which thus became Dorian, and the stele at Krommyon was removed. A new town, Megara, sprang up and the old Nisa was only remembered in the name of the harbour Nisaia. We may presume, therefore, that the Kerata Mountain then became the western boundary of Attica, as it always remained.

At the eastern extremity of the frontier was the district of Oropia, so often a bone of contention between Boeotia and Athens and obviously belonging physically rather to the former than to the latter.

It is certain that the district round Oropos was not originally a part of Attica. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,⁸ dealing with an inscription found at the Amphiaraeum, the important sanctuary in Oropia, claims that the Oropian dialect has Eretrian peculiarities upon a substructure of Boeotian. That it originally belonged to Boeotia is extremely probable. In the Boeotian catalogue of ships⁹ we find mentioned 'Thespeia, Graia and spacious Mykalessos.' This line is quoted by Pausanias,¹⁰ who says Homer meant Tanagra. The explanation he gives is that Poimandros, founder of that town, married Tanagra, daughter of Aiolos, or, according to Korinna, daughter of Asopos, and she, living to a good old age, was fitly called Graia, and the town retained the name after her death. In the deme lists, however, of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., there is mentioned a deme Graia.¹¹ Tanagra was never a deme of Attica, but, as parts at any rate of Oropia became demes, it seems more likely that Graia was somewhere in the district of Oropos near the Asopos. Aristotle is quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus¹² as definitely identifying Graia with Oropos, though he admits that some identified it with Tanagra. Thucydides¹³ says that the Peloponnesians crossed over to 'τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραικὴν, which the Oropians inhabit, subject to Athens.' Some editors for Πειραικὴν read Γραικὴν, a reading, which, if it can be accepted, confirms the suggestion that the Graian land was either at or near Oropos. The connection of Graia with Boeotia, at least in early times, is fairly well established, and if, as seems probable, it was part of Oropia, we have some evidence for the connexion between the latter and Boeotia.

Eretria was during the seventh century B.C. a very important commercial

⁸ *Hermes*, xx. (1886), pp. 91-115.

⁹ *Iliad*, ii. 498.

¹⁰ ix. 20.

¹¹ *Hermes*, loc. cit.

¹² *Sub voc.*

¹³ ii. 23.

city, and seems then to have acquired possession of the district of Oropos.¹⁴ But Eretria soon declined, and Oropia again fell into the hands of Boeotia. About 507 B.C. it became subject to Athens and remained so for a century, after which period it seems to have been constantly changing its condition between independence and dependence upon either Boeotia or Athens.¹⁵

There has been much controversy with regard to the position of Oropos, but it seems most likely that it was situated at Skala Oropou, and not at the modern Oropo. Diodoros¹⁶ states that in 402 B.C. the Thebans moved the Oropians seven stades inland. This was very probably to the site now occupied by the village of Oropo, but the town originally, according to the testimony of Strabo¹⁷ and Pausanias,¹⁸ must have been on the coast.

The general line of the frontier, at least during the period when Oropia belonged to Athens, began about a mile E. of Delion. Modern topographers¹⁹ place Delion at the tiny village of Dilisi on the coast about six miles W. of Skala Oropou. This position accords well with the descriptions of Livy²⁰ and Thucydides,²¹ though Strabo's²² statement that Delion was thirty stades from Aulis does not agree. All things considered, however, Dilisi seems much the most likely position.

Oropia included the mouth of the Asopos and stretched eastwards as far as Cape Kalamos, and included southwards the fertile plain through which the railway now runs to Thebes. We gather from Hypereides²³ that part of it was hill country, so that it probably included the low hills running along behind Oropo and Sykamino. The possession of Oropia was a matter of importance, not only on account of the Amphiaræum, which brought many visitors and hence money and prestige to the district, but because the town of Oropos was a busy port, especially important for the corn trade with Euboea.²⁴

The line of the frontier seems to have continued due S. for some time in the direction of Phyle. Thucydides²⁵ states that Dekeleia was about 120 stades from Athens and not much more from Boeotia. Tatoi being the site of the ancient Dekeleia, a distance of 120 stades (21.6 kilometres) measured along the only possible road from this point to Boeotia, brings us roughly to the tributary of the Asopos, W. of Kako-Salesi. A ravine which runs N. and S. at the western end of the Armenia range probably formed the Athenian border.

Somewhere on the Oropian frontier was the deme of Sphendale. Suidas²⁶ relates the legend that two of the daughters of Erechtheus were sacrificed on the hill called Hyakinthos above Sphendonioi to save their country when an

¹⁴ Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 151.

¹⁵ Frazer, note on *Pausanias*, i. 34, 1.

¹⁶ xiv. 17, 3.

¹⁷ P. 403.

¹⁸ i. 34, 1.

¹⁹ Frazer, *loc. cit.*; Milchhöfer, *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*.

²⁰ xxxv. 51.

²¹ iv. 91 *et seq.*

²² *Loc. cit.*

²³ *pro Euxenippo*, p. 41.

²⁴ Skala Oropou figured in recent history when the late King Constantine made it his port of embarkation on his way to exile in Switzerland in June 1917.

²⁵ vii. 19.

²⁶ *Sub voc.*

army from Boeotia attacked. Sphendonioi is most probably an earlier version of the name Sphendale, of which the *ethnikon* is found in Herodotus.²⁷ Mardonios, hearing that the Greeks were collected together at the Isthmus, marched back to Boeotia through Dekeleia. The Boeotarchs with him 'sent for the neighbours of the Asopians,' and these guided him to Sphendale and thence to Tanagra. No definite proof has ever been found of the position of Sphendale. Milchhöfer²⁸ places it near the Asopos, but it seems better, with Leake,²⁹ to place it somewhere near the modern Malakasa. The former position must have been beyond the original boundary of Attica. The plain through which the railway and the road run contains many ancient remains and great numbers of potsherds. The conspicuous hill called Kotroni just W. of Malakasa may have been the 'Hyacinth Hill' of Herodotus. It is difficult to see, however, why Mardonios needed guides to conduct him to Sphendale. The road, in modern times at least, is perfectly distinct, through Tatoi, past Katsimidi and Hagios Merkourios down into the plain at Malakasa; but as haste was his chief consideration, and as he had friends within call to help him, he was no doubt glad of their assistance in the rather difficult descent down to the plain from the heights of Parnes.

The frontier line next continued almost due S. to the neighbourhood of Phyle, at any rate at some periods of Greek history. It is noticeable that though the distance from the Asopos to Phyle is about twelve miles, there are no fortresses until Phyle is reached. There are the remains of one watch-tower near Limiko, and there may have been others, but no strong defences. The reason simply is that they were not needed. The mountains of the Parnes mass were sufficient defence in themselves, and offered no entrance to an enemy from Boeotia, until the pass guarded by Phyle is reached. This rather difficult but important route was, at least after the affair of Thrasyboulos, efficiently protected by the Athenians.

There must have been a stronghold there in early times. Plutarch³⁰ says that, during the tyranny of Peisistratos, some of his opponents seized Phyle. More than a century later, Thrasyboulos with his exiles, coming from Boeotia, occupied it.³¹ It was again garrisoned by Cassander and subsequently dismantled and handed over to the Athenians by Demetrios Poliorcetes.³²

Phyle was at all times an important strategic position. The walls of the fortress which remain, and are so well preserved, date from the Macedonian period, and consist of regular courses of carefully squared blocks of limestone. They stand, about 9 feet thick and sixteen to twenty courses high (a course being on an average about 19 inches deep), on a small plateau rendered inaccessible by steep rocks on the S. and W. and connected with the mountains to the N. by an easy ridge. The fortress is roughly square and measures about 100 yards diagonally from S.E. to N.W. Three towers remain to a considerable height, one of them, that at the N.E., being round, an unusual feature in

²⁷ ix. 15.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*

²⁹ *Demi of Attica*, p. 123.

³⁰ *Apophthegmata, Peisistratos*.

³¹ Diodoros, xiv. 32.

³² Plutarch, *Demetrios*, p. 23.

Greek fortification. There are openings on the E. and S.E. which were probably gates. The foundations of four buildings have been discovered inside the fort, two possibly for the men, one for stores, and one for a watch-tower, as at Eleutherai.³³ The water must have been brought by an aqueduct from a spring higher up.

The present walls cannot have been those of Thrasyboulos' Phyle, and unless the above-mentioned inner buildings are connected with him, we must admit that nothing has been found that obviously belonged to his stronghold. The French topographers have discovered fifth-century ruins about three-quarters of a mile N.E. of Phyle near by a spring, and suggest these as the remains of Thrasyboulos' citadel.³⁴ The position, however, seems much less likely than that of the later Phyle, for it is somewhat off the direct path to Thebes and has not nearly so commanding a situation as the Macedonian fortress for guarding the road down to Athens. The ruins may have had something to do with the deme of Phyle. Vestiges of a small tower and other buildings at the spring just at the foot of the approach to the well-known Phyle seem to prove that there was a settlement here. With the massive

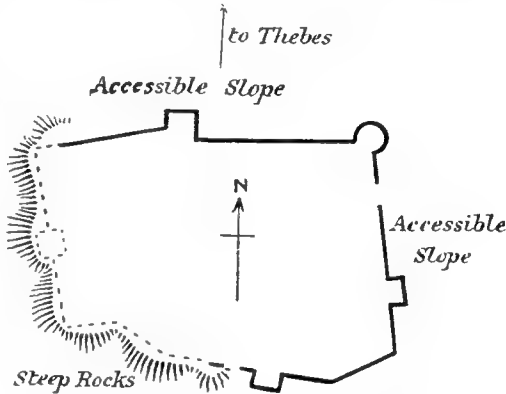


FIG. 1.—SKETCH PLAN OF PHYLE.
(After Leake. About 50 yards = 1 inch.)

fortification walls standing up grey and majestic above the deep ravine, the inhabitants of this upland valley must have felt comparatively secure. Phyle was one of the places of refuge to which the people were to betake themselves when Philip advanced into Phokis.³⁵ The fort itself is so small that it is scarcely conceivable that people as well as soldiers were to occupy it. The refugees must have settled down in the little valley by the stream, ready at a moment's notice to crowd into the citadel if the enemy should come perilously near. Half a mile or so N. along the ridge are the remains of a small ancient tower of doubtful date, obviously an advance signal post. Its position commands the modern path to Thebes. Leake³⁶ saw the remains, no longer visible, of a tower near Chasia, the village about three and a half miles S.E. of Phyle, which very probably represents the old deme of Chastieis. Leake's evidence, however, seems to prove that this important road was defended by an adequate system of watch-towers connecting up with the garrison at Phyle.

We learn from Strabo³⁷ that the Harma and the deme Phyle near it

³³ See *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 10.

³⁴ *Grèce*, Guide Joanne, p. 190.

³⁵ Demosth., *de Corona*, p. 238.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*

³⁷ P. 404.

bordered on Tanagra. The confines of Boeotia were pushed, therefore, in later times at least, a good distance into the heart of the Parnes mass. An examination of the history of Panakton and the land round about it shows that this was true in the fifth century too.

The line of the frontier from Phyle turned west. According to Thucydides,³⁸ as a result of continual territorial disputes, the two states, Boeotia and Athens, had taken oaths that neither should inhabit the land round Panakton, but

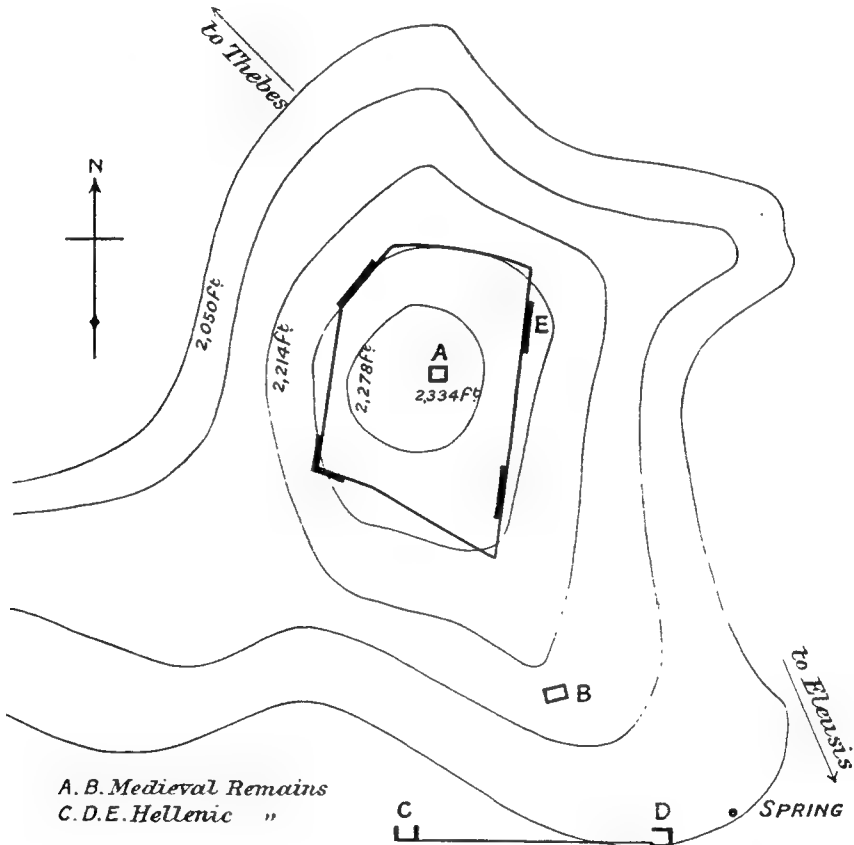


FIG. 2.—SKETCH PLAN OF PANAKTON.
(50 yards = 1 inch.)

they should use it as pasture in common. The cone-shaped hill above the modern village of Kavasala has been identified as in all probability the site of Panakton. It is now a conspicuous landmark, being surmounted by a mediaeval tower. The hill bears distinct traces of a strong fortification, consisting of a small inner circuit about 300 yards in circumference, and S. of this are the remains of two towers with a connecting wall, obviously part of an outer and much larger circuit. The walls are early, possibly of the sixth century. The hill commands the plain of Skourta, through which runs the

³⁸ v. 3, 39-42.

path from Athens and Phyle to Thebes. It is a small upland plain shut in on all sides by mountains and situated at a height of about 1,600 feet above sea-level. It is nowadays very bare, stony, and sparsely inhabited, approached by no high-road, and gives the impression of being quite cut off from the rest of Attica.

Panakton first figures in history when, in 421 B.C., the Boeotians obtained it through treachery, and then, instead of handing it back intact, in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Nikias, destroyed it.³⁹ We know from an inscription⁴⁰ that it was always kept in good repair and strongly garrisoned. It was, along with Phyle, re-garrisoned by Cassander and given back to the Athenians by Demetrios Poliorcetes.⁴¹

Drymos, according to Harpokration,⁴² 'a town between Boeotia and Attica' or, according to Hesychios,⁴³ 'a fortress in Attica,' was obviously

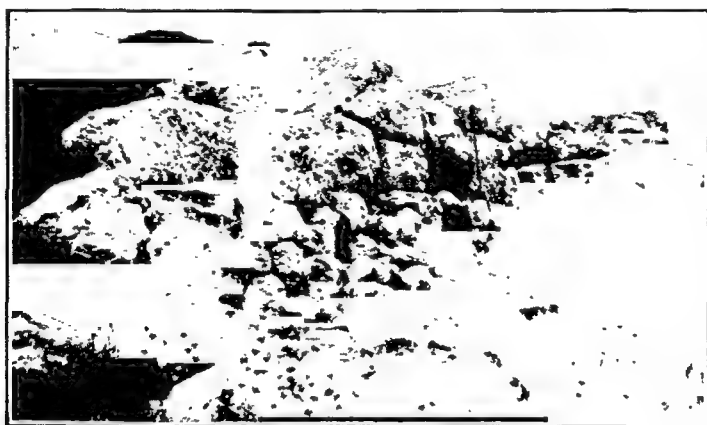


FIG. 3.—PANAKTON: WALL AND TOWER C.

near Panakton. for Demosthenes⁴⁴ says that not only did Philip fail to deliver up Oropos to the Athenians in accordance with the terms of the treaty, but that they had even 'to take up arms in defence of Drymos and the land round Panakton.' In spite of its obvious proximity to an already identified site, it is not possible, for lack of evidence, definitely to determine its position. Hesychios⁴⁵ describes it as 'a thicket wild and uncultivated,' but there is now no thicket in the neighbourhood of Panakton. At the Monastery of Hagios Meletios, a couple of miles or thereabouts W. of Panakton, a copious spring is shaded by several fine plane trees, which make a landmark visible from miles away. This site, however, seems to belong most definitely to Attica and is more likely to be that of Melainai.⁴⁵ Milchhöfer suggests that Darimari at the further end of the Skourta plain may represent Drymos. It never became a deme, though sometimes belonging to Attica. From the

³⁹ Thuc., v. 3. 39.

⁴⁰ *I.G.* ii. 1217.

⁴¹ Plutarch, *Demetrios*, p. 23. 16.

⁴² *Sub voc.*

⁴³ *Sub voc.*

⁴⁴ *De Falsa Leg.*, p. 446 (326).

⁴⁵ See *below*.

Eleusinian inscription ⁴⁶ for the year 329—8 B.C., we learn that the first-fruits offered to the goddess by Drymos were brought not by a demarch but by one of the ten Athenian generals, who was probably in command of the garrison at Panakton. At this time the Athenians were evidently in sole possession of the once common land round Panakton, and so we may conclude that the Attic frontier during the fourth century was advanced considerably nearer the river Asopos.

The next point of interest on the boundary is Melainai. According to the legend, Xanthos the Boeotian fought the Athenian champion Melanthos 'some say over Oinoe and Panakton, others over Melainai.'⁴⁷ The Apatourian festival was popularly believed to commemorate the deceit (*ἀπάτη*) by which Melanthos conquered Xanthos. An Eleusinian inscription ⁴⁸ dating from the beginning of the third century B.C. has *ἐν Πανάκτῳ . . . ὑπὸν τῇ θυσίᾳ*, which, if the letters 'Ἀπατο' be supplied, strengthens the assertion that Panakton and Melainai, with its Apatourian associations, were near neighbours. There are ancient remains on the hill at whose foot the Monastery of Hagios Meletios stands, and the copious spring there is responsible for a very welcome touch of greenness which reminds one of the words of Statius: 'Viridesque Melaenae.'⁴⁹

The place is rarely mentioned in ancient writers, but is known to have been a deme, first of the tribe Antiochis and later of the newly-made Ptolemais.

The above-cited version of the Melanthos story associates the important frontier town of Oinoe with Melainai.

The earliest mention of Oinoe comes from Herodotus,⁵⁰ where we read that the Boeotians seized Hysiai and Oinoe, the furthest demes of Attica, in 507 B.C. That it was an important base for the defence of that part of the frontier towards Boeotia is obvious from Thucydides, who says ⁵¹ that 'the Athenians used it as a garrison in time of war.' It was captured by stratagem and handed over to the Oligarchical party and the Boeotians in 411 B.C.⁵² There was here a famous sanctuary of Pythian Apollo, where sacrifices were offered by Sacred Embassies on the way to Delphi.

There has been much controversy as to the identification of Oinoe, but it seems to accord best with notices in ancient writers to place it at the remains now called Myopolis. Surmelis in his *Attica* says that the place was called Nyopolis in the Middle Ages, which name by its initial 'N' recalls Oinoe more than does Myopolis. There are distinct traces of the circuit wall of the citadel of a small town, rather less than half a mile in circumference and strengthened by towers, of which the four on the north side are best preserved. The walls and towers do not all belong to the same period, nor are they all of the same material. The tower in the middle of the west wall is of limestone, and the masonry of the fifth-century type, while those on the N. are of breccia and probably a century later. The east wall, which abuts on the stream bed, is of

⁴⁶ *I.G.* ii. 5, 834 b.

⁴⁷ Plato, *Scholiast ad Symp.* p. 208 D.

⁴⁸ *I.G.* ii. 5, 614 b.

⁴⁹ *Theb.* xii. 619.

⁵⁰ v. 74.

⁵¹ ii. 18.

⁵² *Thuc.* viii. 98.

the earlier type. The later towers are larger and better preserved. That at the north-east corner, for instance, has a northern façade of about ten metres and stands eleven or twelve courses high. There are many remains of buildings and potsherds lying about.

The most noticeable feature about Oinoe, if the identification be correct, is that, unlike all other Athenian fortresses, it was situated on comparatively level ground. The little ravine to E. of it is only very shallow, and the walls with their towers stand on land no higher than the surrounding fields. In this way, as in the similarity of some of its masonry, it recalls Plataia, which also stands on an almost level site.

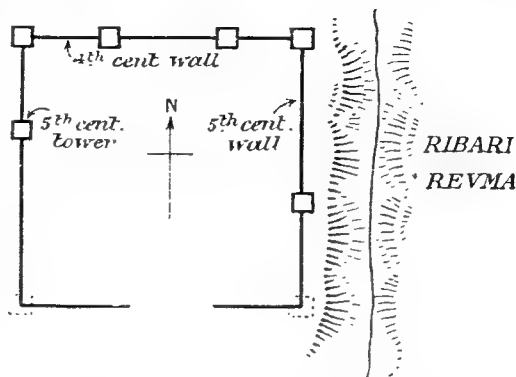


FIG. 4.—SKETCH PLAN OF OINOE (MYOPOLIS).
(100 yards = 1 inch.)

Oinoe had command of a fertile plain sheltered by the long ridge of Mount Kithairon, and watered by springs coming down from the mountain. 'Why,' said one of the monks of Hagios Meletios, 'that must be Oinoe. Look at the wine (*οἶνος*) that comes from round about.'



FIG. 5.—OINOE: TOWER AT N.E. ANGLE.

Not far from Oinoe was the important fortified town of Eleutherai. Pausanias⁵³ says that it was formerly the limit of Boeotia, but latterly joined Athens of its own free will, so that then the ridge of Kithairon became the boundary. Eleutherai never became an Attic deme and seems always to have retained its Boeotian tradition. Polemon⁵⁴ speaks of the Boeotian 'γένος ἐξ

⁵³ i. 38, 8.

⁵⁴ *apud Athenaeum*, xi. 486 D.

'*Ἐλευθερῶν*,' and Apollodoros ⁵⁵ calls it Eleutherai in Boeotia. Strabo ⁵⁶ says some say Eleutherai is in Attica and others in Boeotia. It seems impossible to determine the date of the alliance with Athens. It might be inferred that Eleutherai ceased to belong to Boeotia some time during the sixth century B.C., when a wave of enthusiasm for the cult of Dionysos appears to have swept from Eleutherai to Athens; ⁵⁷ but Herodotus and Thucydides seem to know Oinoe only as an Attic frontier fort in that direction, and surely if Eleutherai had belonged to Athens during the Peloponnesian War it would have played a greater part as a base for attacks over the Dryos Kephalaï pass into Boeotia. More probably it joined Athens during the fourth century.

At Eleutherai, besides a sanctuary of Dionysos, was the famous cave where the sons of Antiope were born, ⁵⁸ and there, according to Euripides, the seven

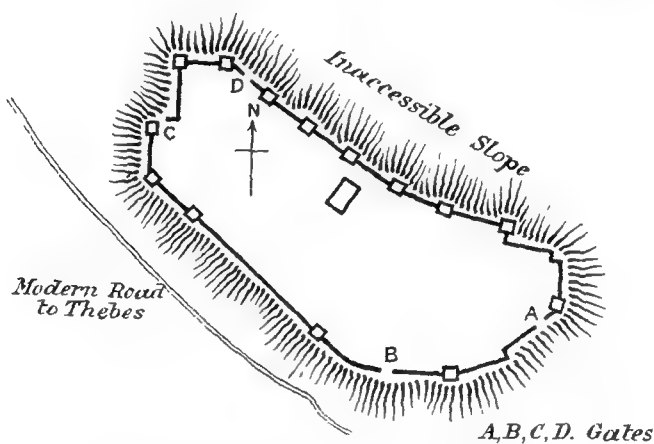


FIG. 6.—ELEUTHERAI (GYPHTOCASTRO).
(After Stanhope. 100 yards = 1 inch.)

chieftains of the 'Seven against Thebes' story were buried. ⁵⁹ It is also interesting as being the birthplace of Myron the sculptor.

It has been taken for granted that the site of Eleutherai is at the modern Gyphtokastro, an impressive ruined fort at the entrance to the pass over Kithairon. Pausanias ⁶⁰ says that Plataia was coterminous with Eleutherai. This could scarcely have been the case if the latter were at Myopolis, for then Oinoe, an Athenian deme, would be between the two, for they were in the same plain ⁶¹ and therefore must have stood at the only two possible sites, Gyphtokastro and Myopolis respectively. Furthermore, it seems impossible that an independent or a Boeotian city could be situated inside the boundary of Attica, which would be the case if Oinoe, which was always a deme, were further W. than Eleutherai. Euripides speaks of the 'shadowing rock' of

⁵⁵ iii. 55.

⁵⁶ P. 412.

⁵⁷ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, v. p. 116.

⁵⁸ Apollodoros, III. v. 5.

⁵⁹ *Suppl.* p. 757.

⁶⁰ ix. 1.

⁶¹ Eurip. *frag.* 179 (Nauck).

Eleutherai, an expression fitting for the steep rocky hill now crowned by the imposing towers of Gyphtokastro, but not to the flat and uninteresting Myopolis.

With the exception of a small inner keep, the walls and towers of Gyphtokastro belong to the fourth century, and there is no evidence that the present circuit replaces an earlier one. But at Myopolis, the suggested Oinoe, there is ample testimony that there was a circuit of walls and towers, at least as early as the fifth century, rebuilt in parts a hundred years or more later. We know from Thucydides ⁶² that Oinoe was an important garrison town during the Peloponnesian War. It seems, therefore, most likely that the remains of Eleutherai are at Gyphtokastro and those of Oinoe at Myopolis.

The fortress of Gyphtokastro is very impressive. Its grey towers stand out well against the dark background of the fir and pine-clad slopes of Kithairon.



FIG. 7.—ELEUTHERAI: PART OF N.E. WALL AND TOWER.

It is splendidly situated, commanding a fairly extensive plain through which passes the most direct and the easiest road from Athens to Thebes.

The area enclosed by the walls is about the same as that of the Athenian Acropolis, an oval about 330 yards long and 120-150 yards broad. The north wall, which is best preserved, has the remains of eight towers, projecting both inwards and outwards from the curtain wall. They had an upper story opening on to the rampart by means of a door, three courses high, in each side-wall of the tower. The lower rooms had a door opening on to the inner city, and in three instances there were staircases leading from the ground level on to the ramparts. The walls and towers of the S. and S.E., which are much less well preserved, stand to a considerably lower level. The walls are about seven feet thick and are built, as was customary, of rather less massive blocks than are the towers. The courses of the latter are 20 or 21 inches deep, the angles are drafted and the joints mostly vertical. To N. and E. is a rugged ravine, while to S. and W. the slope, which leads down to the modern high-

⁶² ii. 18; viii. 98.

road, is much more gentle and is cultivated. There were probably four gates to the Acropolis, on the N., N.W., S. and S.E. A little distance from the north wall, and quite distinct from it, are the remains of a tower of polygonal masonry, nearly 60 feet long and rather more than half as broad. It is considerably earlier in date than the main fortification, and must have belonged to the old Boeotian town of Eleutherai. It was probably kept in use later as an inner keep.

It is difficult to discover anything definite about the Megarid-Attica frontier except at its most southerly point. Philochoros⁶³ says that the kingdom of Nisos, that is, the Megarid, stretched from the Isthmus to the Pythium at Oinoe, but beyond this rather unsatisfactory notice there is nothing in the ancient writers to offer any clue as to the line of this part of the frontier. It no doubt followed the north-west to south-east trend of the mass of mountains which terminate in the Kerata range. As in the mountains N. of Phyle, there are no remains of fortresses. There are remains of one watch-tower and traces of an ancient road near the railway and the coast, a couple of miles or so within the Athenian border, and of another tower further N.W. near the Kandili Pass, but these were signal and observation posts rather than strong fortresses, for the passes are so narrow that a few men could easily block and defend them.

The torrent Iapis formed the southern part of the boundary between the Megarid and Attica. Scylax in his *Periplus* calls it Apis, but there can be no doubt as to its identification. In 409 B.C., after the recapture of Nisaia by the Megarians, the Athenians tried unsuccessfully to retake it, but inflicted on the Megarians a severe defeat at the Kerata range.⁶⁴ The mountain takes its name from the twin peaks, which resemble a pair of short horns and make it a very conspicuous landmark. Plutarch,⁶⁵ quoting Akestodoros, says that Xerxes sat upon Mount Kerata to watch the battle of Salamis. This, of course, is not the generally accepted version, but doubtless became a popular story because one of the peaks of the mountain roughly resembles a large chair.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Iapis torrent was situated the 'Orgas' or Sacred Plain, which occasioned some serious disputes between the Athenians and Megarians. As was mentioned above, in both the fifth and fourth centuries, the Athenians accused their neighbours of working the Sacred Plain. The first of these offences was followed up by the Megarian decree, which was the spark which kindled the conflagration of the Peloponnesian War. Photius⁶⁶ says that 'Orgas' was the name given by the Athenians to the land dedicated to the two goddesses, between Attica and the Megarid. Harpokration⁶⁷ says that bushy mountainous untilled country is called 'ὄργας.' 'Hence the Megarian "ὄργας" was so called, being of such a nature, concerning which the Athenians fought with the Megarians.' It seems quite possible that the small stretch of land between the Iapis torrent and the Kerata mountain was the neutral Sacred Plain, and therefore that the mountain formed the boundary of Attica, and the torrent that of the Megarid.

⁶³ *Ap. Strab.* p. 393.

⁶⁴ *Diodoros*, xiii. 65.

⁶⁵ *Themistocles*, 13.

⁶⁶ *Bibliotheca*, 534a, 12 et seq.

⁶⁷ *Sub voc.*

The political frontier of Attica, we have seen, followed almost always the natural boundary, the Kithairon-Parnes range. Often, however, the Athenians, by a military success, acquired a strategically important outpost. The history of Hysiai illustrates this point. About 509-8 B.C. the Athenians acquired a footing in Boeotia, by seizing Hysiai, a town on the northern slope of Kithairon, not far from Plataia. Herodotus⁶⁸ calls it a deme, but there is no other evidence to support this statement and probability is against it. The town was captured by the Boeotians along with Oinoe in 506 B.C. At the same time, the Athenians won Oropos and a part of the Lelantine plain in Euboea. In 457 B.C. they obtained, by the victory of Oinophyta, a temporary mastery over the whole of Boeotia except Thebes, and Megara became subject to Athens. While the Athenians held Megara they made good use of the important ports of Pagai and Nisaia, which they fortified with long walls.⁶⁹ Boeotia was lost by the battle of Koroneia in 447 B.C., and Megara revolted at the same time, leaving only Nisaia and Pagai in Athenian hands, but they were surrendered as one of the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace in 445 B.C. The loss of Megara was a serious blow to the Athenians, for with it they lost command of the entrance through the isthmus into Northern Greece. Euboea, having recently been subjugated, still remained to Athens. In 427 B.C., Nisaia was recovered by a clever stratagem and held until 409 B.C.⁷⁰ Euboea revolted in 411 B.C., thus cutting off supplies from Athens at a time when she was in the greatest straits. The island joined Athens again in her second Confederacy of 378-7 B.C., but revolted about thirty years later. After this date there was little or no change in the extent of Athenian territory save in the possession or loss of Oropos, which seems to have been constantly changing hands.

The most direct route from Megara was along the coast. The road was easily defended and has the remains of only one small tower until it reaches Eleusis, where it met the roads from the N.W. There are but scanty traces of the fortifications of Eleusis on the long low hill which runs along the coast W. of the sanctuary of Demeter, and is marked by a mediaeval tower. The town was important as a stronghold and was used as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of north-west Attica who were too far distant to take shelter in Athens itself.⁷¹ Kleomenes occupied it with a large force at the same time as the Boeotians seized Oinoe and Hysiai. It was one of the garrison towns or bases of Attica, of particularly vital importance because it stood on the main roads to both Megara and Boeotia, and was furnished with a system of advance watch and signal towers on all three landward sides.

The modern highway to Thebes from Eleusis winds in a north-westerly direction through most attractive hill country. It seems likely that this was not the main way in classical times. A track strikes due N. from Eleusis through the olive grove, perhaps the site of the Sacred Rarian Plain. About five miles away it enters a rather narrow valley and is defended by two fortresses, Palaiochori and Plakoto. The more northerly one, Palaiochori,

⁶⁸ v. 74.

⁶⁹ Thuc. i. 103.

⁷⁰ Thuc. iv. 66 *et seq.*

⁷¹ Demosth., *de Corona*, p. 238.

stands about 600 feet higher than the track on the summit of a cone-shaped hill. It is only roughly constructed. The walls, between two and three yards thick, still standing to a height of four to six feet, are built of rough blocks of undressed limestone obviously quarried in the immediate neighbourhood. There is no regular coursing, and the stones are of varying sizes up to a yard long, with no mortar in between. The diameter is about ten yards. The



FIG. 8.—PALAIOCHORI: PART OF CIRCUIT WALL.

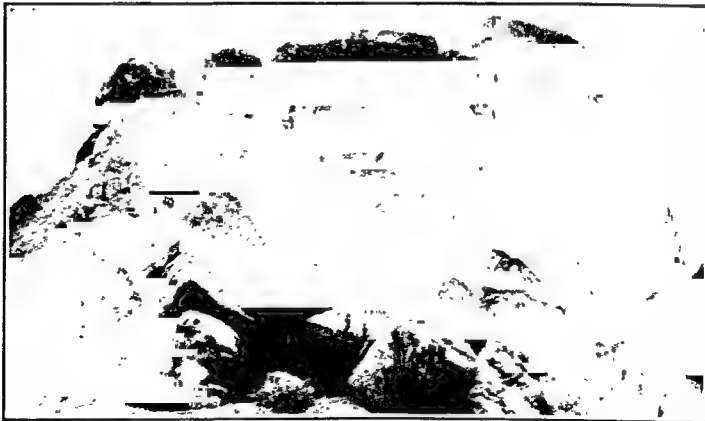


FIG. 9.—PLAKOTO: ROUND TOWER.

entrance, rather more than a yard wide, is to the W., but there are no traces of door posts or lintel. The fortress had no roof, but was merely a rough place of shelter commanding the Saranda Potamos valley.

Opposite Palaiochori, on the eastern end of a low ridge, the northern slope of which is almost sheer and the southern more gradual, are the remains of a fortification now called Plakoto. There is a rectangle, measuring about 40×24 yards, of rough limestone walls similar to those of Palaiochori, but built of blocks of still more varying sizes. Outside this are the remains of a larger

circuit of similar ancient walls, and inside, rather to the N.W., is a small round tower about five yards in diameter and built of more regular blocks. It looks like early fourth-century work, except that it is not so carefully constructed as most of the work of that period. The two forts are apparently not mentioned in classical writers and were, it may be presumed, of only secondary importance in the Attic system of defences.

A very short distance beyond the wayside inn which stands in the dale here, the river-bed turns W. The road to Thebes presumably followed its course for about three miles and then headed N.W. in the direction of Oinoe. About four miles from Palaiochori there are traces of an ancient road and of a watch-tower. A very rough and difficult path, keeping almost due N. of Palaiochori, brings one to Panakton.

For north-west Attica, Oinoe served as garrison town and military base. Of its outpost signal towers, one still stands well preserved near the tiny village of Masi, just by the modern high-road. It stands at one angle to its full height of thirty-one courses. The first three, of limestone, are older than the rest, dating probably from the fifth century. Above that the blocks are of breccia, like the later parts at Oinoe, and may belong to the Macedonian period. The bonding is regular. The tower had several stories and was about nine yards square.

Passing eastward, the next route from Athens to Boeotia is that guarded by Phyle and its outposts, and further along by Panakton. The best way of following this road is to go through the modern villages of Epano-Liosia and Chasia. It has been shown above that this way was well guarded. But Mount Parnes has other tracks which might be used by anyone knowing them well. About 510 B.C. the exiled Alkmaionidai, in an attempt to regain Athens, fortified Leipsydrión on Parnes above Paionia.⁷² Paionia is identified by Frazer and Milchhöfer with Menidi. Three miles N. of Menidi on the hill now called Karagufolesa are the remains of a fort which was in all probability Leipsydrión. It has an excellent command over the Attic plain, is as dry and waterless as the ancient name would indicate, and from it there leads a track through the wilds of Parnes to the Plain of Skourta and so into Boeotia. The fortress is a moderately large, almost square enclosure with steep rocks on the W. The walls, which stand to a height of not more than four feet, are of the type used at Nisaia and Palaiochori, roughly constructed of undressed blocks of limestone. The entrance was on the south side. Leipsydrión is never again mentioned in Athenian history, but was quite probably used later as one of the city's outer defences.

An important road to North Attica and Boeotia lay through Dekeleia. It was by this way that Mardonios hastened back after occupying Athens and the Attic plain, to meet the Greek host at Plataia in 479 B.C. The fortress of Dekeleia was very important to the Athenians, commanding as it did the Attic plain and the busy road to Oropos, and its occupation by the Lakedaimonians at the instigation of Alkibiades in 413 B.C. contributed in no small measure to the ultimate downfall of the Athenian Empire.⁷³

⁷² Herod., v. 62; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* p. 19 (ed. Kenyon).

⁷³ Thuc., vii. 19.

Dekeleia was one of the twelve early Attic townships, dating from before the time of Theseus.⁷⁴ It must have been fortified by the Athenians long before 413 B.C., for they would scarcely have left so vital a position unguarded. When Agis and his army occupied it, they built it afresh, probably on a larger scale; for he had a considerable force with him, and the account in Thucydides seems to imply elaborate and carefully arranged work.

Recent excavations at Tatoi, now well known as the Royal Estate, have given ample evidence that here was the ancient deme of Dekeleia. The fortress was almost certainly situated on a low conical hill about a mile to the S. of the Royal Palace, and now bearing the Royal Cemetery and Chapel. The modern name of Palaiokastros helps to justify the attribution. We have the evidence of Frazer,⁷⁵ Milchhöfer⁷⁶ and Vassos⁷⁷ that a definite circuit of strong walls can still be traced almost the whole way round following the contour of the hill. They measure about 800 metres in circumference. The fort was therefore similar in size to Eleutherai and the Athenian Acropolis.

The modern road follows very closely the line of the old. Traces of the ancient way have been found for several miles in the neighbourhood of Tatoi. About two miles N. of the village it passes through a gap in Mount Parnes, which is conspicuous from Athens. Here on the steep hill Katsimidi, which rises about 600 feet high to the W. of the roadway, are ruins of a small but strong fortress. It has been suggested that this is the ancient Dekeleia,⁷⁸ but it is far too small to have been occupied by a large Lakedaimonian army. Furthermore, Thucydides' statement that Dekeleia was 120 stades (about $13\frac{3}{4}$ miles or 21.6 kilometres) distant from Athens accords much better with the position of Palaiokastros than with that of Katsimidi. The polygonal masonry, too, of the latter seems to date from a period earlier than the Peloponnesian War.

More important, however, than argument as to whether the Lakedaimonians built Palaiokastros or Katsimidi is the fact that Dekeleia was a fortified deme and that both fortresses were part of the defensive system. The more northerly one must have been an excellent outpost guarding the narrowest part of the pass, and the larger one to the S., a stronghold whence a considerable force could watch the Attic plain. The sheltered basin between the two, shut in almost all round by mountains, would form a safe and convenient base for an army of occupation.

Probably more used than the road through Dekeleia was the lower one by Aphidna, the route followed by the modern railway line. The Pseudo-Dikaiarchos says it had many good inns, a feature which it has completely lost. It was the way by which the Athenian corn supplies were brought from Euboea, and when, owing to the occupation of Dekeleia by Agis, the Athenians were no longer able to use this road, they were severely handicapped. The large fortress which guarded it was at Aphidna. This has been identified with the

⁷⁴ Philochoros ap. Strab. p. 397.

⁷⁵ Note on Pausanias, iii. 8, 6.

⁷⁶ *Karten von Attika, Erl. Text.*

⁷⁷ *Athenaion*, iii. 1874, p. 126.

⁷⁸ Leake, *Demi*, seems to infer this identification.

low conical hill now called Kotroni, which rises conspicuously from an undulating plain about five miles N.W. of Marathon and six miles N.E. of Dekeleia.⁷⁹ The line of the walls is too faint to be traced now, but we have evidence that there was a circuit about 200 yards long by 100 yards across. No date can be attached to them.⁸⁰

Aphidna was very important all through Attic history. Mycenaean potsherds on the site prove that it was inhabited in prehistoric days, and according to the legend Theseus carried off Helen thither. Her brothers, coming to rescue her, were told her place of concealment by the people of Dekeleia.⁸¹ It was one of the early townships of Attica, and in historical times one of the

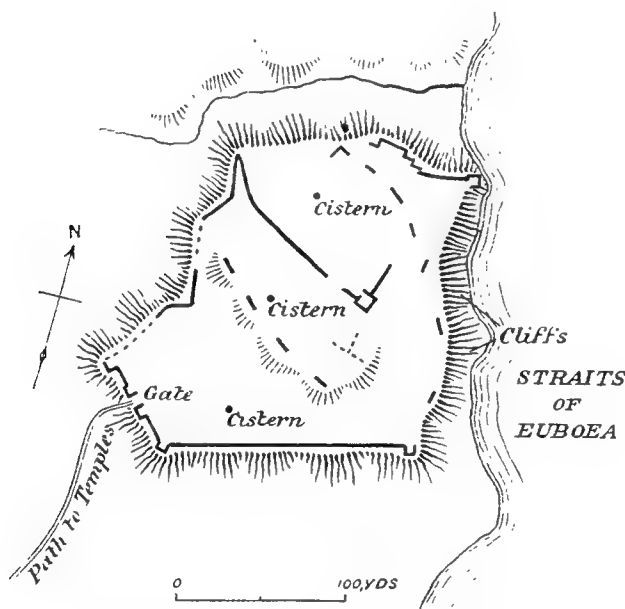


FIG. 10.—SKETCH PLAN OF RHAMNOUS.
(After Schneider.)

places of refuge for those who lived more than 120 stades from Athens.⁸² This testifies to its importance and strength as a fortified town.

About four miles N.W. of Aphidna, on the high hill of Beletsi which rises behind the village of Kiourka, Winterberger⁸³ places another fortress, which I was not able to visit. The situation is a fine one, commanding both the Dekeleia and the Aphidna roads. It was obviously, like the tower at Katsimidi, an advance fort from which news of the approach of an enemy would be signalled to the garrisons at Dekeleia and Aphidna.

Eleutherai, Oinoe, Panakton, Phyle, Dekeleia and Aphidna, with their advance posts and watch-towers, must have provided an efficient protection

⁷⁹ G. Finlay, 'On the Position of Aphidna,' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1839.

⁸⁰ S. Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* xxi. 385.

J.H.S.—VOL. XLVI.

⁸¹ Herod. ix. 73.

⁸² Demosth., *de Corona*, p. 238.

⁸³ *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 122.

for the chief roads into Attica, but there remains the strip of coast-land between the Amphiaræum and Marathon which, if left unguarded, might offer an easy landing-place for an enemy force. This district also, when Oropos did not belong to Athens, came very close to the Boeotian frontier. The Acropolis of Rhamnous completed the chain of the Athenian frontier defences, and, with its various watch-towers, guarded north-east Attica. It was an important deme, famous for its temples, of which the foundations remain, and was another of the places of refuge for the peasants in time of danger.

Rhamnous, now Ovrío-Kastro, is a lonely and picturesque spot about six miles N.E. of Marathon, and is most easily reached by way of the Limiko valley. The Acropolis is a fair-sized hill situated by the sea-coast, the most accessible slope being on the S.W. At this point, therefore, the artificial protection was much stronger than on the N. and E. sides, which are rendered



FIG. 11.—TOWER AT VARNAVA.

more secure by steep rocks. The best preserved part of the fortress is that by the gate to the S.W., from which an easy path leads along a ridge to the temples some ten minutes or so away. The gate is flanked by two towers, of which the larger on the E. projects further forward than the other. The circuit of walls is roughly 200 yards square, though on the W. it zigzags to follow the configuration of the ground. The stretch of wall from the south-west gate to the sea is fairly well preserved, in some places to a height of 13 feet. In the most perfect part of this south wall are two rectangular openings, apparently to carry a water conduit.⁸¹ Of the east wall little remains. The north wall is continued eastwards toward the shore to prevent an enemy from climbing up the large boulders there. The masonry of this outer circuit resembles that of Eleutherai. The blocks are carefully laid in horizontal courses, with neatly fitted vertical joints, drafted angles and with the outer surfaces bulging. It may be dated probably not earlier than the first half of the fourth century B.C.

⁸¹ G. J. Schneider in *Berl. Philolog. Wochenschr.* 1884, p. 1306.

On the highest part of the Acropolis (the N.W.) are the remains of a smaller and older enclosure of polygonal masonry. The blocks are of very uneven sizes, small ones being used to fill in the interstices. This inner circuit, which has a tower at its south-east angle and measures about 100×50 yards, must have enclosed the Acropolis of sixth-century Rhamnous. Schneider counts in the whole fortress the remains of ten towers. Between the old polygonal and the fourth-century walls, he says there are undoubted traces of another, perhaps a third fortification or a terrace wall. There are many remains of houses in the Acropolis, of a theatre and other public buildings, and three cisterns. There is now not a drop of water anywhere about the site. Probably the Rhamnousians had their supply conveyed from a spring near the modern village of Grammatiko.⁸⁵

There were several watch-towers round about Rhamnous. At the little haven of Hagia Marina, about four miles S.E. of the fortress, are remains of a round tower.⁸⁶ In antiquity a road that ran N.W. must have run from Rhamnous in the direction of the modern villages Grammatiko and Varnava, to Kalamos and so on to Oropos. Near Varnava there are two well-preserved towers. The westerly one is mediaeval, with ancient blocks built in. The other, a finely preserved specimen of a small Hellenic tower, stands to a height of eleven courses. It measures 7 yards square and the walls are about 27 inches thick. The doorway in the south wall was a yard wide, though the opening is larger now, since one of the blocks which supported the lintel has gone. There is a small opening, perhaps a window, about 18 inches square on the east side, in the third course from the ground. The courses are more or less regular, but polygonal blocks occur. The walls seem to have been disturbed by earthquakes. The angles are drafted, and the date is most probably the same as that of the outer wall at Rhamnous, namely, the early fourth century. The tower does not command a particularly good view. We must therefore suppose it to have been built to watch the road to Oropos.

About three miles N. of Varnava, on a bleak hillock, are vestiges of what must have been a well-fortified town. The site is now occupied by a church of Hagia Paraskevi. The north wall, which stands in two places three or four courses high, can be traced for almost 24 yards. Near the north-east corner, inside the wall, is a cistern, a fact which strengthens the probability that we have here the remains of a fortress. The blocks are large, nearly all rectangular with bulging surfaces, and date probably from the late fifth century. From the wall a good view over Kalamos is obtained. There is no evidence as to its name in classical times, but it was doubtless a fortified deme, very useful to Athens by virtue of its position on the border of Oropia.

A survey of the defences of Attica would not be complete without mention of an interesting wall which runs along the watershed between the Eleusinian and Attic plains, about two miles W. of Epáno Liosia. It runs across the pass almost unbroken for over three miles, and was obviously intended as a defence against Eleusis. A series of towers on Mount Aigaleos to the southward con-

⁸⁵ Schneider, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁶ Milchhofer, *Karten von Attika*, *Erl. Text.*

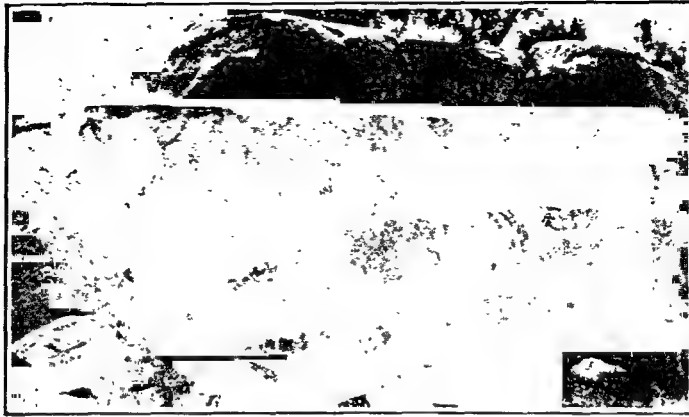


FIG. 12.—MASONRY AT HAGIA PARASKEVI.



FIG. 13.—THE WALL NEAR EPANO LIOSIA.



FIG. 14.—DETAIL OF WALL NEAR EPANO LIOSIA, SHOWING GATEWAY.

tinued the line. The wall is built of rough polygonal blocks of limestone, with small stones filling in the interstices. It still stands to a height of about 7 feet and is 6 feet thick. There are no towers, but at unequal distances apart a number of gateways, so constructed that the inner face of one piece of the wall projects a little way out in front of the outer face of the other piece. The rampart is apparently of early date, but it is impossible to say on what particular occasion it was built. It must have had some connexion with the old rivalry between Eleusis and Athens in the very early days when the former was a separate kingdom.

The examination of the fortifications of Attica has shown that there was a definite system of defence. The aim apparently was to have on each important road a strong town or fortress which could be used both for a permanent garrison and base for offensive warfare, and as a place of refuge for the country people. Such were Eleusis, Oinoe, Phyle, Aphidna and Rhamnous. Eleutherai, Panakton and Dekeleia, though they are not mentioned as places of refuge, were, especially the last, almost equally important. Next came the smaller forts, built in advance of the others. Such were Katsimidi, Beletsi and perhaps that at Hagia Paraskevi near Kalamos. The system was completed by the very numerous small watch-towers which guarded the roads not only beyond the large fortresses, but also as they approached Athens. Of such towers, the best surviving examples are to be found at ~~Mesi~~ and Varnava.

LILIAN CHANDLER.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM NEO-PHRYGIARUM III

I HAVE deferred the publication of ten new Neo-Phrygian inscriptions discovered in 1912 and 1913, and of my revisions of some of the known texts, in the hope that further revision might be practicable. Careful revision of more of the texts, *e.g.* Nos. VI, XII, XV, XXV, XLVIII, is essential to a definitive publication of these inscriptions. Such publication should be accompanied by a discussion of the date of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, and by a map showing their distribution in relation to the Imperial estates and their bearing on the boundaries of Galatic Phrygia. A provisional discussion of these and other points has appeared in the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, No. X. p. 25 ff. The present paper is another provisional instalment, called for by the publication of Professor Sayce's paper on p. 29 of this issue of the *Journal*. I have continued the numbering adopted in *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 161 ff. and 1913. p. 97 ff.; it should be observed that the collection includes several Greek inscriptions. Among the inscriptions first published by myself, Nos. LII and LXVI are in Greek; the second contains at most a Phrygian dative form; the former should be transcribed (ll. 4 ff.) $\pi(\rho\omega\tau)\sigma\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\varsigma \text{ Παρεθθ}(\omega)\nu \text{ Τοη } \text{Ὀρονδίω εὐχῆν}$. The village was probably Παρεθθα , Βαρεττα , or Βαρδαεττα (Dedeler): see Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 250 f.

Bechtel, *Griech. Dialektinschr.*, III. *ad fin.*, quotes me for the date of the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions, and R. Meister for the division $\alpha\tau \text{ Τιαδ ειτου}$. Meister, who proposed this division in *I.F.* 1909, p. 318, abandoned it in favour of my division Αττι αδειτου in *Xenia Nicolaitana*, p. 169. My view regarding the date of the inscriptions, based on a personal inspection of the great majority of the monuments, is that they all belong to the latter half of the third century, and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association. See *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, No. X. p. 30 f., and *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 1924, p. 352. The only dated text (No. XXIX) bears the date A.D. 259.

The new texts are useful for their evidence on the distribution of Phrygian speakers; they throw little fresh light on the language, and call for little modification of the divisions and interpretations proposed by Ramsay and myself.

LXXIII. Günük, about two miles N. of Felleli (territory of Augustopolis) (C. 1912). On a doorstone in the wall of the *oda*. Letters worn.

$\text{Βάβεις Ἀμμωνίου θυγάτηρ Νουνα<συ>σύνβ[ιο]ν κὲ [ἐαυτῇ]}$
 $\text{ιος νι σεμον κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ αιγι σας ΜΔΥΕΙ} \quad [\mu\epsilon \delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$
 $\text{ζεμελως τι επιττετικμενος ειτου}$

The right-hand border of the doorstone is cut away; the Greek inscription was extended on to it (ἐαυτῇ), and doubtless so was the curse-formula (με δεως). In l. 2, I looked for *μανκα* or *μανκας*, but the traces do not suit this word. The reading *αινι* is hardly in doubt.

LXXIV. Bayat (c. 1912). Above the triangular pediment of a doorstone. Only . . . *μενος ειτο*[ν has survived.

LXXV. Sary Kaya, under Ala Dagħ in the centre of the Axylon (R. and C., 1912). On the base of a *bomos*, broken at the top and on the right. A Greek inscription may have been carved on the lost portion of the *bomos*. It is impossible to say how many letters were lost on the r. of l. 1.

*ιος κακον αββερετορ κνουμανει αινι [μανκαι ? δεως
ζεμελως ιτ επιττετικμενος ειτου*

In l. 2, *ιτ* is doubtless a mistake for *τι*; cf. No. XXV.

LXXVI. Kelhassan (R. and C., 1912). On a doorstone. Above, in an arched pediment, woman, child and man, standing. The panels of the door are decorated with (1) comb and keyhole-plate; (2) table; (3) tripod supporting two-handled basin, under it a pitcher with one handle; (4) spindle and distaff, boss, and crescent.

*Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Μήτ-
ρα υ[ι]ῷ μνήμης χάριν.
ιος νι σεμιν τ(ου) κνουμανει κακουν
αδδακετ τιττετικμενος Αττι αδει-
του ακκεοι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρερουν ει-
του γεγρειμεναν κ(ε) ε-
γεδου
τιος
ου-
τα-
ν*

Three separate calamities are invoked on the violator of this tomb, all of which are familiar. With *ακκεοι βεκος κτλ*, cf. No. XXXIII; here the spelling is not *δρεγρουν* but *δρερουν*. With *γεγρειμεναν κτλ* cf. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, etc., and *οἴσει τὸ ὠρισμένον πρόστειμον* in Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, I, p. 391, No. 256.

LXXVII. Kelhassan (R. and C., 1912). On a stele (over 6 feet high) broken at the top. Below the inscription, a tripod supporting a cooking-pot, a spindle and distaff, and a wool-basket on a table. The cross carved at the end of this inscription is a later addition.

*[ιος νι σεμουι]
[του κνουμα]
ν]ει κακ[ου]ν αδ-
δακετ τιττετι
κμενος Αττι α-
δειτου+*

LXXVIII. Kandil (C., 1913). On a stele or doorstone. Above the inscription a wool-basket and spindle and distaff. Below the inscription a lock and knocker. The stone is broken at the top, and may have contained a Greek epitaph.

ιος σεμουν [κ]νουμανε κα-
κουν αδ[δ]ακετ [τ]ετικμε[νο];
ει[τ]ο[υ] 7 ΛΟ

LXXIX. Kozanly (R. and C., 1912). Below the inscription published in *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 121, No. 123; cf. *C. R.* 1911, p. 140. Ramsay and I uncovered the stone completely, and recovered the following fragment of Phrygian.

ιος σεμουν
κνο]υμανει κα-
κου]υ αδδακετ
?κ(ε) αββ]ερετορ?
5 ΕΜΕΡΗ
ΟΡΒΟΥΝ
ΤΟCΤΥ·
γεγ]αριτμ-
[ενος]

In l. 4 the copy has ΕΡΕΤΟΙ. At the end of l. 7 one letter may be lost.

Comparing the end of this formula with XXXIII, γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους (cf. XXXVI) and with XVIII (με τοτος Σευγισαρναν) we may perhaps conjecture that τος τυ[τευς] should be restored before γεγαριτμενος. For this form compare the following inscription, copied at Modanly (R. and C., 1912), on a stele. ζῶσα καὶ ἀνδρὶ Βαση καὶ νύῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Λόνγος καὶ Πεντόμενος καὶ Μάνης ἰδίῳ <ιω> ἀδελφῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνέστησαν μνήμης χάριν. τίς δὲ τούτους ἠδίκησε ἐνκεχαρισμένος ἦτω εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ νέκυια.¹

The formula ἐνκεχαρισμένος κτλ, which, so far as I know, occurs only here, must be the Greek rendering of the local Phrygian expression γεγαριτμενος κτλ (Nos. XXXIII, XXXVI, and the present inscription). Is γεγαριτμενος simply κεχαρισμένος borrowed and dressed in a Phrygian disguise, or is it a genuine Phrygian word? If the rendering is exact, αιβαταν τευτους must correspond to εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ νέκυια.

LXXX. Cemetery N. of Charbashly Yaila, N. of Ala Dagħ (R. and C., 1912; C., 1913). On the two top panels of a doorstone, the top of which is lost. Very rude engraving.

¹ In Πεντόμενος τ, not γ, is certain. In the last word, the third last letter is 'possibly C but probably Ε.' Between the two parts of the inscription is a space occupied by a table supporting spindle

and distaff, wool-basket, and mirror, and a tripod supporting two cooking-pots, with a two-handled amphora beneath it. The stele is broken at the top.

ιος σεμο]υν κνου-
 μανει] κακουν
 α]δδακετ τιτ-
 ετ]ικμ[ενος Ατ]τι αδ-
 ειτου

LXXXI. Cheshmeli Zebir (C., 1913). On a stele representing a distyle temple in front view, with a round arched pediment. In the pediment two female busts, two sets of spindle and distaff, wool-basket, and crescent. Broken below; the bait of a large reward failed to produce the lower part of the stone.

Ὁρέστης καὶ Δουδης (leaf) καὶ
 Δαδα (leaf) Δαδα τῇ ἐαν-
 τῶν θυγατρὶ καὶ Δαδα ἐαν-
 τῇ ζώσῃ μνημ[ης χάριν.
 ιος κν[ουμανει κτλ.

LXXXII. Piribeyli (C., 1913). On a round pillar cut flat to receive the inscription. Copy, photograph, and impression. Published *Rev. de Phil.*, 1922, p. 123. The Greek inscription is a metrical epitaph. I reproduce the curse-formula, which is complete.

ιος νι σα του μανκα κακουνι αδ-
 δακετ τιτετικμενος ειτου

See my note in *Rev. de Phil.*, loc. cit.

I hesitate to number the following inscription as one of the present series.

Gozlu (C., 1913). On a rough stele, rounded at the top. Above the inscription, four arches. On the borders r. and l. a curved pattern is incised. The text (cut between incised lines) is complete and certain.

+ υος ανηρ βεννευ
 αμιδεα δωματα ν-
 ινυ Ευγένιος Σύρου
 μεγαλίστορος ἀγλα-
 ὸς υἱὸς σὺν υἱόχῳ
 δευτέρῳ κεκλημένῳ
 τοῦνομα Θέκλα ὃς
 κὲ τίθλον ἔδιμεν τὸ
 γὰρ γέρας ἐστι θα-
 νόντων

Α†ω

The first hexameter in this metrical epitaph *may* be based on a Phrygian formula; if so, it is the only trace of the use of the Phrygian language in the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia. Professor Holl (*Hermes*, 1908, p. 248) shows that Phrygian was a pulpit language as late as the fifth century. The

Latin cross with ΑΩ incised on either side of it places this inscription not earlier than the fifth century. The first letter is possibly Ι but Υ is more probable. With *βεννεν* cf. *Zeὺs Benneús* (*benna*, 'a car') and the proper name *Bénnios* in the following inscription from Yokary Aghyz Achyk (see *J.H.S.* 1899, p. 306) (C., 1913): *Βέννιος Μάμμη γυναικὶ μνήμης ἔθηκεν*.

A fragment of Old Phrygian is appended (C., 1913). In the *dere* below (S. of) the 'Midas City'; the stone is an architectural fragment which has fallen down from the 'City.'

The stone is complete at both ends, but on the right the surface is damaged; there is room for one letter here. On the left, the first sign goes right to the



FIG. 1.—OLD PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION.

edge of the stone, and was part of a letter carved over the joining of two stones. On this side the bottom of the stone protrudes beyond the top. The lower sign on the left-hand edge may be part of the first letter, or a flaw in the stone.

I append some notes on the text of inscriptions already published. In this section 'Rev. C.' is to be understood as implying that in each case the printed version was compared with the stone, and each letter carefully examined. The numbers are those of *Corpus Inscr. Neo-Phryg.* I.

VII. Afium Kara Hissar (Rev. C., 1912). My copy confirms earlier copies, and adds the detail that the letter in front of ΕΝ in l. 2 was probably Α. The restoration *αδδακ]εν* must therefore be abandoned.

IX. Ishiklar (Rev. C., 1912). Impression.

My copy confirms Ramsay's, except in the following points. In l. 2, I read ΚΙΝΟΜΟ; in l. 3, ΟΠΕΕΤΑΜ; in ll. 4 and 7, *Nevveria* without doubt. In l. 1, Υ is almost certainly the first letter; read °Υς. In l. 3, *εταμ* is doubtless an engraver's error for *σταμ*; but *οπε* for *οτε* antiquates the view expressed in *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 169.

XIV. Khosref Pasha Khan (Rev. C., 1913). Copy, photograph and impression.

In ll. 8 and 9 there is no doubt about the reading ΜΑC. In line 10 the stone has CΤΙΑCΝ; the engraver began to carve the ΤΟΥ of *ειτου*, and corrected to ΤΙΑΝ. Read *Μας τιτετικμενος Αστιαν* [ειτ]ου.

XVIII. Bayat (Rev. C., 1912). Fig. 2.

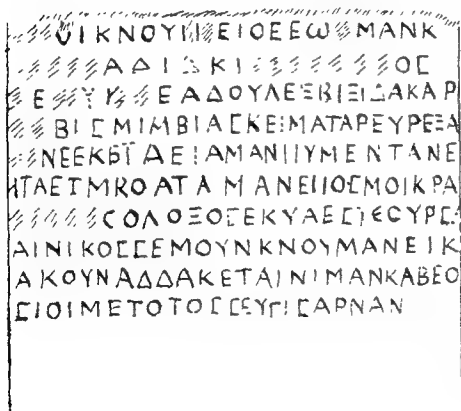


FIG. 2.—INSCRIPTION FROM BAYAT.

This inscription is cut on a plain stele. I scraped off the mortar which covered the upper part of the inscription (already faint), and recovered the following text. In regard to the last three lines, copied by Ramsay, I thought that the letter after *μανκα* was most probably B, and felt no doubt regarding *σενγισαρναν*.

The following notes were made on the text. In l. 5, the fifth surviving letter is E or B; the seventh A or Δ: one or two letters are lost at the beginning of this line. In l. 7, the fourth (or fifth?) letter from the end is Θ, E, or C.

The seven surviving lines above the curse-formula were clearly the Phrygian dedication of the tomb (cf. Nos. IX, XV, etc.). In line 4, perhaps read *πρι]βις Μιμβιας κε ματαρ Ευρεξα*.

The form *πριεις* occurs as a term of relationship in No. XLIX, and the same word occurs in the forms *Πρειεις*, *Πρειουεις* and *Πριβις* as a personal name. *Ματαρ*, however, also occurs as a personal name: see *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 213.

In l. 7, *εκυαες* appears to be an aorist; cf. *εσταες* in No. XXXI, *edaes* in Old Phrygian. The mutilation of this text is regrettable.

XXXIV. Sinanlı (Rev. C., 1912). In the protasis of the curse-formula substitute *ιος κε* for *ιος νε*.

XXXVI. Sinanlı (Rev. R. and C., 1912). On a doorstone.

When this stone was completely drawn out, we recognised a mistake in our previous copy; what we took for the letters ΑΛΛ is part of the decoration; and the name at the top is reduced to *Εὐδῆμων*. In l. 5, read *αξακετε ρα*; in l. 7, *αυτος* (the Y is in an incised line marking the edge of a panel of the door); in l. 8, *ΑΚΟΡΟΚΑ* is certain; in the two last lines, *τευτους* is more probable than *τευτευς* (R.); I thought *ο* certain.

XXXVIII. Innli (Rev. C., 1912). Read:

*ιος νι σεμουν κνουμα]νε κακ[ο]ν (οτ κακεν)[αδδακ-
ετ τετικμενος ειτου τιτελ-
. ις*

The inscription is above a doorstone. The panel on which the inscription is cut is 1' 11" wide, and the Μ of *ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC* is opposite the centre of the 'door.' ΝΕ in l. 1 stand over ΝΟ in *ΤΕΤΙΚΜΕΝΟC*. The last letter in l. 2 is more probably Λ than Ν; and one letter may have followed it. In line 3, *ι* may be part of Η.

XL. Effe Sultan (Rev. C., 1911). The square brackets in ll. 1 and 3 should be removed; the text as printed is complete and certain. There was no other inscription on the stone.

LIX. Kerpishli (Rev. R. and C., 1912).

A correction is necessary in our 1910 copy. Before *αδδακετ* in l. 1, the faint letters which we had taken to be ICΔK are the opening letters of *κακουν*. The *devotio* must have begun in the line above, all trace of which is lost. Above the *devotio* there were five lines of Greek, now defaced. The inscription is on a stele 5 feet high, with an arched pediment containing four human figures.

LX. Kerpishli (Rev. R. and C., 1912). The first letter in this inscription

is certainly Λ, and there is no room for a letter before it. The name is *Λαυμουσος*; the square brackets should be deleted.

LXIII. Bolavadyn (Rev. C., 1912). The reading of 1908 and 1910 was confirmed, and the following notes made: *αδδακετορ* is certain, and the brackets should be removed from *τε* after *ζεμελως*. The letter at the end of l. 2 is more probably *ε* than *ο*. The inscription was finished on the lower edge of the stone *τι[κμενο]ς [ειτου]*. The repetition of *τε* at the end of l. 2 is therefore an engraver's slip. The stone is complete, and no Greek inscription was ever engraved on it.

LXV. Kurshunlu (Rev. C., 1913). In 1913 I read *Αττι* at the end of l. 1, and noted that the second letter in l. 2 is *ο* or *θ*, not *ε* or *ι*. Careful measurement of the stone showed that between *ικμενος* and *ειτου* there is room for only two letters; *[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς ις ε]ιτου* or *[τ]ε[τ]ικμενο[ς αδε]ιτου*?

LXXII. Hofunun Yaila (R. and C., 1912). In l. 2 *ΚΟΥCC* is clear in the copy; the *Ο* was accidentally omitted from the epigraphic copy.

W. M. CALDER.

THE NEW NEO-PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTIONS

THE notes which follow are intended to be a supplement to Professor W. M. Calder's *Corpus Inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum* in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXI and XXXIII (1911-13), and above, p. 22. The *Corpus* is so complete and the interpretation of the inscriptions so ingenious and thorough that little room is left for addition and correction. My supplementary notes, therefore, will not be numerous.

(1) In No. LXIX it is clear that ζως κε πεις κε must mean 'both living and dead,' and that consequently πεις signifies 'dead.' Hence in No. XII we must read ζειρακειοι πειες κε, and translate 'living and dead (let them go accursed to Attys).' The verb has the plural suffix -νον, corresponding with -du in Boghaz Keui Hittite. This settles the reading of No. VII, which must be [ζειρ]ακειοι ειροι Ατι ετι ττ[ετικμενοι ειττ]νον. Ειροι perhaps means 'untimely'; cp. ηρι.

I see the same suffix as that of ζειρακειοι in No. XXXV: ασανανκαιοι παντακεναννον, where the verb seems to be a compound of the Greek παντ- and the Asianic aken- which we find in the old Phrygian title ακενανο-λαφος and the Eyuk akanan, 'sanctuary,' 'holy place' (on which see below). At Eyuk it appears to take the place of the Neo-Phrygian κνου-μαν, κενε-μαν, 'tomb,' which, indeed, has the same root, the initial alpha of aken- being prothetic. Παντ-ακεναννον would be: 'May they be altogether devoted.'

(2) In the common phrase, 'whoever to this tomb attaches injury, αιρι μανκαν,' αιρι cannot signify 'this.' In αι νι κος and αι κος, as Solmsen first showed (and as LXIV proves), αι = 'if' ('if anyone'). Νι, which becomes νουμ and νιμ before μ (VII, XXV), is the Hittite nu, used in the same sense (cp. also Lycian ne), and just as αι κος is 'si quis,' so αι-νι will be *sive*. (So Calder, *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 175.) In No. IV μανκαν is replaced by οι θαλαμει, 'its chamber,' and will therefore signify the 'chamber' or 'cell' of the tomb.

(3) In the interesting text XLVIII we have another νι in the compounds νι-οισιος and ν(ι)-αδροτος. This is the negative ni found in Lydian; e.g. ni-visl, 'not-living,' ni-mit, ni-din, ni-paal, ni-pesis, nid, 'nothing.' Hesychius gives νι-κύρτας δουλέκδουλος, 'a slave by birth,' i.e. 'not-free,' which, as it is quoted from Hipponax (49.5.), must also be of Lydian origin. Since Hittite belongs to the l-class of Asianic languages (those, namely, in which l takes the place of n in another class) we may compare the Hittite lé, 'not.' Hittite also used the borrowed Sumerian nu.

Νι-οισιος will be 'fateless,' 'unlucky,' οισι-ος being the Greek αἶσα with the usual Phrygian interchange of a and o. With αδροτος ('ripe'?) cp. the Hesychian ἄδρός, 'great,' 'rich,' 'powerful.'

The name of the deity *Ενσταρν*[α]-*δουμθ* is compounded with *δουμ*- (whence the borrowed Greek *δοῦλος* for *δουμ*-*λος*), which has been shown by Lambertz¹ to have been of Lydian origin and is now found in the Lydian texts of Sardes (*dumíz, dum-ms, dum-mł., dum-ñit, dum-liz* = *δοῦλος*). In the Mosko-Hittite of Cilicia *dimmes, δημοσ*, is 'house.' With Enstarna we may compare the Hittite *istarna*, 'in front (of).'

The 3rd person future *αδδακε-τορ* is interesting as it corresponds with the 3rd person of the Hittite verb, singular *-tari*, plural *-taru*. The form is an old Asianic one, as the form in *-r* is found in 'Proto-Hittite' (a prefix language) as well as in Boghaz Keui Hittite. The Neo-Phrygian *αδδακετορ* occurs again in No. LXIII, and the singular *αδ[δα]κετερα* in No. XXXVI (cf. Nos. XXV, XL, XLVIII, LXII, LXXIII, LXXV, LXXIX?).

The translation of the Phrygian portion of No. XLVIII will therefore be: 'Unlucky, powerless (or unripe) may he be! And Mitraphata and Mas Termogeios and Puntas-Bas² and Enstarna-doumth will bring salvation to the village.' Then follows the Greek: 'I have erected the monument to the above-mentioned deities and to the village.' That *οιουθβαν* must signify 'salvation' is clear from its occupying the place taken by *σωτηρίαν* in corresponding Greek inscriptions (as Sir W. M. Ramsay informs me). It is unfortunate that the commencement of the text is lost; with . . *ιθνιουμενος* cp. ICNIO . . . in No. XLII.

(4) In IIb we have what I believe to be a verb formed from the substantive *σουιτη(ς)*. The phrase is *υκε ακαλα σουιτετου ουα*, and it is difficult not to connect it with the Hesychian gloss *οιατῶν· κωμητῶν, οἰαί γὰρ αἱ κῶμαι*. In any case the verb has the suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. imperative. Prof. Calder is doubtless right in identifying *υκε* with *οἶκος* and comparing *ακαλας ευκιν* in No. XXX. As the phrase denotes the tomb it must have some such sense as 'house of death,' and it is significant that in Hittite *aki* signifies 'to die.' If my etymology of the verb is correct, the Phrygian phrase will be literally: 'Let the village be a villager (*i.e.* owner) for the tomb.'

(5) Professor Calder accepts Kretschmer's suggestion that the phrase *δεως κε ζεμελως* means 'heavenly and chthonian gods.' This, however, does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: *ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· φρύγες*. The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite 'the gods and the dead' (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and *ζεμελεν* must have literally signified 'ghost' or 'devil.'^{2a} The *με* which is occasionally found before the phrase (V, VI) and in one instance after it (XXV) appears to signify 'among' (for *με-τά*?) rather than represent a particle like *me* in Lycian or *ma*, 'also,' in Hittite.

(6) In XXXIII we read: 'Whoever does injury to this tomb,' *γεγειμεναν εγεδου τιος ουταν· ακκεοι βεκος ακκαλος τι δρεγρουν ειτου, αυτος κε ουα κε ροκα γεγαριτμενος αιβαταν τευτους*. Prof. Fraser is probably right in seeing

¹ *Glotta*, 1914. He quotes Hesychius: *δοῖλος· ἡ οἰκία*, and *δωλοδοοεῖς· οἰκογενεῖς*.

² Professor Calder considers Bas to be a separate name, like the 'two' names *βάτα*

κόρας in Hesychius. But, on the other hand, Pace points out that *Κακάσβος* is found by the side of *Κακαβος* and *Κάκας*.

^{2a} Cp. 'printer's devil' in English.

in *εγεδου* the borrowed Greek *ἐχέτω* with assimilation to the Phrygian *ege-seli*, 'he shall injure,' but in *τιος* it is impossible to see the demonstrative *τος*, and I would connect the word with the Greek *τίω* and translate 'the criminal.' The meaning of *γεγειμεναν* (*κεκριμένην*) and *ουταν*, 'the adjudged penalty,' is already known.

The next sentence, where the signification of *βεκος*, 'bread,' is known, must have some such meaning as 'let him beg in vain for a morsel of bread.' Ramsay quotes Hesychius: *ἀκόλους· ψωμούς*, and in No. XXVIII the nom. *τετουκμενος* before *ειτου* appears as *τετουκμενουν*. It is possible that *τι* = *τε*; cp. IX and XXV. But in Lycian we have *ti* by the side of *ne*.

In the last clause *ροκα* after 'himself' and 'village' can denote only 'family' or 'race.' As Sir W. M. Ramsay has seen, the general sense of the clause must be 'himself and village and race being deprived of citizenship,' or rather of community in the clan or *mir*. The uncompounded *βαταν* is found in the Old Phrygian inscription of Tyana. The prefix *a* can hardly be the negative, and I fail to understand how it can also have the form *αι*; we have, however, in XLII the word *αι-παρτης*.³ According to Hesychius the proper names *Βατα Καρας* occurred in a Samian inscription.

(7) Since *-ais* is an ethnic suffix (*Meme-v-ais* and *Arkiæ-v-ais* at the Midas-city, *Meme-u-is* at Tyana, *Kanutiie-v-ais* at Eyuk), *Πασεδεκμουταις* in No. IX signifies 'the Pasedekmutian.' The same title recurs in No. XXXI ([*Πασε*]δεκμουτασιού). Here, too, we have *Προτοσου[βρα]* corresponding with *Παρτυσουβρα* in IX. *Ουβρα, ουπρα*, also written *οβρα, οπρα*, is the name of a deity found in a good many Asianic names: with *προτος, παρτυς*, cp. *προτυς* (No. XV), in which I see an adverb signifying 'in front.'

(8) In the Konia inscription (XLIX) I should refer *αχавες* to the Hesychian *ἀχηνεῖς· κενοί* and translate: 'Helios Gaius has bought a waste place in the business quarter of Konia.' But I feel doubtful about its being sepulchral, as the latter part of it may be rendered 'whereon he erected pavements (or foundations) and halls with two entrances for his relation Aurelia Basa.'⁴

(9) *Ετι* in combination with *τετικμενος* appears to mean 'for ever,' or less probably 'utterly.' Prof. Fraser is probably right in deriving *αδ-ειτου* and *αδ-ειττου* from the root signifying 'to go.' In No. LXIX *ουρμουσαεν*, 'they set up,' claims connexion with the Hittite *ermu*, 'above.'

THE OLD PHRYGIAN TEXTS

Sir W. M. Ramsay and I have spent many hours together examining and discussing the Old Phrygian texts published by him in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XV, Pt. I (1883); since their publication, another visit to the monuments has enabled him to correct the readings in Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8 and 11.

³ Cp. Hesychius: *αἰβετος (αἰφετος)· ἀετός* at Perga. *Αι-παρτης* reminds us of *παρτυς* (No. IX).

⁴ Professor Sayce kindly invites me to append a note recording my dissent from his interpretation of No. XLIX. This inscription is engraved on a common type

of sepulchral stele, and ends with the Greek formula 'Whoever shall intrude (a corpse) shall pay to the fiscus 1000 denaria.' Its sepulchral character is therefore not in doubt; and, being sepulchral, it can scarcely have been placed on a *τόπος* in the business quarter of Konia.—W. M. CALDER.]

The discovery of the Lydian inscriptions of Sardes has further shown that the Old Phrygian letter Λ (as in No. 2) had the value of d (Lydian λ); consequently the difficulties connected with the reading of a verb *elaes* or *egaes* with the same signification as *edaes* are now removed.

No. 1 reads *Ates Arkiaevais akenano-lavos Midai Lavaltai vanaktei edaes*, 'Ates the Arkian high-priest has made (this) for Midas Lavaltas the King.' *Akenano-lavos* is found in the Hittite hieroglyphic texts, which show that the first element consists of a prefix (= 'man') and the stem which we have in *huanis*, 'priest,' Lydian *kanēu* and *kaves*, Phrygian *κενεμαν*, *κνουμαν* 'holy place' or 'tomb.' I would connect *lavos* with the second element in *βασι-λεύς*. *Lavaltas* may be a title rather than a proper name. Cp. the Lydian gloss in Hesychius: *λαίλας* ὁ τύραννος (perhaps for *lavilas*).

No. 2. *Baba Memevais Proitavos kwiz-anavezos si-keneman edaes*, 'Baba the Memeian, son of Proitos, who (is also) Anavezos, made this tomb.' *Memevais* is written *Memewis* (= *Memewis*) at Eyuk. It gives us the name of the Midas-city, which according to Stephanus Byzantinus was known to the Greeks as Metropolis, so called 'from the Mother of the gods.' The mother-goddess was called Meme, Mama and Amba;⁵ hence another name of Metropolis was probably *Ambason* (or *Ambasson*), a citizen of which was called *Ἀμβαίτης* (*sic*) according to Alexander Polyhistor.

No. 3. *Bba Memevais Proitavos kwi-anavezos akaralasun edaes*, 'B(a)ba the Memeian, son of Proitavos, who (is also) Anavezos, made the stair-way.' Here the place of the letter Φ (q) w in No. 2 is taken by \uparrow , which is also found at Tyana in the name *A(q)wios*. *Kwis* and *kwi* evidently correspond to the Latin *quis* and *qui*, the Hittite *kuis*, and the sense is consequently that of the Greek ὁ καὶ, 'who also is,' so common in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. *Anavezos* would be a derivative from *Anava*, the name of which was preserved in that of the salt-lake south of the Midas-city. *Anava* is a formation like *Memeva* from *Anes*, which has also given the derivative *Anaia*. That *akaralasun* must signify 'a stair-way' is shown by the position of the inscription in a panel facing the summit of a great flight of steps cut in the rock. No. 3. . . *ees Tudleniz aes-urzozoz Totin visan*. . . The inscription ran round the three sides of a cave. *Aes* (*aez*) is the 3rd pers. sing. of a verb; in No. 8 it means 'commemorates' or something similar.

No. 4. *Baba siman aki[nan]* . . . , 'Baba [made] this tomb.' Both *siman* and *akenan* (or *akinan*) are also found in the Eyuk inscription II.

No. 5. *Bba Memevais Proitavos*, 'B(a)ba of Memeva, the son of Proitos.'

No. 6. . . *akinano-lavan Tizes modrovanak avarz*. *Modrovanak* probably stands for *modrovan-ak* with the suffixed conjunction (a) k found in Lydian and Etruscan. It is possible that the inscription is incomplete at the end as well as at the commencement. Can *mudrovan* be connected with the Greek *μύδρος* and signify 'the smith'?

Nos. 7, 8, 9. (a) (on the rock above the tomb): *zosesait materez eveteksetiz overin onoman lakhit lakei (?) okez venactun actaz materez*, 'Long live the name

⁵ See Kretschmer: *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 341.

of the mother who bore the citizen (?); she . . . has . . . the tomb (?) of his mother.' (b) (on the tomb itself): *Vrekun Telatoz Zostututaz arenoz akenano-laros aez materan arezastin bonok akenano-laroz*, 'Phorkys has Telatos the son of Sostututa, the high-priest, commemorated (?), a mother dear, wife of the high-priest.'

I follow my predecessors in the translation of *zosesait* and *eveteksetiz*, but do not profess to explain the prefixed *eve* in the second word. But compare *evio* further on.

With the proper name Sostu-tutas cp. Sost-bulnos at Eyuk. *Arenos*. 'son,' is an interesting form. It represents an earlier *asvenos* with prothetic vowel before the double consonant, and so corresponds with the Sanskrit *sunus*, Engl. *son*, as ἥλιος for αῤῥῆλιος. Kretan ἀβέλιος (Hom. ἡέλιος). corresponds with Skt. *sāras*, *suryas*, Lat. *sol*, Goth. *sauil*, Welsh *haul*, Lith. *sauli*, Old Slav. *slŭnŭice*.

Vrekys (Homeric Phorkys) signified a 'Phrygian' according to Hesychius: Βρέκυνν, τὸν βρέκνιτα, τὸν βρίγα. βρίγες γε οἱ Φρύγες. He goes on to say that the βρεκύνδαι were δαίμονες in Phrygia, and gives βερεκύνδαι as an alternative form of the word, adding that Βερεκυντία was 'Phrygia.'

Orevin appears to be a derivative from οὔα, Hesychian οἶα. 'community.' *Bonok* (= γυναικ-) has long been recognised.

Inscription (a) on the rock above, must have been engraved after the completion of the tomb and its inscription.

A third inscription has been subsequently added in a corner at the foot of the monument:

(c) *atanizen kurzanezon Tanelertoz*, 'Tanelertos has inspected the monument.'

Atanizen is a brilliant confirmation of Prof. Calder's explanation of *ταπειξα* in No. XV. With *kurzaneson* I would compare *κρόσσαι*, a word of foreign origin which Hesychius states was interpreted in different ways, either as a flight of steps, or as battlements, or as the crown of a tower, or something similar. A derivative from it would be an apt designation of the tomb of Phorkys, which resembles a tower or house with a crowned roof.⁶

No. 10. *Apelamonekastevanos*. . . There are no divisions between the words.

No. 11. *Matar Kubile pa[tar]* . . . *tozen*. 'Mother Kybele, father. . .'

It is unfortunate that the inscription is broken as it must have contained the name of the god—some form of Attys—to whom along with Kybele the altar over which it is written was dedicated.

No. 13. *Sestbulnos Vazos Kanutiierai(s)*. 'Sestbulnos Vazos the Kanytian.' This inscription was copied by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Eyuk near the Hittite capital Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia. The city Kanytél(i)deis was in Cilicia, west of the mouth of the Lamos, and is the modern Kanidelli or Kanidivan

⁶ See also *κρόσαι*, defined as 'heads' or 'parapets of towers.' Hesychius notes that *κρόσσαι* was known to Homer only in the sense of 'a flight of steps.' In the

gloss *κυρσάνιον τοὺς κυρακίσκους*, the last word must be corrected into *κλιμακίσκους*, which Hesychius states was the name of a trick in wrestling.

(Wilhelm and Heberdey, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 51). But it is possible that the place meant was really Kanis, the old centre of Assyro-Babylonian influence in Asia Minor, now Kara Eyuk, 18 kil. N.E. of Kaisariyeh.

Three more early Phrygian inscriptions discovered at Eyuk have to be added. Two were found by M. Chantre (*Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. I., II.) and are now in the Museum at Constantinople, where I have examined them. One of them, on one face only of a block of stone, reads: *Vasou siman Mekas Kanutievais . . d(?)eros-ke Mekas*. Underneath the last word is *s* and an unintelligible symbol. A letter is lost after *Kanutievais*. The translation will be: 'This (monument) of Vasos Mekas the Kanytian (has erected), and . . (is) Mekas.' The stone may be imperfect on the right-hand side; in this case a word (or words) would be lost before *Vasou* and again between *Kanutievais* and *d(?)*. This would allow for the insertion of a verb and perhaps also of *Sestbulnou*, since Vasos is evidently the Vazos of No. 13.

The second block was inscribed on three sides, but to-day is legible on one side only. This reads: *otuvoi vetei etgnaie ios ni akenan egeseti . . . terkosas tekmor otgnaseti vebri*, 'in this year he died (?). Whoever injures the tomb . . . the (bearer) of the mark he shall perish (?) from fever.' I have a note that the first three letters of the third line are uncertain but that the *t* of *tekmor* is clear.⁷ For the *tekmor* or secret sign of a club see Ramsay: *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 318. *Vebri* I would identify with the Latin *febris*. According to one account, *Februus*, a title of Lupercus, was an Etruscan word (Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, p. 70: '*Februum* inferum esse Thuscorum lingua'). I cannot explain the *et* and *ot* of the two verbal forms, but the reading is certain.

The upper surface of the stone is also inscribed with two lines, only the first of which is preserved. This reads: *ios evio eriti kakvion*, 'Whoever [does] mischief to his stone.' *Evio* is for *e(s)vio* (Latin *suus*, Skt. *swas*, etc.) with prothetic vowel like *avenos*, 'son.' For *eriti* see Hesychius: ἡρία·μνημεῖα, ἡρίον·τάφος, ἡριεύς·νεκρός. On the side of the block is another inscription of two lines of which very little is left. All I could read was: *[s]iman tov(?)o . . .*

Another fragmentary inscription was copied at Eyuk many years ago by Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, I. p. 383. The initial letters are unreadable; then we have *otovoī man[ka]*, 'to this chamber.'⁸

In none of the Eyuk texts are the words divided from one another. In the inscription of Tyana, however, the same mark of division is used as at the Midas-city. Unfortunately the inscription is very fragmentary. On one face we have:

- (1) *e*
- (2) *Mida memeuīs*
- (3) *a tesan a(q)vion e(?)*

⁷ [On the other hand, Ramsay and I looked carefully for *tekmor*, and concluded that the reading is *iekmor*: see *J.H.S.* 1913, p. 102.—W. M. C.]

⁸ Makridi Bey when excavating at Eyuk discovered an unfinished figure of a stone ram inscribed *Vasiso* in early Phrygian letters. The *s* is formed like a corkscrew.

- (4) *oit umen Mida*
 (5) *en a(q)wios Me[meuis?]*
 (6) *n batan ev*

All the early Phrygian inscriptions are *boustrophedon*.

Sir W. M. Ramsay has a photograph of a rock-tomb, much destroyed, one mile north of the Midas-city. On a panel to the right are two figures, standing and facing each other, and on a panel to the left a bull with curled tail, butting with its horns, and a lion rampant. Above the two animals and below the door of the tomb are the remains of an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs which seems to contain the name of Carchemish (*Karka-ka-me-is*). On the rock to the right are the traces of an Early Phrygian text, of which all that is left is the beginning of a word *k-l(or r)-f-o*. . . .

At Dinerli Prof. Garstang copied another Early Phrygian fragment on the left side of the sculptured face of a tomb: *natimezon*. . . .

A. H. SAYCE.

A LYDIAN TEXT ON AN ELECTRUM COIN

By the kindness of the owner, Mr. Arthur Bernard Cook, an inscribed electrum coin of the well-known 'lion' type is depicted in Fig. 1; its inscription, which exists only in part on the examples in other cabinets, appears to be complete. In the list below, the Keeper of the Department of Coins in the British Museum describes the specimens known in various sizes—Mr. Cook's being No. 5—and shows that the series has been attributed either to Lydia



FIG. 1.—ELECTRUM COIN IN THE A. B. COOK COLLECTION (?).

or to an Ionian city.¹ The inscription seems to have been originally the same on all these specimens; it was, however, omitted from the collection of texts in Lydian script (*Sardis*, VI. ii. p. vii, note 1), because the uncertainty of the reading on the coins then available made its Lydian character doubtful and precluded the transcription of a trustworthy copy. Had Mr. Cook's coin been known to me in 1924, I should have included it in that small *corpus* as 'No. 52.'

¹ I owe many thanks to Mr. Hill, not as assistance and advice, merely for this contribution, but for much

LIST OF KNOWN SPECIMENS OF ELECTRUM COINS
WITH LYDIAN INSCRIPTION.

THIRDS OF STATER

1. Munich. Diam. 13 mm. Wt. 4.71 grammes. Sestini, *Stateri antichi*, p. 51, No. 12, Pl. IV, Fig. 15; Mionnet, ii. p. 528, No. 84; Brandis, p. 388; Six, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 203, No. 10, Pl. XVII. 6; Babelon, *Traité*, I. p. 42, No. 54, Pl. II. 12.
2. British Museum. Diam. 13 mm. Wt. 4.71 grammes. Spec. gravity 12.49, indicating gold content of about 35 per cent. Sabatier Sale, Sotheby's, 1853, lot 780. Six, *loc. cit.*, p. 204, No. 11; Head, *B.M.C. Lydia*, p. 2, No. 3, Pl. I. 3; Babelon, *Traité*, I. No. 56, Pl. II. 14. (Traces only of letters.)
3. Paris. Diam. 12 mm. Wt. 4.69 grammes. Babelon, *Traité*, I. No. 55, Pl. II. 13.
4. Constantinople. Diam. 13 mm. Wt. 4.71 grammes. Head, *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus, The Coins* (reprinted from Hogarth's *Archaic Artemisia*, 1908), p. 12 and Pl. II, No. 71.



FIG. 2.—No. 1: MUNICH.

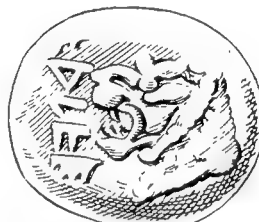
FIG. 3.—No. 2:
BRIT. MUs.FIG. 4.—No. 4: CON-
STANTINOPLE.

FIG. 5.—No. 11: CONSTANTINOPLE.

5. Cambridge, Mr. A. B. Cook. Diam. 13 mm. Wt. 4.75 grammes. Spec. gravity 13.21, indicating gold content of about 45 per cent. From the Pozzi Sale, Lucerne 1921, lot 2472.

SIXTHS OF STATER

6. British Museum. Diam. 10 mm. Wt. 2.40 grammes. Spec. gravity 13.39, indicating gold content of 47 per cent. Purchased 1840. Head, *Num. Chron.* 1875, p. 267, Pl. VIII. 11. Six, *loc. cit.*, p. 204, No. 12, Pl. XVII. 7. Head, *B.M.C. Lydia*, p. 3, No. 16, Pl. I. 7; Babelon, *Traité*, I. p. 39, No. 51, Pl. II. 10.
7. Paris. Diam. 10 mm. Wt. 2.36 grammes. Mionnet, *Suppl.* ix. p. 228, No. 2; Babelon, *Traité*, I. No. 52, Pl. II. 11.
8. Constantinople. Diam. 10 mm. Wt. 2.37 grammes. Head, *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus, The Coins*, p. 12 and Pl. II. No. 72.

TWELFTHS OF STATER

9. Vienna (lion's head to l.). Diam. 7 mm. Wt. 1.16 gramme. *Num. Zeitschr.* xvi., 1884, p. 32; xvii., 1885, pp. 2, 3; Six, *loc. cit.*, p. 204, No. 13, Pl. XVII. 8; Babelon, *Traité*, I. No. 58. Contains 45 per cent. gold.

10. Constantinople (lion's head to r.). Diam. 8 mm. Wt. 1.16 gramme. Head, *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus, The Coins*, p. 12 and Pl. II. No. 73.
11. Constantinople (lion's head to r.). Diam. 7.5 mm. Wt. 1.19 gramme. Head, *loc. cit.*, p. 10 and Pl. I. No. 43. On this there are only slight traces of the inscription, and Head has placed it among the uninscribed coins; but in style it corresponds to those on which the inscription is plain.

Of these coins, the thirds and sixths were all struck from obverse dies bearing two lions' heads confronted, with the Lydian inscription between them, and with two incuse squares on the reverse. On the twelfths there is apparently only one lion's head, and certainly only one incuse square. The existence of two lions' heads was never suspected until I had the opportunity of examining Mr. Cook's coin; for the thirds and sixths are all struck with dies much too big for them. Supposing both lions' heads to be complete, the dies used for the thirds would be large enough for staters, and the dies used for the sixths large enough for thirds. This does not apply to the punches used for the reverses, which, for practical reasons, could not be used too large to grip the blanks effectually. The use of dies too large for the blank is common enough in barbarous or semi-barbarous series, and exceedingly common in India, for instance. It does not, in the example before us, imply the existence of a stater, but only inexperience on the part of the die-cutters, who did not know how widely the blank would spread under pressure.

It is to be noted that in style these coins are very different from the ordinary coins with a single lion's head. The relief is flatter, the pose of the animal's head is different, and the truncation of the neck, where visible, is hollowed out in a curve, the breast ending in a point. On the whole, their technique is distinctly inferior.

The only existing record of provenance is that specimens of all three denominations were found in the Artemision at Ephesus, but of only one (No. 11, above) is the exact find-spot known, namely, between the slabs of the shrine-basis of the earliest temple. The attribution of the coins to Alyattes was first made by J. P. Six in 1890; Head accepts it provisionally; Babelon, after a long discussion (*Traité*, II^e partie, I. cols. 44 ff.), rejects it, giving the whole group to Miletus. He lumps all the coins with the lion's head, inscribed or uninscribed, together, dividing them into two groups according as the lion's head is to right or left. Of course, as regards the inscribed thirds and sixths, this grouping collapses as soon as it is recognised that there are or should be two lions' heads confronted on each coin.

In view of the distinction of style which I have noted, it may be worth considering whether the inscribed group, with its inferior technique, may not have been struck somewhere in the interior, rather than in an Ionian coast-town.

G. F. H.

The statement of Gardthausen (*R. Enc. Hbhd.* 21, 609), that there are no Lydian coins inscribed with the writing of that country, must now be revised. In the version $\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma$ read on our coins by Six and by Head,² the letters might have been those of an archaic Greek script. The novel feature of $\gamma\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma$ on Mr. Cook's coin is its last letter, the Lydian equivalent of \acute{s} , which practically³ proves that the six letters form a Lydian word. The γ has here the simplified shape—a bend or hook to the left at the top of a downward stroke—which is seen in *Sardis*, VI. ii. Nos. 4 and 23; being known in the Lydian and unknown in any Ionian alphabet, this γ fixes the Lydian character of the inscription. And no doubt as to that character need, it seems, be felt because our γ has three prongs instead of two,⁴ for the shape of the Lydian γ varied in early times (cf. *Sardis*, VI. ii., No. 49) and the addition of a third prong was presumably a passing phase.

² *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 202 f.; *B.M.C. Lydia*, p. 3.

³ The qualification 'practically' refers to the lack of certainty in any opinion based on a single example of so small a

text.
⁴ The topmost prong of the three, clearly seen in other examples, is bruised or flattened on Mr. Cook's.

Comparing Mr. Cook's coin with others like it (Figs. 2-6), we may infer that the inscription on all the coins of this series was a Lydian name or word *valve'*—probably pronounced *walvesh*⁵—unless we suppose that the die had more letters than six and that, owing to its undue largeness (see Mr. Hill's remarks above), one or more of those is missing. Such suppression of letters is improbable; our text is so neatly 'centred' in relation to the lions' jaws that extra letters would spoil its symmetry⁶ and, as it stands, may well be complete, since it seems to be a Lydian nominative.⁷



No. 5 (Cook). No. 1 (Munich). No. 4 (Constantinople). No. 6 (British Museum).

FIG. 6.—LYDIAN ELECTRUM COINS.

This word was formerly regarded, owing to the then accepted reading 𐤀𐤃𐤕𐤕𐤕 , as part of the name of the Lydian king Alyattes.⁸ But such an interpretation hardly suits the new reading 𐤀𐤃𐤕𐤕𐤕 : if anyone still maintains that theory, he will have to explain why the conjectural form *valreutes* appears as *valve'*, and why—notwithstanding the Greek ΑΛΥ —*valreutes* begins with *Ale(s)* instead of with the correct Lydian *Alu(s)* (*Sardis*, VI. ii., No. 49). The view that our coins bore the name of the king has now become difficult to accept.⁹

⁵ *Sardis*, VI. ii. p. 10, note on *a*, 1; Sayce, *Am. J. Philol.* 46, 1925, p. 30.

⁶ One and a half letters overlapping the l. lion's upper jaw are matched by one and a half letters overlapping his lower jaw; the nostril of the r. lion touches the second letter (Δ), while his chin almost touches the fifth letter (𐤀).

⁷ Cf. the nominatives *es*, 'this,' *kaveš*, 'priest' (cf. Sayce, *loc. cit.*, p. 40), *Manes*, *Timés*; and on these names see *Sardis*, VI. ii. No. 50, and p. 8, note on l. 2.

⁸ Head, *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus*, pp. 85, 91; Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 334.

⁹ See below, note 16. The chief reasons for regarding *valve'* as a personal, i.e. royal, name appear to be (a) the analogy of the earliest inscribed electrum coin of Ionia, which bears the name of one Phanes (P. Gardner, *Hist. of Ancient Coinage*, p. 76, Pl. I. 2); (b) the obvious appropriateness of the lion-heads in connexion with such a Lydian name.

What other theory as to the meaning of *valēs* may plausibly be put forward? Probably for the present any interpretation must needs be tentative, but there is one, kindly suggested by Professor Kretschmer,¹⁰ which deserves special consideration because it is the only one, so far as I know, that perfectly fits any name connected with Lydian history or geography. The interpretation of *Valēs* as the Lydian name of the river called Ἰαλῆς by the Greeks supplies a working hypothesis which, if accepted, will throw interesting light on the history of pre-Persian Lydia: let us see whether the placing of such a name on a series of Lydian coins can be accounted for. Was that river in the days of the Lydian kings—for later than their period our coins cannot be dated¹¹—so important that its name *Valēs* might well have been inscribed between the lion-heads symbolic of those kings¹²?

The *Alēs* is the modern Ayjichai, the river which flows due southward from the site of ancient Colophon and enters the sea close to Notion—the Colophon of Roman days; the topography was for the first time made clear by Schuchhardt and Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xi., 1886, p. 413 (with the maps at pp. 398, 402). As the land now lies at the mouth of this river, its commercial importance would be negligible: there is no harbour, but only a poorly sheltered sandy beach forming a slight recess in the coast. There, however, as at Ephesus and Miletus, the physical changes due to silt have been enormous, and one can hardly doubt that 2,500 years ago the mouth of the *Alēs* lay from one to one and a half kilometres north of its present situation.¹³ The *hieron* of the Clarian Apollo has been found by its French excavators below a layer of gravel nowhere less than 3.50 metres deep, which, as shown by the presence of second-century inscriptions on the stones of the gateway, has been deposited within the past 1,700 years.¹⁴

A scholiast cited by Büchner (*R. Enc. Hbhd.* 21, 1118–1119) informs us that Claros was reported to have formerly been Colophon's shipyard (νεώριον), i.e. in the same relation to Colophon as the Peiraeus was to Athens. Assuming that the north side of the harbour was situated during the period of Lydian independence about 1½ kilometres to the north of its present line, we see from the maps in *Ath. Mitt.* xi., 1886, p. 398 and *Beil.* to p. 402 that the scholiast's

¹⁰ As reported to me by Dr. Josef Keil in a letter; Prof. Kretschmer mentioned *valēs* = Ἰαλῆς as a philological possibility, but is not responsible for the suggestion here offered as to why that name was used.

¹¹ Because the electrum coinage of Lydia was displaced by the issuing of pure gold staters, possibly by Croesus and certainly before the disappearance of the Lydian kings; cf. the description by Shear of the thirty gold staters found at Sardis in 1922: *The Numismatist*, xxxv., 1922, pp. 349–352, and *The Bankers' Magazine*, 1922, pp. 1002–1009.

¹² B. V. Head takes the lion to have been the 'παράσημον or arms of the royal family

of Lydia'; *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus*, p. 91.

¹³ I recall this as having been the impression left on my mind by two visits to this pretty valley, in 1907 and 1914; we rode down it as far as the sea and visited the *castro* of Notion.

¹⁴ *B.C.H.* xxxix., 1915, p. 34; a footnote gives the modern bibliography relative to Colophon, Claros and Notion; since then have appeared valuable studies by Picard, *Éphèse et Claros* (1922), with description of the topography on pp. 8–9, and the account of Notion by Demangel and Laumonier, *B.C.H.* xlvii., 1923, p. 335 f.

report may be correct. It is probable that, prior to the silting up of the past 2,500 years, the whole of the area marked 'Ackerfelder' on the lower map at p. 402 was open to navigation. And if that is so, Colophon possessed at the time of her prosperity and power a first-class landlocked harbour; hence one can well understand her having had *ναυτικὴν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν* (Strabo, 643).

Now when Gyges conquered Colophon—the only Ionian city which he is known to have taken (Herod. i. 14),¹⁵—he may have done so chiefly in order to control her flourishing harbour; his dominions were, like Poland, cut off from the sea, and the *Alés* harbour may have been his Danzig. Having once got it, he may have thought fit to advertise the conquest by circulating its name, in connexion with his royal lion symbol, on a whole series of his electrum coinage; the superscription *Valvės* would then have been understood as proclaiming: 'The port on the *Alés* river now belongs to the Lydian kingdom.'

The solution above suggested is but little better than a guess, for in respect to coinage of so early a period and to the only coins bearing a Lydian inscription there are no analogies to guide us. The closeness of the resemblance noticed by Professor Kretschmer between the text on our coins and the name of that river on the Lydian coast justifies the attempt to account for it, but from the nature of the case such an attempt must be conjectural. The hypothetical equation of *valvės* with Ἄλης turns out, however, to be not inconsistent with the little that we know about Lydia and Colophon in the seventh century B.C.¹⁶

W. H. BUCKLER.

¹⁵ This is noticed by Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec*, p. 171: 'On ne cite, en Ionie, qu'une ville dont il se soit emparé, Colophon.' The strength of the Persian influence at Colophon (see P. Gardner, *Hist. of Ancient Coinage*, pp. 259–260) may have been due to the thoroughness of this Lydian conquest, to which the Persians succeeded. In any case there must have been at Colophon, as Professor Bilabel points out, some Lydian influence of special strength which outlived the downfall of Lydian rule; otherwise one can hardly explain the survival down to the second century A.D. of Colophonian families tracing their descent from Ardys, king of Lydia: *Philologus*, *Supplbd.* xiv. 1921, pp. 209–210, Picard, *op. cit.*, pp.

209–212, 233.

¹⁶ Cf. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, pp. 397–601. Perhaps it will be suggested that if *valvės* can be the name of a river, this river may well in our case have been the Halys. Such an identification seems to me questionable. (a) because we know nothing as to *Halys* ever having been spelt *Halvės*, or as to any connexion between the names Ἄλης and Ἄλως (cf. Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 555); (b) because names ending in *-us* are peculiarly Lydian (e.g. Ἀδραμύς, Ἀλῆς, Ἀρδύς, Ἄτρυς, Κάδρυς, Σιντρυς, Ἀρτίμυς, Λαμεντρυς), and in a text such as ours it is not probable that the name of the great river Halys would have been spelt without that very ending which was so common in Lydia.

A CORRECTION IN HESYCHIUS

SOME years ago I contributed to the *Νέα Ἡμέρα*, then a flourishing Greek weekly journal in Trieste, a treatise on Greek Cynegetics. Pressing occupations compelled me to stop short at the chapter on Dogs—their Greek names and various breeds. Among the considerable material collected on this subject there occurred the following definition from Hesychius: Φόλνες· κύνες οἱ πυρροὶ ὄντες μέλανα στόματα εἶχον. Now dogs whose mouths could be said to be black were unknown until the so-called chows were quite recently introduced into the West from China. Evidently we have here some copyist's error, such as abound in this invaluable vocabulary, so highly prized by Coray.¹ It appeared to me that the problem might be solved by a close inquiry into the use and meaning of the word φόλνυς.

Under this same word we find in Aelius Herodian (pp. 32 and 34) a like interpretation: Φόλνες, κύνες, παρὰ τῷ Ἀντιμάχῳ, where the editor, Lehrs, proposes the emendation Φύλακες—unnecessarily, as we shall see, but evidently puzzled by the term Φόλνες. Now Hesychius gives us some inkling in explaining Φολίς· λεπίς; and φολίδες· αἱ λεπίδες τοῦ ὄφεως. And in the *Etymologicum Magnum* we read: Φολὸς καὶ Φολίδες· αἱ λεπίδες τοῦ ὄφεως· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ λέγεται καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πτερά· τούτοις γὰρ εἰκόασιν. Here the reference is to the small, more or less circular, underlying feathers of some birds. In Aristotle (*Hist. An.* A.VI. 4; *Part. An.* D.XI. 7, etc.) the word, in the sense of the horny scales of mammals, or of thin scales of fishes, occurs repeatedly: Ἔστι δ' ἡ φολίς ὅμοιον χώρα λεπίδος,² φύσει σκληρότερον.—Φολίδας ἔχει ὅσα πεζὰ καὶ ὠτόκα.—Ὀρνιθες οὔτε φολίδας, οὔτε τρίχας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πτερά, etc. So also in Oppian, *Cyn.* iii. 494:

. . . . θαμνῇσιν ἀρρηράμενοι φολίδεσσι
σκληρῇς ἄχρι διπλῆς ἐπιγουνίδος.

And again: Ὅσα λεπίσι πυκνῇσι καλύπτεται, ἡ φολίδεσι φρακτά. The passage in Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 5: Ἀντὶ κεράμων ταῖς φολέσι τῶν ζώων τὰς στέγας κατεκάλυπτον, can only refer to entire skins covered with scales.

But the word seems to have been applied originally to any small round and thin piece of metal. Φολίς χαλκοῦ, Hipp. 689, 10. We read in Suidas: Φολίς. τὸ τοῦ θώρακος, φόλλυς³ δὲ φόλλεως ὁ ὀβολός. And again: Ὀβολοῦς

¹ He repeatedly and lovingly refers to 'Hesychius meus,' his own copy, now with the rest of his books in the public library of Chios, the margins black with his manuscript emendations. These were collected and published in Athens in 1889. To the

passage in question he does not refer at all.

² *Λεπίς* is, properly speaking, the fish scale.

³ The word in all its forms often occurs with a double λλ, but not correctly so.

ὅς φόλεις καλοῦσι. On this acceptance of the word Eustathius. 136, 13 (II. A. 465), is more explicit : Τοὺς ὕστερον ταπεινοὺς καὶ πεταλώδεις καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐρεῖ ἐπιπέδους ἐποίησαν ὀβολοὺς, τοὺς λεγομένους φύλλεις.

In like manner the word was used to signify the metal plates or scales covering a breastplate—'scale-armour'—known also as σκυτάλαι.⁴ Θώρακα σιδηροῦν φολιδωτόν, Plut. Luc. 28. Χιτῶνά τινα φολιδωτόν⁵ ἀπεργάζονται, Heliod. ix. 15. Χιτῶν φολιδωτός would be, in modern parlance, a garment covered with sequins. In fact the passage in Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 221, πτέρυγας . . . χρυσεαῖς φολίξεσσι διανγέας, can only be rendered by : 'pinions with radiant gilt sequins,' or points, or patches. So also the passage in Heliod. ix. 18, Φολίδος τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ ἐπιτρεχούσης, recalls the spots on a leopard's skin, and conveys the same idea as κηλὶς, a fleck, a blotch.

We are thus gradually led to the conclusion that φόλνες κύνες πυρροὶ are dogs of a yellow-red coat spotted with black, such as are to be met with in Greece to the present day. It seems to me, therefore, that Hesychius wrote not στόματα, which has nothing to do with the peculiarity here described of a dog's coat, but στίγματα, i.e. the black spots on such coat. Hesychius himself explains : Στίγματα ποικίλματα. And even more favourable to the proposed emendation are the lines 166-7 in Hesiod's *Sc. Herc.* :

στίγματα δ' ὡς ἐπέφαντο ἰδεῖν δεινοῖσι δράκονσι
κυάνεα κατὰ νῶτα.

I may here add that the terms ὁ φόλις, ἡ φόλα, ἡ φόλη, τὸ φολερόν (all written also with a double λλ) occur, in the acceptations already considered, both in Byzantine authors, and in the spoken Greek of to-day. Referring to a tax imposed by Constantine the Greek Zosimus (105, I) says : τέλος ἐπιθεῖς ᾧ τινὶ φόλλιν αὐτὸς ἐπέθηκεν ὄνομα. In the more vulgar style of Ptochoprodromus we meet with the word both in its masculine and feminine form. Σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ φόλιν κέκτησαι νὰ δώσης τὴν ψυχὴν σου (B, 90); and ἡ φόλη, *ibid.* 555. In the Greek of to-day Φόλα is the name of a diminutive coin, and also of any more or less round patch sewn on a shoe. Φόλα is also the poison-ball (Fr. *boulette*), generally made of σκυλόχορτον (Fr. *tue-chien*).

J. GENNADIUS.

⁴ Ἔργασία δὲ τοῦ θώρακος τοιάδε σκυτάλας χαλκᾶς τε καὶ σιδηρᾶς ὅσον σπιθαμαῖας παντόθεν εἰς σχῆμα τετράγωνον ἐλάσαντες, etc., Heliod.

Aeth. ix, 15.

⁵ Λεπιδωτός, the scaled covering of reptiles more especially.

TWO ATTIC EPITAPHS

For permission to publish these two inscriptions, now in the Epigraphic Museum at Athens, the writer is indebted to Professor Leonardos, Director of the Museum, and to Professor Keramopoulos, who discovered them. His thanks are further due to Dr. J. J. E. Hondius for having resigned a prior right to publication of the second, to Mr. C. T. Seltman for the photograph of the first, to Mr. R. P. Austin for the photograph and measurements of the

second, to Mr. A. M. Woodward for his notes, and to Mr. M. N. Tod for valuable criticisms.

I. This stele, which is of Pentelic marble, was found in the house of Athanasios Katzoules by the church of S. Spyridon in Athens, in the part anciently called Agra, and was taken thence to the Epigraphic Museum on June 28th, 1914; its number is 12381. In height it measures 48.5 cm. above ground, 32 cm. below, in breadth at base of gable 25 cm., at ground level 29 cm. The greatest width of lettering is 23.5 cm., its average height about 23 mm., and the height of the inscription is 24.5 cm. Noteworthy in it are the ligatures of NH , MH , and NE , the monogram TAP .

The shapes of letters are clearly late Imperial; Mr. A. M. Woodward has kindly expressed the opinion that they hardly can be earlier than the third century of our era, and possibly belong to the early fourth;

he has remarked in particular on the late form of *zeta* with down-bent tail. The only decoration is a crown with twelve rays and two strings on either side of EYTYXEITE : the ivyleaf mark of punctuation occurs before ΞENIOY and after ΔΕΟΜΑΙ .



FIG. 1.—TOMBSTONE OF HAGNE.

The text runs thus :

Ἐξ Ἀσίας Ἀγνῆ | σὲ λιτάζομαι παρ' θένος οὔσα·
 μὴ ψαύ' σης τύμβοιο ἀνά || γνῶ χειρὶ βιαίῃ, |
 μηδ' ὀλίγης φθονέ | σης γαίης, πρὸς | Ξενίου δέομαι. |
 Εὐτυχεῖτε.

'I, Hagne, a maiden from Asia, beseech thee not to lay an impure and violent hand on my tomb, nor to begrudge me a little earth; this I ask of thee in the name of the god of strangers (Zeus Xenios). Fare ye well.'

Lines 1 and 2 offer nothing surprising metrically; λιτάζομαι would be scanned (as it might at this date have been written)¹ as λιτάζομε, and the hiatus in 2 is not remarkable. Line 3 does not scan as it stands; perhaps the engraver had some such model before him as the pentameter,

μὴ φθονέσης² γαίης, πρὸς Ξενίου δέομαι,

and heightened the pathos at the expense of the metre. In contents there is little to note.

Line 1. Ἐξ Ἀσίας is placed in an emphatic position to suggest the pathos of death far from home; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 185. 1, Ἀysonή με Λίβυσσαν ἔχει κόνις.

Ἀγνῆ is clearly a proper name here; we find it or the Latin *Hagna* at Rome, Puteoli, Messana, Cirta, Saguntum, Salona, at Philadelphia in Asia Minor, and in Egypt. Here a pun on Ἀγνῆ, a name, and ἀγνή as an epithet of παρθένος, is clearly intended, and the point is emphasised with ἀνάγνῳ in the next line. Such puns are common in Latin epitaphs, as, for instance, *nomine eram Maturus non aetate futurus*³ and *mater nomen eram mater non lege futura*, not to quote a number of Christian examples.⁴

Line 4. εὐτυχεῖτε. This is one of the variants of χαῖρε, χαίρετε.⁵ σὲ of l. 1 is the individual passer-by: in this plural all passers-by are included. The wreaths on either side of the word may be no more than the counterpart in stone of ordinary perishable wreaths (just as stone fillets took the place on copies of the Delphic omphalos of the woollen fillets which adorned the original). For the symbolism of the wreath there is no simple formula.⁶

II. This stele was brought from the Church of S. Spyridon to the Epigraphic Museum on the 20th of May, 1914. In height it measures 48 cm. above ground, 20 cm. below; in breadth 22 cm., in thickness 12 cm.: the height of the gable

¹ So in a Christian inscription at Autun (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 725. 8).

² For this form, in place of φθονέσης, cf. *A.P.* v. 304, vii. 607, Nonnus *Dion.* iii. 159.

³ Found on the *Via Salaria* at Rome and published *Notizie degli scavi*, 1919, 41 (a).

⁴ Buecheler, *Carmina latina epigraphica*, 562: cf. Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, 1560 (Mater), 63 v 3 (Probus), 1195, 11 f. (Deus dedit), 1196

(Adeodatus), *C.I.L.* vii. 17386 (Castula).

⁵ Cf. *I.G.* xiv. 933, 1849; Sterrett, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, iii. p. 172, n. 280, εὐτύχει, γρηγόρει, and *J.H.S.* xlv. 37 f., διεντύχει.

⁶ For the putting of wreaths on tombs cf. Köchling, *R.G.V.F.*, xiv. 2, 59 ff.; Ganschmetz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, xi. 1588 ff.: for the significance of stone crowns, Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, 68, and D. M. Robinson, *Anatolian Studies*, p. 351.

is 9.5 cm. The greatest width of lettering is 18 cm., the average height thereof 12 mm.

As to the shape of letters, Mr. A. M. Woodward observes that they could hardly be first or early second century, but might be late second or quite well third century, not impossibly fourth.

Εἰ τόσσον | βίοτον Φορτον | νάτωι πόρε Μοῖ | ρα
 ὅσσον καλὸς || ἔην ἀγαθὸς τε ἰ | δέσθαι
 οὐ νέ | ος ὦν θνήσκων | ἐν ξείνῃ λείπε Πού | δεντα
 ἔξοχα τει || μηθεὶς ἀνθύπατον | Λυκίης.

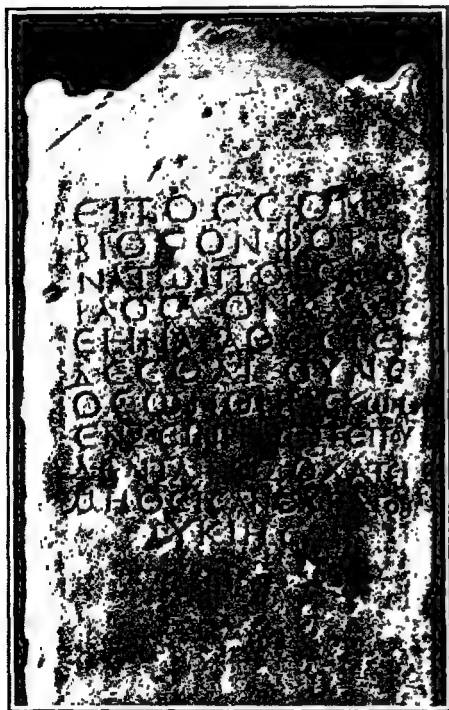


FIG. 2.—TOMBSTONE OF FORTUNATUS.

‘If Fate had given to Fortunatus a length of life proportionate to his fair beauty, he would not by his early death in a foreign land have left Pudens, proconsul of Lycia, by whom he was greatly honoured.’

Fortunatus, to judge by his name, was almost certainly a slave or a freedman of the proconsul of Lycia. It is unfortunately impossible to identify the latter, but his description as proconsul affords a *terminus post quem*. Lycia and Pamphylia, which jointly formed an Imperial province, passed into senatorial hands in exchange for Bithynia, very probably in the early years of Marcus Aurelius.⁷

It is of interest that the engraver left spaces at the ends of the second and third verses, and that the first syllable of Πούδεντα remains short as in the Latin form, though represented in Greek by Που. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, p. 702, refers

to ten examples of the collocation of a pentameter after three hexameters; presumably that is what the writer of these lines intended, but spoilt by an omission in or dislocation of the second line. Possibly it should have run

ὅσσον καλὸς ἔην μορφὴν ἀγαθὸς τε ἰδέσθαι.

A. D. NOCK.

⁷ See Brandis, *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii. 529.

NOTES ON BELIEFS AND MYTHS

I. THE MITHRAEUM AT CAPUA

My remarks about the Mithraeum at Capua in *J.H.S.* 1925, p. 100, require correction in view of Professor Minto's excellent publication of his discovery in *Notizie degli scavi*, 1924, p. 353 ff. It is not true that 'the initiate . . . appears to be represented as a child, not as a man.' In the stucco decorations of the *podia* the initiate is in fact represented as smaller than the mystagogue and the officiating priest (see figures 10-15 in Minto's article). It is possible that the officiants were supposed to act the parts of divine personages and were therefore represented as larger than human in accordance with a common artistic convention. In any case there is in the stuccos no additional evidence for Mithraic belief in the rebirth of the initiate as a child.

II. THRONOSIS

Against the wall of the apse of the underground basilica found in 1917 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome¹ have been noted the marks of attachment of what most students consider to have been a throne.² Mrs. Strong and others have urged that 'a seat for an officiant priest once stood here, somewhat like a bishop's throne within a chancel.' Is it not easier to suppose that the throne was used in some ritual *θρόνωσης*? We know of the existence of a custom of enthroning initiates. Plato, *Euthyd.* p. 277 D, refers to it as practised by the Corybants. In the way in which they did it, it could not have been performed in the Basilica, since it involved a dance round the man about to be initiated. Still, we do not know that Orphic enthronement, the practice of which is attested by the existence of an Orphic treatise by one Nicias of Elea called *Θρονισμοὶ μητρῶν*³ involved such a dance, although it has been conjectured.⁴ *Thronosis* might be a preliminary rite; it might also be the symbol of unification with the deity as the crown of initiation.⁵ In one sense or the other it may well have formed part of the ritual of the Basilica. At

¹ Described by E. Strong and N. Jolliffe, *J.H.S.* xliv. 65 ff.

² *Notizie degli scavi*, 1919, p. 36; *J.H.S.* xliv. 67. Bendinelli, *Bullet. comm. arch. commun.* i. (1922), 115, thinks that a statue stood here.

³ Cf. O. Kern, *Orphica*, p. 298.

⁴ Cf. on this conjecture Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 54, and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 120.

⁵ For *thronosis* as a preliminary rite cf

Aristoph. *Nub.* 254, where Socrates, in what Dieterich regards with reason as a parody of Orphic ritual, makes Strepsiades sit on a *ἱερὸς σκῆπτρος*. For *thronosis* as a culminating point cf. L. R. Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 301, and H. Graillet's imaginative reconstruction in *Le culte de Cybèle*, p. 184, also A. B. Cook's interpretation of a relief dedicated to *sanctus Bronton* (*Zeus*, ii. 838 f., fig. 795).

the same time, we cannot wholly ignore the possibility that the throne was the seat which a deity was supposed, though invisible, to occupy during solemn ceremonies. Such a throne was probably that which Sir William Ramsay identified in the sanctuary of Men Askaenos near Antioch in Pisidia: ⁶ the conception involved is well attested.⁷

III. JASON AND THE TABLE

One of the stuccoes on the vaulted roof of the Basilica represents Jason in the act of securing the fleece with Medea's assistance.⁸ He kneels on a table under which is a small table or stool supporting an oblong object, probably Medea's casket of magical herbs (Fig. 1).⁹ On other representations of the scene he stands on the ground, upright or with one knee resting on a rock ¹⁰; why does he here kneel on a table?

Dr. Leopold suggests: 'Il me semble très probable qu'on doive penser à un appareil magique tel que la table magique mentionnée dans un papyrus de Leyde.'¹¹ If we turn to P. Leidensis, V. (J. 384) i. 24, 26, we find that on the *τράπεζα* there mentioned, are set fruits, cakes, sweetmeats, lamps, bows (appropriate to Eros), pomegranates, and a bowl with honey. Thereafter you place on it the wax Eros being consecrated for magical use, and make also an altar of two clay bricks (*πλίνθους γηίνας*), with four horns; on the altar you put wood from fruitful trees and thereon seven strangled and blooded birds with incense of all kinds; on the second day you make a holocaust. Though the birds are not at once sacrificed on this altar, it is an altar of the old horned type,¹² and is called an altar. Clearly the table mentioned here and in other magical texts ¹³ is an adaptation for magical purposes of the table of offerings used in Greek cults for fruit, cakes and the like, and existing in them side by side with the altar employed for sacrifice. Some kind of oblation was an integral part of magical *τελεταί*.¹⁴

The table represented in our stucco has then nothing to do with that mentioned in the Leiden text. At the same time, the explanation of its presence

⁶ B.S.A. xviii. 49; cf. Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, p. 306.

⁷ Cf. R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, p. 76₂; V. Chapot, *Dar.-Sagl.* v. 280; H. Herter, *Rh. Mus.* lxxiv. 164 ff. Sometimes a cult statue was set on the throne: on it stood always Apollo of Amyclae (Pausan. iii. 19. 1) and Hermes of Aenus (to judge from the coins, *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, II. i. 1, 185 f., *Taf.* v. 4). A hierophant's throne at Eleusis is mentioned by Eunap. *Vita Maximī*, p. 52, ed. Boissonade (1822).

⁸ *Notizie*, 1918, p. 41, fig. 9; *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 77, fig. 5 (reproduced on p. 49).

⁹ Cf. *Ap. Rhod.* iii. 802; Orphic *Argonautica*, p. 956, and Sophocles *Φαίδομοι* fr. 534, Pearson (= 491, Nauck²) *αἱ δὲ καλοῦνται κίστοι βιῶν κρύπτουσι τοιάς*.

¹⁰ Cf. Roscher, ii. 80.

¹¹ *Mélanges arch. hist.* xxxix. 186.

¹² Still appearing in Crete on coins of Hadrian; cf. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète*, i. 353, No. 121 f., pl. 35, 36 f.; was the small bronze horned altar (7 inches high) figured by A. B. Cook (*Zeus*, ii. plate xi., facing p. 193) made for use in magic?

¹³ As *P. Lond.* 46, 208, Wessely (= 203 Kenyon). *P. Par.* 1859, 2186, *P. Leid.* W i. 11. Note that in the first passage you are directed to make first an offering of myrrh and other *aromata* on a *τράπεζα*, then *ποιῶσας δὲ ἄλλην θυσίαν ἐπὶ ξύλων ἀμπελίνων περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἔπαρον τὸν δακτύλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ μύρου καὶ περιτίθῃσιν*; here the *ἐπίθῃμα* on the *τράπεζα* is distinguished from the *ἄλλη θυσία* on wood (possibly on a *βαμός*, but it is not mentioned).

¹⁴ Cf. *J. Eg. Arch.* xi. 154 f.

may well be sought in magical ideas. Jason is the subordinate figure, Medea playing the chief part. If we turn to the *Demotic Magical Papyrus* translated by Drs. Griffith and Thompson, we read in the account of divination performed with a child as assistant (col. III. 5, p. 33): 'You take seven new bricks, before they have been moved so as to turn them to the other face; you take them, you being pure, without touching them against anything on earth. . . .

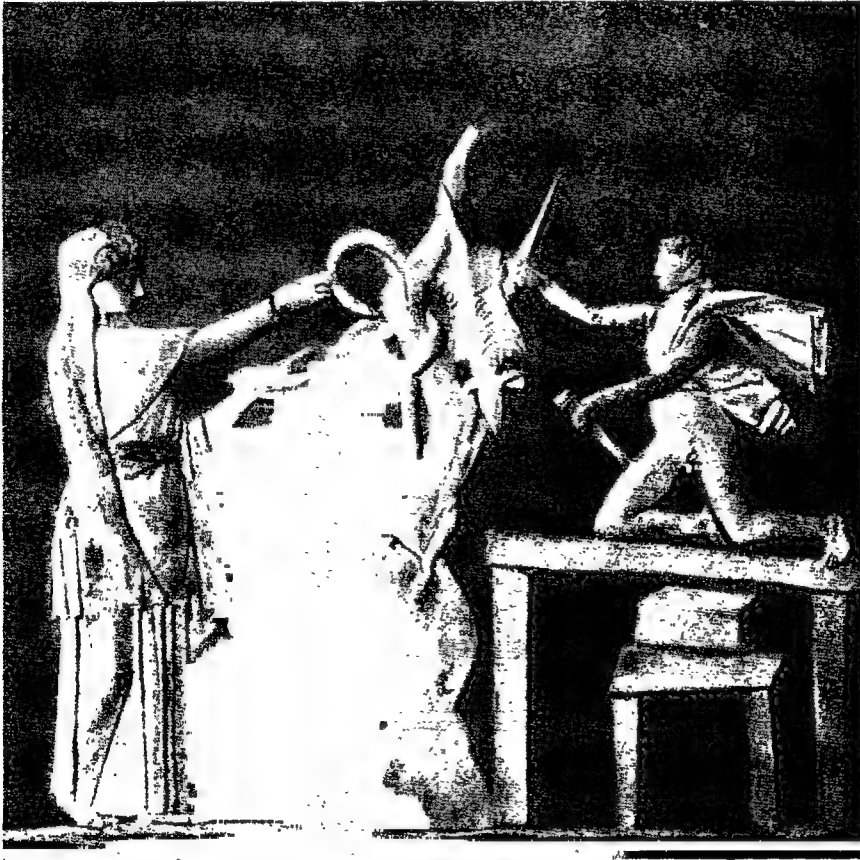


FIG. 1.—JASON STEALING THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

You arrange them about the child, without touching any part of him on the ground,' and in later passages again the young medium and objects used are set on bricks,¹⁵ as also in the Paris Greek magical papyrus, l. 911. Clearly there is in magic a kind of insulation: occult power can be lost by contact with earth, as, for instance, herbs may lose their freshness and the vigour of their hidden force.¹⁶ This belief exists in spite of the other belief, that

¹⁵ As xiv. 15.

¹⁶ Cf. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, i. 93, 114 f., and for abundant illustrations of 'insulation,' J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*³, x. 2 ff., iii. 110, 180, 241, xi. 51 (the metaphor is his). For this conception of magical

force as something which can escape, cf. *Hippiatrica*, p. 128, Müller (*Notices et extraits*, XXI, ii.) ὅφιν ζῶντα κανσείς εἰς χύτραν καινὴν καὶ ἐσφαλισμένην (leg. ἡσφολισμένην) τὸ στόμα, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διαπιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

contact with earth helps magical and other rites: earth is a storehouse of *δύναμις*, powerful to aid, and therefore also not without danger.¹⁷

Is it then possible that Jason, as the assistant in a magical act, is, in accordance with a widespread superstition, insulated from earth by this table?

IV. THE ORPHIC ARGONAUTICA

We may turn to another account of the getting of the fleece, associated with the name of Orpheus. The *Argonautica* ascribed to him is commonly regarded as later than Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus, neither of whom can be dated exactly.¹⁸

In Apollonius Rhodius, iv, 123 ff., Jason and Medea alone seek the oak tree round which the serpent guarding the fleece is coiled. Medea invokes Sleep to charm the monster and the queen of the under-world, who moves about at night, to be propitious to her enterprise (147 f.).

*αἶε δ' ἄνασσαν
νυκτιπόλον, χθονίην, εὐάντεια δοῦναι ἀφορμήν.*

That is all we hear of Hecate in this account. The serpent begins to be charmed, and Medea, sprinkling it with her mystic brew by means of a sprig of *ἄρκευθος* (juniper), sends him to sleep. In the Orphic poem, tree and serpent are in a fortified enclosure with seven ring-walls and three gates, guarded by a 'far-seeing queen with the radiance of fire, whom the Colchians propitiate as swift Artemis of the gate,¹⁹ dreadful for man to see, dreadful for man to hear, save for any who draw near to the sacred rites and purifications, the secrets of her who was initiated, Medea cursed in wedlock, among the maids of Cytaea. No one, native or stranger, crossed that threshold and passed within; for on every side they were barred by the goddess, breathing madness into the fire-eyed dogs that attended her' (900 ff.). Before Jason can enter, Orpheus is besought to propitiate Artemis, and he and Medea leave the others and commence their rite. Orpheus digs a triple trench, builds a pyre of juniper and other wood, adding simples of Medea's, makes *οὐλοπλάσματα* (puppets of meal or cakes), and casts them on the pyre, sacrifices three black puppies, mixes their blood with various herbs, fills their paunches and sets them on billets of wood, and pours libations mingled with water. Putting on black garments and striking hateful bronze he prays; the Furies hear and come, followed by iron-bodied Pandora (who is a form of the Earth Goddess) and Hecate, who appear in flames. Hecate (983) is three-headed; a horse's head projects from her left shoulder, a dog's from her right, in the middle is that of a wild boar; in her two hands she has a sword. Pandora, Hecate and the Furies circle around the trench. Suddenly Artemis, the guardian of the gate, drops her torches, and lifts her eyes to heaven; and her dogs fawn upon her and the door flies open. Orpheus, Medea and Jason enter, and the action proceeds as in Apollonius.

¹⁷ Cf. J. Heckenbach, *R.G.V.V.* ix. 3, 44 ff., and R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*³, 73 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Hermann, *Orphica*, 811 ff., and

Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. griech. Litt.* ii². 983.

¹⁹ This is perhaps suggested by Hecate's epithet *κλειδοῦχος*, on which cf. n. 26 *infra*.

The germ of this addition lies perhaps in Ap. Rh. iii. 1201 ff., where we read how Jason, before anointing his body as a protection against the brazen bulls, carried out Medea's instructions to appease Hecate. To do so he dug a trench a cubit deep, heaped up billets of wood, cut the throats of sheep over it, and poured a libation, invoking Hecate Brimo to assist him in the contest. Hecate heard him and came with torches, serpents and hounds of hell, to the consternation of Jason and of all nature. He returned, not turning round. Apollonius treats the scene briefly, but with careful observation of ritual details, as, for instance, in the last point. The Orphic poem describes the rite, here transferred and made a preliminary to the central exploit of the story, the securing of the fleece, in greater detail. In both writers it is of the nature of a *nekyomanteia*. In the Orphic poem to a greater extent than in Apollonius it has numerous points of contact with popular magic as described in detail in papyri or with general accuracy by poets; such are the triple trench for Hecate,²⁰ the woods used,²¹ some of the herbs used,²² the striking of bronze, which needs no illustration, the participation of the Furies,²³ the fantastic description of Hecate (common enough elsewhere) with her dogs,²⁴ the consternation of all nature at her coming,²⁵ and the miraculous opening of a door.²⁶ An explanation of these points of contact, and of the insertion of so much detail at this point in the poem, is required.

Hecate in l. 935 seems to be identified with Artemis in 902, in spite of their being apparently distinguished in 977 and 982, and is in 938 given the epithet Agrotera, which commonly belongs to Artemis.²⁷ The scene described is clearly one of Hecate-worship. Now Hecate had a mystery-cult in Samothrace, where dog-sacrifices (practised elsewhere also in her honour) and nocturnal rites by torchlight are mentioned, at Lagina, in Aegina, in Rome and possibly elsewhere.²⁸ Pausanias, ii. 30. 2, relates that the Aeginetans honour

²⁰ Cf. Stat. *Theb.* iv. 456 (necromancy).

²¹ For ἄρκευθος cf. *P. Par.* 2641, ἐπίθου δὲ μάλλον ἐπὶ ξύλων ἀρκευθίων (to Selene, often identified with Hecate), 3146 (small shrine made thereof, as in *P. Parthey*, i. 22); for κέδρος cf. *P. Leid.* V. iv. 26 (its oil prescribed for use); for ῥάμνος *ib.* xii. 27 (as substitute for bone of ibis), *P. Mimaute*, 205 W., and as used in amulets Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, i. 132, § 521; αἰγείρος I cannot illustrate.

²² At least for χάλκανθος cf. *P. Leid.* V. xii. 16, and for ψάλλειον *Cyranides*, i. ψ 2, p. 45, Mély-Ruelle (it is defined as βοτάνη πᾶσι γνωστή; still, that phrase is commonplace in *Cyran.*).

²³ Cf. *P. Par.* 1418, πέμψον δὲ Ἑρινὺν ὀργογὸργονιστριαν ψυχὰς καυόντων ἐξεγείρουσαν; E. is invoked after Hermes, etc. in *P. Lond.* 46. 191 W.; in *P. Par.* 2339 read φοβούσ' Ἑρινύς δαίμονας τεραστίους (not as Wessely, τ' ἐραστίους).

²⁴ Cf. *P. Par.* 2119 (heads of cow, maiden, dog) and Wunsch, *Arch. Jahrb. Erg. H.* vi.; for her dogs, Hopfner, i. 112, § 460; for her sword (980), Wunsch, 25.

²⁵ Cf. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, i. 65 ff.

²⁶ *ib.* 111. Hecate was worshipped as κλειδοῦχος, which presumably means 'having the keys of the under-world,' and has the key as an attribute; her key was carried in procession at Lagina (Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 400 f.).

²⁷ Miss J. R. Bacon has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that Plut. *De Herodoti malignitate*, xxvi. p. 862 A, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς Ἀγρὰς πομπὴν ἱστορήκας, ἣν πέμπουσιν ἔτι νῦν τῇ Ἑκάτῃ, seems to equate Agrotera, worshipped at Agrae, with Hecate, unless Wyttenbach is correct in supposing that the context requires τῇ Ἑκτῇ.

²⁸ Cf. J. Heckenbach, *Pauly-Wissowa*, vii. 2781; on the sacrifice of dogs Gruppe has an instructive note, *Griech. Mythologie*, 804s.

Hecate most of the gods, and perform a solemn rite every year in her honour, saying that the Thracian Orpheus established the rite.' In the fourth century of our era this cult, then combined with Eleusinian beliefs, seems to have enjoyed considerable vogue among those who remained adherents of the old gods.²⁹

Since Hecate's cult was in origin popular, and took its origin in that low level of belief from which necromancy and magic drew much sustenance, and since she was the deity commonly supposed to preside over magic, it is natural that a rite intended to propitiate her should have numerous points of contact with popular *καθαρμοί* and magical usage.³⁰ It may therefore be suggested that the passage of the Orphic *Argonautica* here discussed is an account, possibly with poetic modifications, of ceremonial performed in Hecate's honour in the fourth century, and perhaps later still in a sporadic way: this suits the phrase *τελετὰς καὶ θύσθλα καθαρμῶν*, and suits the description of Medea as *μύστις*. Because Hecate's mysteries were ascribed to Orpheus and were valued by the circles for which the *Argonautica* was written, they are given a place in the chief episode. One detail more requires consideration. Why is Hecate called *Μουνυχίη* in l. 935? Artemis had a famous shrine at Munychia, so celebrated that cults derived thence were to be found near Ephesus and in Cyzicus and Phacia,³¹ just as the cult of Artemis Ephesia was to be found in far more centres. It is perhaps fair to conclude that Artemis was officially identified with Hecate at Munychia and that nocturnal rites, such as are known on Samothrace, had probably obtained a place in the temple's cult. This view cannot, however, be pressed, in view of the fact that Tauric Artemis also is called *Μουνυχίη* in l. 1076.³²

Against this view of the passage it might indeed be urged that the poet does not directly state an *aition*, as he does with reference to the visit of the heroes to Samothrace and their initiation there.³³ Nevertheless, other ritual which Orpheus may have been supposed to have instituted is described without explicit mention of its later continuance, as, for instance, l. 321 ff.; something could be left for the reader to infer. If we are correct in supposing that Hecate's ceremonial is described as it was performed, our knowledge of that ceremonial is advanced by several points. We learn the way in which the dogs were sacrificed, also that libations of water were made, that the officiant put on black clothes,³⁴ that bronze was struck, possibly also that the sacrifice was performed

²⁹ Cf. Nilsson, 399, Heckenbach *l.c.*, Dieterich, *De hymnis Orphicis*, 44 f.

³⁰ As, for instance, with the rite which Lucian, *Necymantia*, 9, describes by way of parody.

³¹ Cf. Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*⁴, i. 312. It is tempting to suppose that this cult was closely related to the neighbouring cult of Bendis, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii. 115.

³² A detail which may be remarked in passing is that as a parallel to the *οὐλοπλάσμα* we know that cakes were offered to

Artemis at Munychia (Pollux, vi. 75) as to Hecate elsewhere (as at Delos, Athenaeus, xiv. p. 645B).

³³ Line 469 f., *μετὰ γὰρ σφιν δφέλισμον ἀνθρώποισι | τήσδε θυηπολῆς ἀβολεῖν πλωτῆρσιν ἐκάστοις*.

³⁴ For their use in a purificatory rite cf. *Suppl. Epigr. gr.* ii. 710, 12 f. (put on by all the other priestesses at Pednelissus at the purification of the new *Galato*, that is, priestess of Apollo). She enters on office after a *τελετή*, cf. l. 10, like other priests discussed, *Cl. Q.* 1926.

by a priest and a *hierophantia* (corresponding to Jason and Medea) in secret, and that this cathartic ritual was followed by an *epopteia*, a vision of the goddess, kindly to her own worshippers though full of terror to the uninitiated.³⁵ The details of the sacrifice agree with our general knowledge of the ceremonial appropriate to chthonic deities and have intrinsic probability.

V. SAINT TYCHON

Usener's theory that S. Tychon, known to us from a life by S. John the Eleemosynary, was no more than a Christianised version of Tychon (a deity akin to Priapus) has been refuted in detail by Delahaye and Maas,³⁶ and it is not necessary to dilate on the general nature of the tradition or to insist on the likelihood that some memory of a bishop prominent, as the Life suggests, in the last struggle with paganism would survive. One small suggestion may, however, be made. The list of the signatories from the province of Cyprus at the Council of Constantinople (held in 381) includes *Tychon Tamasensis*.³⁷ It is commonly assumed that this Tychon was bishop of the see of Tamassus. Nevertheless, since nothing else is known of this Tychon, and the list in question contains such errors as *Momsuestensis* for *Mopsuentensis* and *Commacensis* for *Commanensis*, is it not likely that *Tamasensis* is an error for *Amathensis*? If this proposal is accepted, it gives to Saint Tychon of Amathus unquestionable historicity.³⁸

A. D. Nock.

³⁵ Compare a passage which illustrates this, though it proves nothing, *H. Orph.* i. 9 (to Hecate), *λίσσομένους κούρην τελεταῖς ὁσίησι παρῆναι* | *βουκόλῳ εὐμειέουσιν ἀεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ*. There was at Aegina some sort of *traditio sacra*, according to Orig. *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22.

³⁶ *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxviii. (1909), 121; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xvii. (1908),

609 ff.

³⁷ Pithocus, *Code canonum ecclesiae Romanae* (Paris, 1687), p. 85, and Mansi, *Concilia* (ed. 1731), iii. 570 A.

³⁸ As does also the tradition, confirmed by a text quoted by Maas *l.c.*, that he was consecrated bishop by Epiphanius, Metropolitan of Cyprus, from 367 to 403.

FLORAL BLACK-FIGURED CUPS AT SCHIMATARI ¹

(PLATES II-IV)

THE later developments of black-figured vase painting in Boeotia are known mainly from the finds made at the Theban Kabeirion and from associated Kabeiric vases which are to be found in some numbers in the museums of Europe. Kabeiric is, however, only one of several B.F. styles that had their vogue in Boeotia in the later fifth and fourth centuries. A still commoner is one in which the decoration consists mainly of floral patterns in which the palmette predominates, with occasionally a bird, animal, or a grotesque human figure introduced in a subordinate position. Vases of various shapes with this decoration are found in some abundance in Greek museums, more especially at Thebes, Chaeronea, Schimatari (Tanagra), Chalcis, Nauplia (where the museum possesses two collections, the Nikandros and the Glymenopoulos Collections, both formed mainly in Boeotia), and the National Museum at Athens. They are not from the same potteries as the Kabeiric vases, though they are akin to them. Their artistic merit is slight, and this is no doubt the reason why so few have reached museums outside Greece, and why still fewer have ever been published.² Nevertheless, the fact that they exist in considerable numbers of itself makes them historically important, especially as the fabric has well-marked characteristics which render it possible to trace a chronological sequence and perhaps local styles.

The commonest shape is the kylix. At Schimatari there are some forty from early finds in the neighbourhood of Tanagra, besides others from more recent excavations. At Chaeronea there is a still larger number from neighbouring sites in North Boeotia and in Phocis. In the magazines of the National Museum also there is a considerable number, mainly from Tanagra. Unfortunately no details are known of the circumstances in which these cups were found, and one would have to rely entirely upon internal evidence in any investigation of their history and development but for excavations on two Boeotian sites which have yielded examples of this ware in burials

¹ I should like here to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Pappadakis, ephor of Boeotia, for permission to publish the vases at Schimatari, and also for unfailing kindness and ungrudging help which I received from him when I was working on this subject in Boeotia; also to Dr. Rhomaïos, M. Mayence, and Dr. Sieveking for very kindly giving me facilities for museum work and permission to publish

vases in Athens, Nauplia, Brussels, and Munich.

² The Boeotian ware dealt with in Pagenstecher's article in *A.J.A.*, 1909, p. 387 ff., on Hadra vases and their relation to Boeotian, Apulian, and other similar B.F. pottery, consists of only a few examples of not very common types in Heidelberg and Würzburg.

which provided a context of other fabrics. The first is Thespieae, where in 1911 Dr. Keramopoulos excavated the polyandron of the Thespians who fell at Delium in 424 B.C.³ The funeral offerings are now in Thebes Museum and include some half-dozen kylikes of this style which provide a valuable fixed point from which to work. The second is the cemetery at Rhitsona, where, apart from the doubtful graves numbered 36,⁴ 52,⁴ and 114b,⁵ examples with an indisputable context have been found in the single burial graves 57,⁴ 33,⁴ 30,⁴ 123,⁵ 114a,⁵ and 144.⁵ The furniture of the Rhitsona grave 123 corresponds with that of the Thespian polyandron, and from that starting-point the Rhitsona series can be placed with some degree of certainty.

In the light of these excavations it seems worth while to attempt some classification of the older collections. From a study of the cups it appears that there were at least two fabrics, each with distinctive characteristics. One prevailed in southern Boeotia and was to be found at Tanagra, Mykalessos (Rhitsona), Thespieae, and probably Thebes, while examples of unknown provenance exist also in the miscellaneous collections at Nauplia. Another which has marked differences from this is represented now mainly in the museum at Chaeronea, with a few examples at Nauplia, Munich, and elsewhere, and presumably had its vogue in northern Boeotia. I propose to publish here those in the Schimatari Museum, since they are more homogeneous than any of the other collections, and, being found at Tanagra, may naturally be expected to be in close relation to those from the neighbouring Mykalessos.

The following is a list of the kylikes in the old collection at Schimatari arranged in roughly chronological order. Most of them have a low stem; a few are stemless and stand on a ring-foot. The ground colour is buff, sometimes with a reddish tinge; the glaze varies in quality, but is generally brownish and streaky. There are no accessory colours and no incisions.

1 (Pl. II.). Diam. .17 m. Stemless; rim black. Lotus between two palmettes, all connected by tendrils with a peculiar snaky twist, terminating at the handles in spirals. Nothing beneath the handles. Inside black.

This belongs to one of the earliest types of floral cups. The bodies tend to be full and rounded, the handles are stirrup-shaped. The inside is normally black, and occasionally there is a slight sinking in the centre. Schimatari has only this one example, but a close parallel is Nauplia No. 535, a smaller cup with only one palmette and one lotus on each side. Stemmed kylikes with precisely the same style of decoration have been found in the Thespian polyandron and in the contemporary Rhitsona grave 123.⁶ The Schimatari and Nauplia cups seem to be if anything slightly the earlier and may be dated about 430 B.C.

A number of cups in the same style and of the same date as the polyandron kylikes, or very slightly later, are characterised by triangular pendants, possibly

³ Πρακτικά, 1911, p. 153 ff.

⁴ P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona*, *passim*.

⁵ Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*

from Rhitsona, in the press, *passim*.

⁶ *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, Pl. XXIV.

stylised lotus buds, hanging from the handle spirals, and by the use of dots, either as rosettes or massed in the field or forming a border round leaves or other objects. There is a slight upward twist in the stirrup-handles, and beneath them there is normally an ivy leaf. Two examples have a grotesque

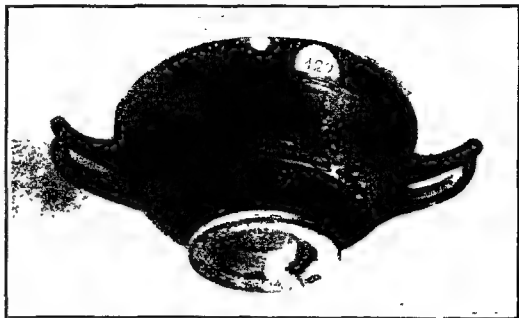
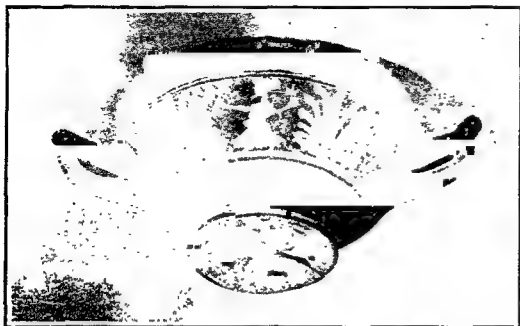


FIG. 1.—NAUPLIA 122.

figure of a woman replacing the lotus on one side of the vase :—Nauplia 122 (Fig. 1, *a* and *b*) and Athens CC 1117 (Fig. 2, *a* and *b*). Beneath one of the handles of the latter vase there are three leaves surrounded by dots, beneath the other there is the usual ivy leaf. Dresden has a more elaborate example where the central figure is on the one side a Nike and on the other a woman,



FIG. 2.—ATHENS CC 1117.

with a bird beneath each handle.⁷ In two the central figure is a bird :—Munich 2246 (Fig. 3), beneath handles, palmettes; and one in Reading in the University collection,^{7a} similar but without the dot rosette and swastikas, ivy leaves beneath handles. Examples with a lotus as the central motive are Rhitsona, gr. 114a,⁸ Nos. 15 and 16⁹ (though on one side of the former the lotus is re-

⁷ *Arch. Anz.* 1898, p. 133, No. 19.

^{7a} Recently acquired from the collection of Dr. Preyss in Munich.

⁸ Contemporary with gr. 123 and the

Thespian polyandron.

⁹ *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, Pl. XXIV.

placed by a group of dots): one at Blois: Brussels A 75 and the very similar A 2187. The interiors of these cups usually have a slight sinking in the middle and are all black except Munich 2246, which has a reserved medallion covering the sinking, the Reading cup and Rhitsona gr. 114a, 15 and 16, which have the medallion and also a reserved band just inside the rim, and Brussels A 2187, which has the medallion and a reserved band half-way between the medallion and the rim. Other cups, nearer to the polyandron vases in that the handle spirals have no triangular pendants, are Yale 192,¹⁰ which is much like the Brussels cups but has a 'lily pattern' beneath the handles, and another in Blois which has a lavish display of dots round the lotuses and beneath the handles an ivy leaf; both are black inside. To this type, the *floruit* of which may be regarded as about 420 B.C., belongs the alphabet vase in Athens CC 1116¹¹ (Fig. 4), though here the floral element is confined to the ivy leaf beneath the handles.

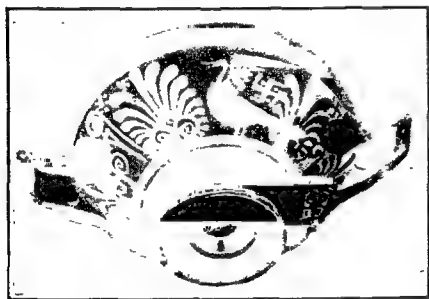


FIG. 3.—MUNICH 2246.

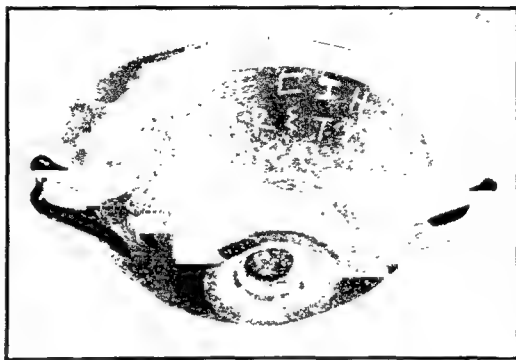


FIG. 4.—ATHENS CC 1116.

2 (Pl. II.). Diam. c. 185 m. Handles stirrup-shaped with a slight twist, rim black. Three palmettes alternating with groups of clubbed wavy lines. Beneath handles an ivy leaf. Inside black with a reserved band round the bottom of the rim and in the centre a very shallow sinking left reserved.

3. Diam. c. 185 m. As 2, except that one side has only two palmettes, the place of the third being taken by an ivy leaf and additional clubbed lines. There are a few dots beside one of the clubbed lines.

4. Diam. 135 m. Has handles more sharply twisted than the two preceding. Surface in bad condition and most of the decoration cannot be seen, but apparently it is as Nos. 2 and 3 with a dot on each side of the central leaf of the palmettes. Inside a slight sinking.

5. Diam. 155 m. Shape as 2 and 3. Vertical wavy clubbed lines, fifteen on one side, fourteen on the other. Beneath handles an ivy leaf. Inside black from the rim to about half-way to the centre, the rest ground colour with two broad black bands. Shallow sinking in the middle.

The type to which 2, 3, 4 belong is also known at Rhitsona, where three examples occur, unfortunately all of them in doubtful graves. They are

¹⁰ Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection*, Fig. 44.

¹¹ Kalinka, *Ath. Mitt.* 1892, p. 101.

gr. 52, No. 16,¹² and gr. 114b, Nos. 7 and 8,¹³ and have similar decoration, except that under the handles there is generally a rosette of dots, the ivy leaf sometimes appearing on the side as on No. 3 here. Nauplia 613 is a much later example, more angular in shape, with very sharply twisted handles and a deep hollow in the centre inside. The hollow is reserved and there is a reserved band nearer the rim. Like the Rhitsona examples it has rosettes under the handles, and there are dots on each side of the central leaves of the palmettes. Judging both from the shape of the cups and the style of their decoration, the Schimatari examples 2 and 3 are the earliest and are probably to be dated about 420 B.C., the three Rhitsona examples, and with them perhaps Schimatari 4, rather later, while Nauplia 613 is almost certainly fourth-century. This series must have come from the same pottery as the series described above under No. 1, for not only are they found in the same districts, but there is in Heidelberg (I 67) a bowl or pyxis of the type with a flat rim in which are holes for suspension, the decoration of which combines the peculiar palmette and clubbed wavy lines of this latter series with the birds and swastikas of the Munich cup. No. 5, though lacking the palmettes, is certainly related to Nos. 2-4.

6 (Pl. II.). Diam. .17 m. Stemless; twisted stirrup-handles, black rim. A. Three palmettes, on each side of each a clubbed wavy line. B. Three palmettes, between first and second from left a thin and rather shrivelled lotus. Beneath one handle a bird, beneath other nothing. Inside black with a large reserved medallion, in the centre of which is a well-marked sinking.

This cup has no obvious connexions. It is perhaps to be dated near the end of the fifth century.

The remaining cups, except Nos. 36 and 37, are distinguished from the six preceding numbers by the shape of their handles, which are rounded at the far end, not square-ended like the stirrup-handles; they are frequently painted only on the half remote from the body of the vase.

Nos. 7-11 group themselves together, 8-11 by the similarity of their shape as well as of their decoration. Common features are the shape of the palmettes, which spring from a single arc, and the connecting tendrils which rise to the whole height of the palmette (*e.g.* the handle palmette of No. 9, Pl. II), and frequently have three or four leaves springing from them in their upper part (*e.g.* Nos. 7 and 11, Pl. II. and III.). Except in No. 11 the inside is black without any reserved parts, and the central sinking is very slight.

7 (Pl. II.). Diam. .20 m. Stemless; very narrow black rim. Three palmettes, the central one upright, the side ones inverted, connected by tendrils which terminate in spirals under the handles. Two dots in the field.

8 (Pl. II.). Diam. .17 m. Black rim. A Human head and upper part of body; face, neck, and hair outlined, body in silhouette. From body springs a branch. Next, a vertical branch, then a palmette. B. Three unconnected palmettes. A palmette springs from each attachment of the handles.

¹² *Black Glaze Pottery*, Pl. X.

¹³ *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, Pl. XXV.

9 (Pl. II.). Diam. .195 m. A. Three vertical palmettes. B. Three palmettes, the middle one vertical, the side ones oblique and connected with it by curling tendrils. Beneath each handle a palmette; on one side it is connected with the adjacent palmettes by tendrils.

10. Diam. .195 m. A. Vertical palmette between dotted lotuses; on each side a horizontal palmette springing from handle. B. As A except that curling tendrils take the place of the lotuses. Below the palmette zone a band of dots. Beneath handles an ivy leaf.

11 (Pl. III.). Diam. .20 m. A. Vertical palmette with tendrils springing from it; on the left a vertical, and on the right a horizontal palmette; in the field a cross and cluster of three leaves. B. As A except that both side palmettes are horizontal and on the extreme left there is a clubbed wavy line. Beneath handles on one side lotus, on other cluster of three leaves. Inside black with a well-marked sinking in the middle, the bottom of which is left reserved.

There are no datable analogies to the group 7-10, but the general shape of the cups and the shallowness of the sinking inside suggest a date well before the end of the fifth century, and this accords with the decoration. No. 11 is later than the others, but not necessarily later than 400 B.C. The curious human head outlined in No. 8 may perhaps have been inspired by pottery of the type associated by Wide with Mykalessos,¹⁴ which was being made somewhere in the same region at about the same time. The handles also resemble the handles of Wide's kylikes in being painted only on the half remote from the body.

The four following are very similar to Nos. 7-11, but the rim is not painted, the handles broaden out more, and the bottom of the sinking, as in No. 11, is left in ground colour.

12 (Pl. III.). Diam. .20 m. Three palmettes, the middle one vertical, the side ones oblique and connected with it by tendrils. Beneath one handle a horse, beneath other a hare, both grotesquely drawn in outline.¹⁵ Above the hare, a rosette of dots.

13. Diam. .195 m. Three palmettes, the middle one vertical, the side ones horizontal and connected with it by tendrils. Nothing beneath handles.

14. Diam. .195 m. Three palmettes, the middle one vertical, the side ones horizontal and springing from the attachment of the handles. Nothing beneath handles.

15. Diam. .20 m. As 14.

Three more have a much deeper sinking in the centre inside. The sunk hollow is reserved, except in No. 17, where it is all black.

16 (Pl. III.). Diam. .20 m. Three vertical palmettes, between them tendrils. Beneath one handle, ivy leaf; beneath the other, a triangular object surrounded by dots (bunch of grapes? or, on the analogy of Figs. 1-3, a degenerate lotus bud?).

17. Diam. .175 m. Group of tendrils between two vertical palmettes. Beneath each handle, a tendril.

18. Diam. .18 m. Two palmettes. Beneath each handle, a palmette.

Nos. 12-18 naturally fall into place between the fifth-century vases listed

¹⁴ *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, p. 143 ff.; cp. especially *Compte-Rendu St. Petersburg*, 1901, p. 131, Fig. 229.

¹⁵ Cp. the 'elongated animal' drawn on a fragment of Kabeiric ware in Bryn Mawr, *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 317, Fig. 5.

previously and the long series 19-35 to which they (and particularly Nos. 16-18) lead up. They must be placed fairly early in the fourth century.

The following seventeen cups have round-ended handles of the shape seen *e.g.* in No. 21, Pl. III., and beneath the handles, except where otherwise stated, three or four chevrons placed one inside the other. Inside there is a very deep hollow in the centre, the bottom and often the sides of which are left reserved, and also (except No. 28) one, two, or three reserved bands between the hollow and the rim.¹⁶

19 (Pl. III.). Diam. .19 m. Three palmettes connected by tendrils, the middle one vertical, the side ones oblique. Inside, two reserved bands.

20. Diam. .185 m. As 19. Inside, one reserved band.

21 (Pl. III.). Diam. .15 m. Three vertical palmettes unconnected. Inside, three reserved bands.

22. Diam. .19 m. As 21. Surface is too encrusted to see reserved bands on the inside.

23. Diam. .185 m. Three vertical palmettes: between first and second from left, a swastika and tendril with leaf (like the tendril with leaf from which the oblique palmettes spring on No. 19, Pl. III.); between second and third, a clubbed wavy line. Inside, two reserved bands.

24. Diam. .18 m. A. Three vertical palmettes alternating with three tendrils with leaves, as on preceding. B. As A, but with swastika instead of one of the tendrils. Inside, two reserved bands.

25. Diam. .185 m. A. Three vertical palmettes, each pair separated by a clubbed wavy line. B. As A, but between first and second palmette from left instead of a clubbed line a bunch of grapes depending from two united tendrils with leaves. Inside, two reserved bands.¹⁷

26 (Pl. III., interior). Diam. .20 m. Two palmettes and two groups of tendrils placed alternately. Beneath one handle, chevrons; beneath other, ivy leaf. Inside, two reserved bands.¹⁷

27. Diam. .19 m. Three palmettes, the middle one vertical with tendrils with leaves on each side, the side ones horizontal, springing from the attachment of the handles. Inside, two reserved bands.

28 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .18 m. A. As No. 27; B. has in centre a many-petalled lotus (?) with dots. Chevrons beneath one handle only. Inside black, except the hollow, which is reserved.

29. Diam. .19 m. Lotus between horizontal palmettes springing from handles. Inside, two reserved bands.¹⁷

30. Diam. .19 m. As 29.

31. Diam. .19 m. Much encrusted. Apparently as 29 and 30.

32. Diam. .19 m. Between horizontal palmettes springing from handles, A. a cross above a dot rosette; B. inverted chevrons above a cross with its vertical arm hooked to the left. Beneath one handle, normal chevrons, beneath the other, a broad arrow and cross. Inside, two reserved bands.

33. Diam. .185 m. Three vertical palmettes, between each pair a tendril with leaf. Beneath each handle, a tendril. Inside, two reserved bands.

34 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .19 m. Band of spirals continuing beneath the handles; above, black splashes. Inside, two reserved bands.

¹⁶ The interiors with their broad concentric bands of black and ground colour recall very vividly those of the four-handled kylikes of the Boeotian Kylix

style of several generations earlier.

¹⁷ There is a very similar cup, also from Tanagra, in the magazine of the National Museum at Athens.

35 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .21 m. Wreath of leaves continuing beneath the handles; above, black splashes; below, black dots. Inside, two reserved bands.

Of the remaining three, 36 has obvious affinities with 34 though the handles differ; 37 and 38 at present stand alone.

36 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .20 m. Handles twisted. Band of spirals continuing beneath the handles; above and below, black splashes. Inside, two reserved bands and a deep hollow.

37 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .20 m. Handles square-ended; rim black. Wreath of leaves; below, black dots. Beneath one handle, palmette. Inside, all black with deep hollow in the centre.

38 (Pl. IV.). Diam. .14 m. Stem taller than normal; handles round-ended; rim black. Wreath of leaves. Beneath handle, a palmette. Inside, as 37.

The group 19-35 forms the largest homogeneous series in the collection, and the type to which it belongs is well represented among the cups from



FIG. 5.—NAUPLIA 539.



FIG. 6.—NAUPLIA 533.

Tanagra in Athens. Nauplia also has one, No. 539 (Fig. 6), which shows a garland of leaves and the figure of a woman—a motive which by now had become rare. Examples exist, though not in the old collection at Schimatari, of cups which show a rather later development of the same type. They are of the same general shape as the 'chevron' cups, but have a proportionately smaller foot and handles which turn more sharply upwards towards the rim, thus having a pinched-in appearance. Some have similar decoration to that of the Schimatari 'chevron' cups, *e.g.* Nauplia 533 (Fig. 6). Some in both Athens and Nauplia have for decoration nothing but horizontal bands of black inside and out; others have only clubbed wavy lines, such as one from Rhitsona and several in Schimatari Museum from excavations in the neighbourhood by Dr. Pappadakis.¹⁸ The Rhitsona example is from a grave dated early in the second half of the fourth century.¹⁹ It is probable, therefore, that in Schimatari 19-35 we see a type prevalent in the Tanagra region in the earlier part of the century.

¹⁸ A presumably later example of the same decoration is seen on the extraordinary cup found by Dr. Keramopoulos at Thebes,

Δελτίον, 1917, p. 229, Fig. 165.

¹⁹ Gr. 33, No. 50, *Black Glaze Pottery*, pp. 26 and 29, Pl. XVI.

Briefly, the lines of development that can be traced in the Schimatari cups are as follows. At the beginning of the last quarter of the fifth century we have fairly deep cups, amongst them a few stemless, mostly with square-ended stirrup-handles. Inside, they are generally black with sometimes a shallow depression in the middle. This depression is often so slight that it cannot be detected with the eye, but can merely be felt. Towards the close of the century reserved medallions and reserved bands become frequent inside, the hollow deepens, and the handles develop more and more of a twist. This type probably survives into the fourth century. The gradually deepening hollow can be traced also in some of the black glaze ware of the same period.²⁰ The type characteristic of the fourth century has a shallower bowl, a deep hollow, and round-ended handles which widen as they leave the body and which, in the latter part of the century, turn sharply up towards the rim. The interior has several reserved bands; in the later cups it would be more accurate to say that the interior is ground colour with bands of black. In decoration there are variations in the drawing of the palmettes which would be difficult to describe, but which can be readily seen in the illustrations. The lotuses are fat and fleshy in the fifth century, attenuated in the fourth. The attempts to introduce human and animal figures, comparatively frequent in the fifth, are practically abandoned in the fourth century. Towards the end of the fourth century cups with simple bands or wavy lines suggest that the designing even of palmette patterns was becoming too much of an effort. Perhaps by this time all pottery workers of any ability in Tanagra had become absorbed into the increasingly popular trade of the coroplast.

ANNIE D. URE.

²⁰ *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, gr. 123, etc.

THE HISTORIANS DOUKAS AND PHRANTZES

THE Turkish conquest of Greece produced four Greek historians—Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Doukas, Phrantzes and the Turkophil Imbrian, Kritoboulos. I have already dealt with the first; ¹ the present paper treats of the second and third of the four. Doukas' history has been preserved not only in the Greek text but also in an old Italian version, which in some places supplies materials lacking in our Greek original. Doukas is an author worthy of study; for he was truthful and in several instances an eye-witness—qualities which, in the opinion of historians, far outweigh the barbarism of his style, which so much offended his supercilious editor in the defective Bonn edition.

After a brief chronological introduction, beginning with Adam, he really begins his history with the battle of Kossovo in 1389, with a digression of eight chapters dealing with Cantacuzene's usurpation. From 1389 he gives a detailed account of the progress of the Turkish arms, only interrupted by the civil wars between the sons of Bayezid I, down to the capture of Lesbos in 1462. This is the latest event which he mentions, and the Italian version, based upon a fuller Greek text than ours, contains a page more about it (p. 512) than is found in the Greek. Moreover, in an earlier passage of the Greek text (p. 46) he wrote that the Gattilusj of Lesbos 'have not ceased ruling over this island up to now,' whereas the corresponding Italian version (p. 372) substitutes the words: 'his offspring . . . ruled till the loss of Mitylene, many years after the fall of Constantinople.' There are, however, twenty pages, corresponding with pp. 227–247 of the Greek text, missing in the Italian version, which, by way of compensation, provides a much longer account of the battle of Kossovo, giving, among other things, the real name, as Jireček ² has shown, of the Serbian hero, Kobilich, subsequently transformed into Obilich for euphony. With the earlier history of Frankish Greece Doukas is not well acquainted. Thus, he writes (p. 14) that the Cyclades were taken by 'Franks from Navarre'—an anachronism, which transplanted to the beginning of the thirteenth century the exploits of the Navarrese Company (p. 102) in the Duchy of Athens and the Principality of Achaia towards the end of the fourteenth. But he is extremely well informed about the events of his own time, with the exception of Hungarian affairs, which were out of his ken. His description of Belgrade (p. 210) is very accurate, and throughout he shows knowledge of Serbian politics. Thus, besides the fatal battle of Kossovo, he narrates the exploits of Stephen Lazarevich, the building of Semendria by George Brankovich and its capture by Murad II. He gives a long account (pp. 134–139) of the Turkish system, the institution of the janissaries and other

¹ *J.H.S.* xlii. 36.

² *Geschichte der Serben*, ii. 120n².

leading features of it, and is specially at home in all that concerns Asia Minor, notably Phokaia, and the island of Lesbos, for which he is an excellent source.

This familiarity is explained by the autobiographical notes with which he has interspersed his narrative. He tells us (pp. 23-4) that his grandfather, Michael Doukas, a descendant of the old family of that name, was among those six persons who were saved by taking refuge in the vault of a church at Constantinople after the murder of Apokaukos in 1345. Michael, disguised as a monk, escaped thence to Asia to the Court of Isa Beg I, son of Aidin, who received him well and assigned him Ephesus as a residence. 'Full of education' and not without medical skill, the lucky refugee decided to regard his new home as his fatherland, 'foreseeing that shortly all Thrace and the Balkan lands up to the Danube will be in the hands of the Turks'—a forecast fulfilled in the lifetime of his grandson. Doukas first mentions himself soon after 1413, when an abbot of 'Tourloté'³ in Chios told the story of certain miracles 'in the presence of me, the writer' (p. 113). He tells us (p. 162) that 'I have a house at New Phokaia'; hence his technical knowledge of the alum produced there (p. 160). He may have been secretary of Giovanni Adorno, lessee of New Phokaia from 1405 to 1424, for he twice wrote letters from that personage to Murad II (p. 165). In 1452 he was at Didymoteichos, for he says that he saw there the impaled bodies of a Venetian ship's captain and his men, executed by order of Mohammed II (p. 248). He was at Constantinople after the capture, for he saw a nun there worshipping the false prophet (p. 257); his accounts of the siege and capture were derived from eye-witnesses on both sides; for he mentions a story told him by a noble lady captive and says: 'After the war I met many Turks who had taken Constantinople and who told me' (pp. 260, 287). Hence his long and graphic account of its fall, while his own study of the Hebrew prophets supplied his pious mind with appropriate lamentations over it. He seems to have considered that he owed an apology to his readers for continuing his narrative beyond the capture of the capital; 'for it was not meet for me to describe the victories and exploits of the impious tyrant and implacable enemy and destroyer of our race' (p. 318). His last three chapters, covering the remaining nine years, are largely occupied with Lesbian affairs. In June 1455 he was 'sent' in the name of Dorino I Gattilusio, of Lesbos (for whom Domenico Gattilusio was then acting as regent) to pay his respects, and to offer presents, to Hamza, the Turkish Admiral—an official visit repeated upon the return of the Turkish fleet from Chios (pp. 321, 326). On August 1 Domenico (who had meanwhile succeeded on the death of Dorino) sent him to Adrianople to pay the tribute for Lesbos and Lemnos to Mohammed II. He returned with Domenico to the Sultan's head-quarters, then at the Bulgarian village of Zatica. He was subsequently sent as Domenico's envoy to Constantinople, and again, in August 1456, was the bearer of the tribute (pp. 328-30, 334, 336). Thus he had had considerable experience of diplomacy, the Turks and Lesbian affairs. He knew too the Cretans, of whom he wrote that 'they were always most

³ A corruption of *Τρουλλωτή*: Zolotas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου*, I. ii. 46, 80.

faithful' (p. 185)—as modern Greek history has proved. Of his personal knowledge the freshness of his narrative affords evidence. Indeed, the Byzantine historians have been too often calumniated as pedants—usually by those who have not read them or read them only as classical scholars—whereas they were frequently men of affairs. Such were Akropolites, Nikephoros Gregoras, Cantacuzene, Phrantzes and Doukas.

Doukas was also, like some men of affairs, a man of much religious feeling. Thus, he ascribed the Turkish triumphs to the sins of the Christians (p. 136); and Constantinople was lost, in his view, for the same reason. A similar spirit inspired his comments on the death of Murad II, whom he praises, while he violently abuses Mohammed II, the 'pupil of Satan transformed into the serpent' (pp. 228, 232). His violent language against the Orthodox Greeks after the Council of Florence indicates that he was an Uniate (pp. 216, 260, 290). His Greek is as unorthodox as his religion. He revels in the nominative absolute and false concords, which, however, leave no doubt as to his meaning, he makes *ἄνδρας* the nominative singular (p. 234), and his prose abounds with foreign, notably Turkish and Italian, words. Of the former we may cite *καδίν*, *καδδίσι* (pp. 49, 242), *καβούρ*, *καβουρίδων* ('Giaour,' pp. 49, 91, 105, 132, 155, 240, 251), *τζιαβούσιδας* ('court marshals,' p. 65), *τετέ σουλταν ἐρής* ('lord grandsire, hasten,' p. 114), *ζαρκουλᾶν* ('hat,' p. 113), *ἄκκην* ('inroad,' p. 135), *γενίτζερι* (p. 137), *τούρουν*, *τούρουν*, *κατζμάν* ('stop, do not flee,' p. 177), *σιαραπτάρ* ('standard-bearer,' pp. 187–8), *λαλά* ('tutor,' p. 250), and *ὀρταγή* ('helper,' p. 251). The latter include *δεφενδεῦσαι*, *δεφένσορας*, *δεφενδεύειν* (pp. 110, 179, 243, 274), *μπαρούνιδας* ('barons,' p. 52), *πόρτα* (as in modern Greek, p. 52), *σκάκω ζόγκω* ('stalemate,' p. 69), *ποδέσταις* (p. 63), *πραῖδαν* (pp. 83, 292, 296, 332, 337), *γαρδίας* (p. 199), *φούρκα* ('gibbet,' p. 325), and *τέντα* (p. 332). This large number of Italianisms may be due to his familiarity with the Genoese rulers of Lesbos and Phokaia. Two Latinisms occur, *ἐν ἐξπεδίτῳ* (p. 47) and *σπεκουλάτωρ* ('executioner,' pp. 305, 306). He makes one excursion into Roumanian, when he translates *Δραγούλιος* as *πονηρός* (p. 202), the real nickname of Vlad II being *Dracul* ('the Devil').

Of the four historians of the fall of the Byzantine Empire—Chalkokondyles, Doukas, Kritoboulos and Phrantzes—the last is nearest to the events described. A diplomatist, mixed up in the politics of his time, and entrusted with numerous confidential missions, he was an eye-witness of many of the occurrences which he narrates, and, therefore, writes 'as one having authority and not as the scribes.'

His history is essentially autobiographical. Of his family he tells us,⁴ that his mother's relatives resided in Messenia (p. 229), and that his grandfather was with his wife and children in Lemnos, when St. Thomais stopped there on her flight from Salonika to Constantinople. The eldest daughter was so much struck by the holy woman's virtue, that she forthwith forsook parents, brothers, sisters, husband and children, and became a nun—a profession in which a

⁴ The references are to the Bonn edition.

younger sister followed her (pp. 140, 143). George Phrantzes was born, during the blockade of Constantinople, on August 30, 1401, and his godmother was St. Thomas (p. 65); his sister married Gregorios Palaiologos Mamonas, a member of that great Monemvasiote family (which accounts for the historian's special knowledge of Monemvasia), and died with her husband and daughter of plague at a town on the Black Sea in the winter of 1416-17; he had several brothers, of whom the eldest went to the Morea with Manuel II, and a younger brother retired to a monastery (pp. 109-10). The historian married on January 28, 1438, Helene, daughter of Alexios Palaiologos Examlakon, keeper of the imperial inkstand, his best man being Constantine, the future Emperor. The offspring of this marriage was four sons—John, Alexios, a second Alexios and Andronikos—and one daughter—Thamar—of whom the first Alexios and Andronikos lived only a few days and the second Alexios only five years. His eldest son, born May 1, 1439, was put to death by Mohammed II on December 31, 1453. His daughter (of whom, as of John, Constantine had been godfather) died a captive in the Sultan's palace in September, 1455, affianced to Nicholas, son of Nikephoros Melissenos, to whom Constantine had proposed to marry her, giving to Phrantzes the trusteeship of the vast Messenian and other estates of that great family till his daughter reached the age of fourteen (pp. 191-3, 195, 200, 203, 225, 383, 385). Thus the historian had lost all his five children before exile from Greece befell him and his wife. The 'Theodora Phranza,' who gave the title to Neale's interesting novel about the historian is an imaginary personage.

Phrantzes defines the scope of his composition, which he divided into four books, as 'the description of the events of my own lifetime before and after our captivity,' and 'of the wars in the Peloponnese between the two brothers, the Despots Demetrios and Thomas,' prefaced by an introduction 'about the origins and causes of the Palaiologos dynasty from Michael VIII, the first Emperor of that family, to the Turkish conquest of Constantinople' (p. 5). This introductory matter gives a succinct account of the origin of the family from Alexios Palaiologos, who married Irene, daughter of Alexios III, and whose daughter married Andronikos Palaiologos, father of the future Emperor Michael VIII. It begins with the accusations against Michael for conspiring against Theodore II Laskaris, describes his usurpation, the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins, the reigns and civil wars of Andronikos II and III and John Cantacuzene and John V Palaiologos, the first settlement of the Turks in Europe and the battle of Nikopolis. This narrative down to the birth of the author is a very brief summary (pp. 6-65), the only exception being the full text of the letter of John V Palaiologos to Cantacuzene (pp. 42-5), which may have come from the imperial archives, to which the historian had access, as he elsewhere tells us.

From 1402 the narrative becomes more detailed; for, as he informs us, he proposes to write at length about what happened between 1402 and 1478. Indeed, he mentions events, such as the death of Mohammed II and the subsequent evacuation of Otranto by the Turks (p. 95), as late as September 10, 1481. He enumerates his sources (p. 66) as his own experience for things within his

own mature life, and for events before his birth partly credible writers, partly magnates of the imperial court and council and wise old senators. Thus he mentions 'written accounts' of Bayezid I's genealogy and also what 'wise men' had told him about that subject (pp. 66-8).

His narrative of his own lifetime is almost immediately interrupted by two long digressions, on the history of the Ottoman dynasty from its origin to the death of Mohammed II (pp. 69-96), and, *à propos* of Manuel II's fortification of the Isthmos, on the Saracen conquest of Crete, its reconquest by Nikephoros Phokas and its occupation by the Venetians (pp. 97-107). Phrantzes began his long experience of court life in the early autumn of 1417, when he was appointed, in his father's place, as gentleman-in-waiting to Thomas Palaiologos, when the latter was sent to the Morea; on March 17, 1418, he received a similar appointment about the person of Manuel II (p. 110). He speedily gained the Emperor's confidence, and on February 22, 1424, was sent on the first of his many diplomatic missions—to Murad II—rapidly followed by another mission to that Sultan, on which he specially represented the Empress, a daughter of Constantine Dragases, as related to Murad on his mother's side. He was loaded with presents by Manuel and the Empress, and the young Empress promised that she would bestow one of her own costly garments and forty gold pieces on his wife, when he married (pp. 118-21). Manuel specially commended him to John VI, for the good services rendered, particularly during the old Emperor's illness, and he was also on affectionate terms with Constantine, because Phrantzes' uncle had been Constantine's tutor and his cousins Constantine's fellow-pupils. Accordingly, he was ordered to accompany the new Emperor and Constantine to the Morea on December 26, 1427. He took over the castle of Glarentza as the dowry of Constantine's first wife, Theodora Tocco, in May 1428; and, when John VI returned to Constantinople, remained with Constantine in the Morea.

His devotion to his master exposed him to considerable dangers. While trying to cover Constantine's flight from before Patras on March 26, 1429, he was wounded, captured, fettered and chained to a stake in a dark room of the tower, which had formerly been a granary, with ants, weevils and mice—a misfortune of which, as he tells us in another digression (pp. 139-44), St. Thomais had a mysterious warning that same day. Released after more than forty days in prison, he was, in September 1430, appointed by Constantine prefect of Patras—to this capture of which there is an allusion in a recently published letter⁵ of John Dokeianos to Constantine (pp. 150, 156-7). He let no scruples interfere with his diplomacy. He unblushingly tells us how, after he and Pandolfo Malatesta, Archbishop of Patras, had each tried at their meeting at Lepanto to find out what the other was about, he made the Turkish envoys drunk and then opened, read and sealed up again the despatches which Malatesta had given them for their master!

After further missions from Constantine to Murad II and Turakhan, he went in 1430 to arrange the disputes between the natural sons of Carlo II

⁵ Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*. i. 244.

Tocco in Epeiros, but, on the anniversary of his capture by the people of Patras, he was seized on the way near S. Mavra by Catalan pirates, carried off to Cephalonia and sold (p. 154). His next mission, in January 1432, to the Sultan and the Emperor obtained for him from John VI the title of *proto-vestiários* ('keeper of the wardrobe'). In 1434-35 took place his two Athenian missions, the former to Antonio II Acciajuoli, the latter on Antonio's death, at the request of the late Duke's widow, Maria Melissene, to take over Athens and Thebes for Constantine. But his negotiations with Turakhan at Thebes were fruitless, and when he went back to Chalkis to take ship for Constantinople, he found 'the black bridge' over the Euripos pulled up, and had to shiver on the Boeotian shore, suffering from cold and hunger, the hardness of the rocks and the fear of brigands and Turks (pp. 158-60). After another mission to Murad II, he returned to Constantinople with Constantine in 1439.

After a digression on a theological debate between John VI and a Jew, who was converted by the imperial arguments (pp. 163-76), he gives a description, from information given him by the Despot Demetrios, of John VI's arrival at Venice and Ferrara on his way to attend the Council of Florence, to which Phrantzes was opposed (pp. 181-91). He mentions in this connexion a private conversation between Manuel II and John, at which he was present, and in which the old Emperor bade his son think of, but never attempt, the union of the Churches. On December 6, 1440, he went on a mission to Lesbos to arrange the marriage of Constantine with Catarina, daughter of Dorino I Gattilusio, and upon her death was sent in 1449 on a similar matrimonial errand to the Georgian and Trapezuntine courts, where he gave the excellent advice of an experienced statesman to the Emperor John IV about the dangers arising from the new Sultan, Mohammed II. After the former Lesbian journey, he had returned in 1441 with Constantine to the Morea, whence he went again on errands to Murad II and John VI. In March, 1443, he was sent by Constantine to govern Selymbria, which Constantine had received from the Emperor, but had handed over to his brother, the Despot Theodore, in exchange for Theodore's share of the Morea (p. 195). Returning a year later to Constantine at Mistra, he started on another mission to the Emperor, the Sultan and the King of Hungary on the eve of the fatal battle of Varna, and on September 1, 1446, was made prefect of 'Sparta' (Mistra) and district.

Upon the death of John VI, Phrantzes was entrusted with the task of informing the Sultan of the general desire that Constantine should become Emperor, and on March 12, 1449, the historian entered Constantinople with the new sovereign. After his long absence of two years on his matrimonial mission to Georgia and Trebizond, Phrantzes grew tired of being always on the move. Accordingly, when, in 1451, the Emperor wished him to start on a fresh errand to the Morea and to his niece, Helene, second wife of King John II of Cyprus, he replied that his wife did not like him to be so much away, and 'may in disgust go into a monastery, or desert me and marry another.' At this Constantine laughed, and said that this should be his minister's last mission abroad, and that he should have the post of *μεσάζων* ('secretary'), then held by the Grand-duke Notaras. He proposed also to marry Phrantzes' daughter to Nicholas

Melissenos. Owing, however, to Notaras' jealousy of Phrantzes, and the Emperor's fear of offending others, no further honour was actually conferred upon him. A family council was held, and, in view of the profitable marriage proposed for her daughter, Phrantzes' wife consented to his journey to the Morea and Cyprus; indeed, he resolved to take with him his son and most of his movable property, so that his son might see the world, and to leave him in the Morea with his grandmother's relatives, who lived in Messenia, in case the Sultan should attack Constantinople. But before he could start, Mohammed II advanced from Adrianople against Byzantium.

Phrantzes was thus inside Constantinople during the siege, his long account of which (pp. 233—94) is, therefore, that of an eye-witness. He knew the exact numbers of the garrison, because Constantine ordered him to go through the lists of men and weapons available for the defence, and the meagre total remained a secret between him and the Emperor. But at the moment when the Turks entered the city, he was not near his master, at whose command he had gone to inspect another part of the city. He was captured with his family by the Turks, from whom he obtained information about their losses (p. 250), but was ransomed on September 1, 1453, and escaped to Mistra. His wife and two surviving children were sold by some old Turks to the Sultan's first groom Ibrahim, from whom the Sultan bought them. The children's fate has already been described; his wife he ransomed from Ibrahim at Adrianople in 1454 and took her back with him to Patras. He had done what he could to obtain Western aid for Constantinople; he had advised Constantine, while still only Despot, to marry the daughter of the Doge Francesco Foscari, he had urged him when Emperor to make Cardinal Isidore, ex-metropolitan of Kiev, then in Constantinople, Patriarch, and he knew Constantine's secret concessions of Mesembria to Hunyad (the golden bull concerning which Phrantzes drew up with his own hand), of Lemnos to Alfonso V of Aragon, and of money to the Genoese of Chios in return for their aid. But he puts into the mouth of one of the Sultan's ministers remarks on the disunion and dilatoriness of the Western Powers (p. 267), which might have been applied with equal force in 1922. Less valuable are his four digressions after the capture of Constantinople on chronology up to and after Mahomet, with a summary of the Koran, on theological polemics with the Latins and with Islam, and on comets (pp. 294—304, 310—23, 328—83).

Upon his arrival in the Morea, Phrantzes went to Leondari and did obeisance to the Despot Thomas, who took him into his service and gave him the village of Kerteze. In 1454 disturbances prevented his intended mission to the Serbian Court, but in 1455 he went as envoy to the Doge Foscari, who gave him money and letters. He was in Arkadia during the civil war between Thomas and his brother Demetrios; but after Thomas fled before the conquering Turks to Corfù, he also escaped from the Morea on July 11, 1460, and reached that then Venetian island on August 2. His first intention had been to go to Crete or to the monastery of St. Nicholas at Berrhoea, which his grandfather had restored. He declined Thomas' invitations to accompany him to Italy or remain with Thomas' wife in Corfù as master of her household. Grief for

his dead children led him, after a stay in the suburbs of the town and in the village of Molybatina, to enter the Corfiote Monastery of St. Elias with his relatives on September 6, 1461. Six months later he migrated to the still extant monastery of SS. Jason and Sosipater, while, to his great regret, his intended son-in-law left for Crete. But this was not the end of his misfortunes. Driven by want, he proceeded in April, 1466, to Ancona, Viterbo (to meet Bessarion) and Rome, where he lodged in the house of the Despot Thomas' family, then established there. Thomas' son-in-law, Caracciolo, made rich gifts to this faithful old retainer of the family, and after a stay of thirty-six days, employed in visiting the sights, Phrantzes went by way of Ancona to Venice, where he stayed in the monastery of S. Croce, thence returning to Corfù. He mentions briefly the events of the Turco-Venetian War—the capture of Imbros and Athens, the attack on Patras and the death of the Venetian admiral Cappello at Negroponte, and in November, 1467, made the last of his many journeys—to S. Mavra, to obtain an annuity for his old age from Leonardo III Tocco, in compensation for the losses which he had suffered from the pirates on the occasion of his previous voyage thither in 1430. [It may be noted that the Latin translation of the Bonn edition (p. 429) wrongly renders *λη' ἔτει anno aetatis* 38, whereas it is an abbreviation of 6938 (= A.D. 1430), the date (cf. p. 154) of Phrantzes' former journey. In the same passage, for the unintelligible *μαστραιδιακῶ*, or, according to another reading, *μαστραικῶ*, may be conjectured *μοναστηριακῶ*.] In the following spring his rheumatism was troublesome, and on August 1 he became the monk Gregorios and his wife the nun Eupraxia. He recovered from a severe illness in 1472, but in 1476 the rheumatism attacked his head and knees, so that he prayed for death. He was in great want and became deaf. Still, on March 29, 1478, he wrote the last lines of his history, undertaken 'at the request of some noble Corfiotes.' The above-mentioned allusion to the evacuation of Otranto shows that it was revised as late as the autumn of 1481. The author prays his readers to excuse any errors on the ground of his age and infirmities. This is, doubtless, the explanation of several mistakes in dates, 6800 for 6892 (p. 56), 6900 for 6906 (p. 60), 6881 for 6897 (p. 81), 6903 for 6905 (p. 83), 6907 for 6918 (p. 89, where Finlay has written in the margin of his copy, now in the Finlay library, 'date as usual incorrect'), and 6975 for 6974 (p. 425). To the garrulity of old age we may perhaps also attribute the digressions, such as that on the Creed (pp. 430–46). That, however, upon Monemvasia and its church is of historical value, for it is based upon the documents, which Phrantzes had read in the imperial Chancery, including the Golden Bull of Andronikos II of 1316, which 'I chanced to have in my hands after the captivity' (pp. 397–405). Bessarion's letter to the tutor of the Despot Thomas' children throws light on the Cardinal's educational views (pp. 416–23). There is one instance of forgetfulness (p. 27), where the historian refers to his 'previous mention' of the acquisition of the Kingdom of Salonika by Boniface of Montferrat. No such mention had been made.

Phrantzes wrote in a simple and easy style, but his book contains a number of Turkish and some Italian words. The former include *ἀμερμουνῆς* ('prince

of the faithful'), ἀμηρᾶς, κορᾶν, βιζιρίς, μπεγλέρ μπέης, γουλᾶς, μπασιᾶς, ἰαννιτζάρης, ἰαννιτσάραγας, τζαούσιδες, σουργούνιδες ('colonists'), μεραχούρης ('chief groom') and one whole sentence ἀλλὰ ἀλλ' Μεεμέτη ρεσοῦλ ἀλλὰ (p. 270); the latter comprise κάστρον, γρόσσας γαλέρας ἢ γαλεύτσας, μπαλαιστρών, πουτζιδῶρον ('Bucentauro') and ὀρομπούρκιον ('rimorchio'). He has one Persian word, καβάδιον ('caftan'). Some of his transliterations of foreign proper names are rather difficult. Πιριγκέριος Τέντζας (p. 29) is Berenger d'Entenza; Ἰαγκος, John Hunyad; Ντεμίρης, Timour; Μίλτσας (p. 82), Mircea; Σαραβύλε (p. 145), Serravalle; Ὀμόβρυδον (p. 384), Semendria; Ζουχασάνης (p. 449), Usun Hassan, chief of 'the White Sheep'; Νοταρᾶ (another reading is Νοτορῆ) τοῦ Γατελιούτζη (p. 193), Dorino I Gattilusio. Δάβαλος, 'Prince of the Peloponnese' (p. 107), by an anachronism, of which there is another example in the next line, is, I believe, meant for Jacques des Baux, titular Emperor of Constantinople and Prince of Achaia, 1381-83; it ought to be Geoffroi de Villehardouin. George 'Ραοῦλ (p. 118) is possibly the well-known George Raoul, twice mentioned later on, and his son-in-law, Hilarion Doria, the person of that name mentioned in documents⁶ of 1399 as one of Manuel II's emissaries to the West after the battle of Nikopolis. Κώμου and Τζίκολον (p. 423), as Legrand⁷ saw, are Osimo and Cingoli.

Essentially a man of affairs—and this constitutes the value of his history—he yet, like most Byzantine historians, had a good knowledge of literature. Biblical phrases are found in his pages, and he twice quotes, or rather paraphrases, classical poetry about Crete (pp. 99, 101), the latter being an allusion to Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 127-40. Given his importance, Phrantzes deserves a better edition than that of Bonn, produced at a time when the limited knowledge of Frankish Greece was insufficient for the editor to identify some of the persons mentioned.

WILLIAM MILLER.

⁶ *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll' Oriente*, p. 146; Rymer, *Foedera*, viii. 65, 82, 174. ⁷ *Revue des études grecques* (1892), v. 108-15.

A NEW COPY OF A PORTRAIT OF DEMOSTHENES

[PLATE V.]

THIS marble head was acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1923 from a British officer, Mr. L. T. Bower, who had purchased it in Constantinople. The vendor stated that it had come from Eski-Shehr in Asia Minor, the ancient Dorylaeum (Fig. 1).

The measurements of the head are as follows :—

Height from fracture of neck to top of head, 30 cm.

Height from chin point to top of head, 28·3 cm.

Width of face between the front of the ears, 17·3 cm.

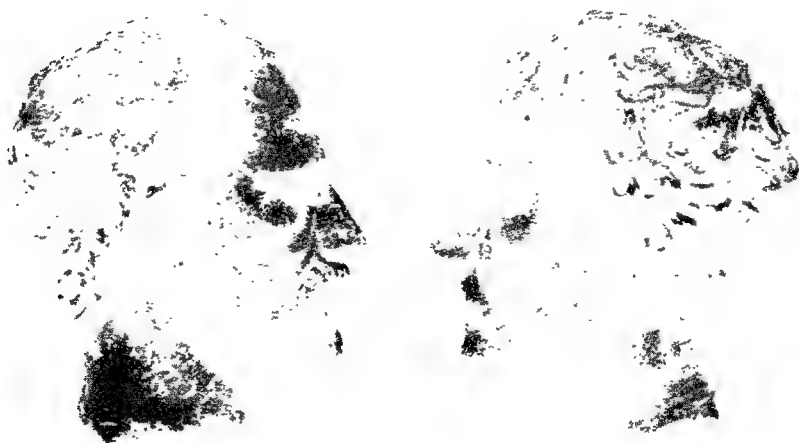


FIG. 1.—MARBLE HEAD IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.

Depth between back of head and eyebrows, 23·2 cm.

Width of neck, 13·8 cm.

Length of nose from bridge to tip (which is intact), 5·9 cm.

Width of nose at nostrils. 4·7 cm.

The marble from which it is cut is certainly Greek, being of a heavy crystalline structure of the kind seen in the marble of Paros, Thasos or Proconnesos. The head has been broken off from the shoulders at the base of the neck, but has suffered remarkably little damage. It comes probably from a herm, since the neck surfaces are treated summarily and do not show the transverse wrinkles that are seen in the Vatican and Knole statues. There is a large surface fracture on the chin and the top of the left ear is damaged.

The nose is intact, but has lost its original surface. The hair has suffered some surface damage also, but except for these blemishes the head is in excellent condition.

The clearness and vigour of execution mark the head as the work of a sculptor considerably superior to those responsible for the majority of the Demosthenes heads in European museums. The very sparing use of the drill and the excellence of workmanship suggest a date within a hundred years of



FIG. 2.—HEAD IN ATHENS.

280 B.C., when the famous portrait of Polyeuctus was erected.¹ In all probability this copy is almost contemporary with the work of that artist.

The new head by its emphasis of certain features and details can be associated with a small group of the known portraits² of the orator. The remainder fall into three classes, namely :—

- (A) Inferior versions of the original from which this head and its allied group are derived.
- (B) Versions of a portrait which are essentially different from that represented by our head and its allied group or by (A).
- (C) Almost fanciful portraits derived only very remotely from an original.

¹ Plutarch, *Dem.* 31.

² Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, II.

p. 69. Certain copies are here given. Others must be added to this list (see below, p. 76).

The allied group consists of the following :—

- (i) The Vatican statue,³ said to come from Athens and known at the beginning of the eighteenth century, if not earlier.
- (ii) The Knole statue,⁴ found in Campania about the middle of the eighteenth century.
- (iii) The Munich herm,⁵ found at Rome in 1825.
- (iv) The Copenhagen head.⁶
- (v) The Berlin bust.⁷



FIG. 3.—THE PIOMBINO AMETHYST.

- (vi) The Athens head,⁸ found in the Royal Gardens at Athens in 1849 (Fig. 2).

- (vii) The Piombino amethyst by Dioskurides,⁹ now in the collection of Sir A. Evans (Fig. 3).

All these examples have in varying degrees of emphasis details of expression and physiognomy which seem to be derived from a strong and virile original. In our head some of these details receive at once the best treatment and the clearest emphasis. Thus the central wrinkles with three furrows between the eyes caused by contraction of the eyebrows are here very strongly marked; the middle furrow slants diagonally. The left eyebrow is lower than the other, thus causing the wrinkles to slant and the face to be asymmetrical (the whole of this asymmetry is exaggerated in the Berlin bust). The muscular contraction of the brows has not smoothed out the very strong double lines which extend horizontally across the forehead. Again, the lines that extend from the corners of the nose to the sides of the mouth are, in our head, most definite and pronounced. These lines may, for convenience, be termed the 'rhetorical lines,' since they arise mainly from an extension of the mouth in loud speaking. A subsidiary parallel fold is perceptible on each cheek above these lines, and the horizontal grooves above the nostrils are strong. The 'crow's-feet' at the eye corners are of three lines.

The main differences and similarities between our head and the other seven associated with it may be summarised as follows. The central furrows and wrinkles between the eyebrows are triple in all seven instances, but only very strongly marked (or as strongly marked as in our head) in the case of the Berlin, Munich and Athens copies and the Piombino amethyst. The head of the Vatican statue shows two smaller subsidiary furrows. The central of the three furrows is diagonal only in the Copenhagen and Berlin copies. The lines on the forehead are prominent on all examples, but a third is added in the

³ Bernoulli, No. 2. It was said to have been brought to Venice by Morosini in 1687. Arndt, No. 574.

⁴ Bernoulli, No. 22; Michaelis. *Ancient Marbles*, p. 417.

⁵ Bernoulli, No. 28; Arndt. Nos. 136-37.

⁶ Bernoulli, No. 29 and Pl. XII.b.

⁷ Bernoulli, No. 26; *Berlin Catal.*, No. 303; Arndt, No. 138.

⁸ Bernoulli, No. 31; *Stais, Catal.*, No. 327.

⁹ Bernoulli, p. 76, 6. Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, Pl. XLIX., No. 7.

Copenhagen, Vatican and Athens copies. The Piombino amethyst gives great emphasis to all these points, even to the secondary cheek wrinkles: this is important, because a gem-cutter would naturally tend to emphasise—almost to exaggeration—the most characteristic elements of his original, and the fact that our head has most of these elements more emphatically than in the other examples places it, in consequence, very near if not nearest to the original.

The hair of the head and face of the new portrait is cut carefully and without over-elaboration. In treatment it compares most closely with the Vatican, Knole and Berlin examples, but it is, on the whole, crisper and more close to a bronze original. All alike exhibit the same general arrangement from the front view, with a central lock above the middle of the forehead and a separate cluster on each side above the temples. The hair on the back of the neck is arranged in the same way in this head and the head of the Knole and Vatican statues. Otherwise there is great divergence in the treatment of the hair. The Copenhagen bust and the Munich herm differ from all the rest in having hair in a style that indicates more directly a flat bronze technique; the locks are flat and with parallel grooves cut on their surfaces and there is much use of the chisel. The Athens head, on the other hand, while adhering to the usual arrangement of the hair of the head, renders it with great freedom, with extensive use of the drill in the manner of Imperial Roman portraits of the second century, to which period it undoubtedly belongs. The Piombino amethyst reproduces the main structure of the hair with great clearness and, after comparison with the other examples, with great fidelity to the general arrangement which they all follow. Peculiar to our copy are the details of the nose, hitherto unknown, and the particularly deep setting of the eyes, which also are narrower than in any of the other seven copies.

It may be said, then, that the new head, together with the Vatican statue, the Copenhagen head and the Piombino amethyst, gives us a very definite idea of the original from which all are derived. Very strong lines between the eyebrows, forehead lines and strong 'rhetorical lines' are essentials common to all and obviously considered in antiquity as characteristic of the face of Demosthenes. The Copenhagen head probably adheres most closely to the original in the treatment of the hair and head, whereas for general treatment of the facial surfaces the new head is better and stronger; its artist aimed at the essential features, but treated the hair more in the convention and manner of a marble-cutter. The Copenhagen copyist was more mechanical and less an artist. The Vatican statue and the Knole statue, the Berlin bust and the Munich herm are midway between the two. The Athens head stands out as a very masterly work by a copyist who on the whole remoulded the hair in the light of his own conventions. In one respect—the nose—the new head gives important new information. In all the other examples of the allied group (except, of course, the amethyst) the nose has been restored, and the restorations are seldom happy. Thus the nose of the Copenhagen head is too broad and flat, that of the Vatican statue too shapeless, that of the Berlin bust shapeless and bulbous, and of the Knole statue too aquiline.

The inferior versions of the original form a large group (Class A above).

The majority of the museum busts classified by Bernoulli belong to it. The heads in the British Museum,¹⁰ the Louvre,¹¹ Berlin,¹² the Barracco Museum,¹³ the Capitoline Museum,¹⁴ Brocklesby Park,¹⁵ the Vatican¹⁶ and most of those in Bernoulli's list all retain the main features already dealt with in the better examples, but the treatment is usually slurred in detail and insipid. The British Museum and Louvre heads are notable in this respect. Two additions to this group are to be found in a bust at Shobden Hall, Herefordshire,¹⁷ of greater merit, and a less skilful copy in the Mond collection. The Shobden

head, while lacking the 'dryness' of the new head, is strong and vigorous. The characteristic details are clearly marked and the hair excellently treated. Wrinkles on the side of the neck suggest that it is the head of a complete statue. The Mond head, on the other hand, is lifeless and dull.

The most important question remains of the existence of portraits other than that represented by the copies already dealt with. A number of copies exist (Class B above) in which the general treatment differs profoundly from that of the preceding group, while the essential and characteristic details of expression seen in that group are differently arranged or partly lacking. A fine head (on a small scale) at Athens¹⁸ (Fig. 4), the small bronze herm at Naples,¹⁹ and a second small bronze herm also there,²⁰ and inscribed ΔΗΜΟΚΡΕΝΗC, the bust in the



FIG. 4.—HEAD IN ATHENS.

British Museum usually known as 'Pseudo-Demosthenes,'²¹ all give a fundamentally different version of the orator. To the list may perhaps be added another example, an agate cameo in the Cabinet des Médailles at

¹⁰ Bernoulli, No. 21; *B.M. Catal.*, No. 1840.

¹¹ Bernoulli, Nos. 15-18. Only one of the four examples in the Louvre (now numbered 201) is of any real merit; it has the additional advantage of having its nose only very slightly restored.

¹² Bernoulli, No. 25; *Berlin Catal.*, No. 302; Arndt, No. 138.

¹³ Bernoulli, No. 6; *Barracco Catalogue*, 1923, No. 140.

¹⁴ Bernoulli, No. 1.

¹⁵ Bernoulli, No. 24; Michaelis, p. 230.

¹⁶ Bernoulli, No. 3.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Mr. B. Ashmole for photographs of this head and the Mond head.

¹⁸ Not in Bernoulli's list. *Staïs, Catal.*, p. 101, No. 1761.

¹⁹ Bernoulli, No. 8; *Naples Catal.*, p. 73, Fig. 58, No. 901 (5469).

²⁰ Bernoulli, No. 7; *Naples Catal.*, p. 69, No. 893 (5467).

²¹ Bernoulli, No. 21; in Greek marble; *B. M. Catal.*, No. 1841.

Paris.²² All alike show strong wrinkles between the eyebrows and the forehead lines, but the facial lines are less marked and the appearance of intense nervous concentration is absent. They show a Demosthenes of apparently greater age and less vigour. But they are by no means all of the same type and, if they suggest an original different from that of the new head and its congeners, at the same time they suggest the possibility of more than one original. The Athens head in this group and the uninscribed Naples herm are the best in treatment and execution. Both look like good Graeco-Roman copies of a good period. They are, however, different from each other. The Athens head, although of small scale, is remarkably full of character. The eyes are more sunken and the lines beneath them more marked; there is less decision about the whole expression, less truculence; the 'rhetorical lines' hardly appear. Conceivably it is a fanciful variant on the chief original from which our new head is derived, but it may equally well be an early copy of another portrait.

The Naples uninscribed bronze has the same general structure of the Demosthenean face, but the only peculiarities that are emphasised are the wrinkles between the brows, which are very marked, and the 'crow's-feet.' For the rest, the whole expression is mild and contemplative rather than forensic. The inscribed bronze at Naples is of such general inferiority that the essential qualities of expression are scarcely perceptible and its identity rests primarily on its inscription. The absence of the main Demosthenean characteristics and a wholly unusual treatment of the hair dissociates it definitely from group (A). The British Museum 'Pseudo-Demosthenes,' if examined closely, shows the essential Demosthenean features, and so can be identified as a portrait of the orator. The furrows between the eyebrows are pronounced, but their actual nature and direction are uncertain, since the restored part of the face (which includes the whole of the nose, nose bridge and upper lip) extends halfway into the space between the eyebrows. Enough remains, however, to show that these wrinkles are clearly cut,²³ and that they are essentially the same as those of the best portraits, though their arrangement is rather that of the good Naples bronze. In the same way the lines across the cheeks—the 'rhetorical lines'—are present though not emphasised. The mouth, and particularly the uncertain underlip, are of the Demosthenean type, though exaggerated. The forehead lines, which are triple, are emphatic. The length of the face suggests comparison with the small Athens head. On the other hand, the hair, beard and ears are so wholly different as to suggest that the head is not that of Demosthenes at all, or that it is a Roman portrait assimilated intentionally to portraits of the orator. But a reference to the larger Athens head (p. 74, No. vi) shows that Imperial copyists treated hair with much freedom and departed largely from the structure of the original.

To the third class (C above) belong the heads and herms that are usually given the title Demosthenes with query or reserve. One such in the Louvre²⁴

²² Babelon, *Catal.*, No. 314. Pl. XXXVII. Babelon's doubts as to its identity can be dismissed. Its antiquity, however, is not established, and it may possibly be J. H. Simon's 'agate-onyx relief.'

²³ They are restored with a diagonal central furrow; what is left of the original furrows does not warrant this restoration.

²⁴ Arndt, No. 139; Paris, No. 1371.

seems to be hardly Demosthenean at all, though the furrows between the eyebrows and the other facial lines make it likely that it is derived from a portrait of Demosthenes through the medium of a very poor copyist. The Petworth head²⁵ (Fig. 5) is even more remote from any original that we know. The fact that its left cheek was touched by or supported by the left hand, in any case dissociates it from the recorded work of Polyuctus. At the same time its Demosthenean character (except in the mouth) is, as Bernoulli insisted, very marked. The Fulvius Ursinus *clipeus*²⁶ has perhaps least claim to represent the orator. It may be considered as purely fanciful. The contorniate,²⁷ on the other hand, inscribed ΔΗΜΟΘΕΝΗΣ on the obverse and ΑΛΙΠΑΘΟΣ on the reverse, preserves record of a portrait that is not fanciful. The head shown is of the general Demosthenean type, but is turned three-quarters round to the right. Yet it has none of the detail of our head and its original is, therefore, uncertain.

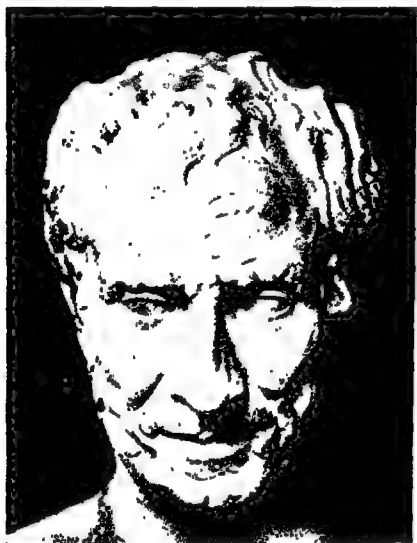


FIG. 5.—THE PETWORTH HEAD.

From these considerations,²⁸ then, it is evident that the new head falls into the front rank of extant portraits. Its completeness and good surface preservation place it ahead of nearly all the other copies, and its Greek provenance and marble make its attribution to a Greek copyist almost certain. The great emphasis on certain details gives us a test for Demosthenean types more definite than is afforded by any one of the other copies by itself. That the head, together with the seven copies here associated with it and the inferior copies of our Class (A), all go back to the original of Polyuctus is certain from a comparison of each with the Vatican

and Knole statues, which, with Amelung's accepted restoration,²⁹ repeat the attitude described by Plutarch. The excellent workmanship of our head, particularly of the facial surfaces and the eyes, which recalls the best Hellenistic methods, places it at the latest in the first century B.C. The treatment of the

²⁵ Bernoulli, No. 23. M. Wyndham, *Catal. of the Leconfield Collection*, No. 19. The head does not belong to the body: the nose is very badly restored.

²⁶ *Illustrium Imagines . . . quae exstant*, Antwerp, 1606, No. 55.

²⁷ Bernoulli, p. 76 (a); J. Sabatier, *Description générale des médaillons contorniate*, p. 45, Pl. VI., No. 6.

²⁸ A small bust in Athens catalogued by Staïs (p. 101, No. 1760) and by Castriotis (*Catal.*, p. 310) as of Demosthenes, may be

rejected. It has none of the essential details and is of inferior workmanship.

²⁹ This restoration has been conclusively proved by the discovery of a small bronze replica of the statue recently discovered, and provisionally published in *B.C.H.* 48, p. 505. This bronze, a work of the very first rank, exhibits all the characteristics seen in the Ashmolean head, and shows the hands folded across the body; it is in the hands of a dealer. Martin Wagner first suggested this restoration in 1836.

hair and beard is characteristic of the end of the fourth as well as of the third century B.C. The relief from Athens now at Berlin³⁰ of a teacher (probably of rhetoric, to judge from the garments and attitude of his pupils) and the head of an old man in the Barracco collection³¹ both show a great similarity of treatment. The Barracco head in particular, while unlike Demosthenes, has many Demosthenean details, such as the 'rhetorical lines.' A relief in the Acropolis Museum³² shows another useful parallel. All three precede Polyeuctus in date.

The new head not only illustrates more clearly many details of the physiognomy of Demosthenes, but gives us some additional details. We learn also, by its emphasis, which were the most characteristic features.

That other portraits of Demosthenes were cut in antiquity seems an almost inevitable conclusion: the Petworth head alone is adequate evidence. But whether they were several or of a single type is a problem that can only be solved by fresh discovery.

S. CASSON.

³⁰ No. 1462.

³¹ *Catal.* Fig. 57. It is here wrongly derived from a funeral stele.

³² *Catal. Acrop. Mus. II.* No. 3030. O.

Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum*, p. 32. Walter compares it with the Berlin relief, but wrongly, I think, dates that relief to a later period.

THE BYZANTINE MUTINY ACT

THE treatise *περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων* has been edited at least half a dozen times, and my only justification for bringing out a new text of a book which is not so widely read as it deserves is that all existing editions are based on inadequate manuscript authority and therefore misleading.

There are two editions by Karl Eduard Zachariä von Lingenthal (hereinafter called Z.). The earlier appeared as the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Ecloga ad Prochiron mutata* (*Jus Græco-Romanum*, Pars IV, Lipsiae, 1865, pp. 138—141). It seems from the preface to be based on Paris gr. 1720 of the end of the fifteenth century. The later edition is in Z.'s article 'Wissenschaft und Recht für das Heer vom 6. bis zum Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts' in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Dritter Band, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 450—453. He takes it—so he says at p. 449—'nach einer Abschrift aus der *Epitome ad Prochiron mutata*, die ich aus der vorzüglichen alten Handschrift Marcianus 579 genommen habe.' In an affecting letter to the editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (p. 437, n. 1) he says that, although his eyesight and his pen have failed him, he has been able to complete the undertaking with the support of his children and the local pastor. Greek manuscripts are best collated without the help of women or priests. Certain it is that the manuscript of which Z. gives a copy is not Marcianus gr. 579. The illustrious man died, full of years and wrong references, before his article was published.

My text is based on six manuscripts, which I denote hereafter by the initials prefixed to their names :—

- L. Laudianus gr. 39.
- F. Florentinus (Laurentianus IX, 8).
- V. Vallicellianus gr. F, 47.
- B. Basilianus 114 (Vaticanus gr. 2075).
- M. Marcianus gr. 579.
- m. Marcianus gr. 172.

I have collated all these manuscripts on the spot and have verified my collations of V and B from photographs supplied by Signor Sansaini.

L is described by H. O. Coxe (*Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima*, Oxonii, 1853, col. 519), and with more particularity by the anonymous author of a manuscript catalogue, preserved in the Bodleian,

of the Laudian Greek Manuscripts. F 339 *β* κεφ^α τ^ω στρατιωτικ^ω ἐπιτιμίων. This is followed by the table of contents, which I reproduce later. The text begins F 340*β* and ends F 345*β*. L is probably the oldest of my manuscripts. Z. assigns it to the year A.D. 903 for reasons which I cannot accept (see my edition of the *Rhodian Sea-law*, p. xxii. n. 1). The anonymous cataloguer

thinks—no doubt rightly—that it was written in South Italy at the close of the tenth century.

L has had a chequered career. A note in the manuscript signed L. Schradaeus states that, after the sack of Constantinople, it was brought to Cairo by a Christian, and from Cairo by a converted Jew to Malta, where it was bought for a few crowns by a knight of Rhodes. The knight of Rhodes took it into Germany and ‘mihi Laurentio Schradaeo Halberstatensi caris (not certis, as the printed catalogue has it) conditionibus concessit A^o 1580.’ The book is bound in vellum with the arms of Philippus Sigismundus of the family of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Bishop of Osnaburgh, dated 1595. Another note in the manuscript states that ‘Anno demum 1634 miro fato in manus Samsonis Johnsoni concionatoris Legati Britannici Francofurti ad Moenum pro tempore commorantis devenit.’ What are we to understand by *miro fato*? The anonymous cataloguer has traced the vicissitudes of the manuscript with imagination and plausibility. The Brunswick army, according to him, was defeated in 1622 by Tilly, who was himself defeated by Gustavus Adolphus in 1632. If the manuscript fell into Tilly’s hands among the treasures of the Bishop of Osnaburgh, it would naturally fall into those of the king of Sweden, and his booty may well have been with the Swedes at Frankfort in 1634, when Samson Johnson acquired the manuscript *miro fato*. However this may be, it was given by Archbishop Laud to the University of Oxford in 1635, ‘e da martiro e da esilio venne a questa pace.’

There is one more note in the manuscript which may throw light upon its history. It is on F 13a in Greek in a late fifteenth-century hand. The writer, who must have been an owner of the manuscript, bewails his fate. He went to Mezethra (μυζηθρᾶ) on the first January of the thirteenth Indiction and thence to Corinth. ‘I cannot commit my sufferings to writing,’ he says. Was this the Christian or the converted Jew, of whom Schradaeus speaks?

F has also had vicissitudes. It is described by Aug. Mar. Bandinius (*Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, Florentiae, 1764, col. 395–403). It is of the eleventh century. F 349b, *περὶ στρατιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν* (sic). Table of contents, which I reproduce later. F 350b, *ποινῶν περὶ στρατιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν*. Text, ending with c. i at the bottom of the leaf. After F 350 several—probably eleven—leaves were torn out at least two hundred years ago (see my *Rhodian Sea-law*, p. xxi). Eight leaves got into the hands of Biener, who was a fortunate snapper-up of Byzantine trifles, and are now in the library of the University of Leipzig. It is possible that one of them contains more of the text.

V is of the early eleventh or late tenth century. It is described by T. W. Allen (*Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, London, 1890, p. 56).

F 337a, *π στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμῶν ἐκ τῶν ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν*. The arrangement of the chapters is as follows:—

After the title (F 337a) come fifteen chapters numbered *α̅–ιϵ̅*. (F 339a), *ποινών στρατιωτικός*: fourteen unnumbered chapters, to most of which

is prefixed a reference to the passage of the Digest or Code from which it is derived. (F 340b) *περὶ στρατιωτικῆς καταστάσεως*: two unnumbered chapters, to each of which is prefixed a reference to the passage of the Code from which it is derived. (F 340b) *Felicitur. ἔτι περὶ στρατιωτικῶν καταστάσεων ἐκ τοῦ μῦθ βίβλ' τῶν διγέστων τίτλ' ις*: twenty-two unnumbered chapters. Ends F 342b.

The arrangement of the chapters agrees closely with that of Paris gr. 1384 (of the twelfth century), which is described by H. Omont (*Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, T. 2, p. 34), and more particularly by C. W. E. Heimbach (*Griechisch-römisches Recht im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, pp. 277 and 281), and by Z. (*Fragmenta Versionis Graecae Legum Rotharis*, p. 13).

B is described by G. E. Heimbach, *Prolegomena Basilicorum*, p. 174, and by Z., *Jus Graeco-Romanum*, ii, p. 267. It is of the eleventh century. F 254a,

π στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμῇ ἐκ τοῦ ρούφ^υ καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν. Text ends F 257a.

M is described by A. M. Zanetti (*Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum per titulos Digesta*, 1740, p. 305). It is of the eleventh century. F 188b, *περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρόφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν κεφ. μῡ*. Text ends F 191b.

m is described by Zanetti, p. 100. It was written in A.D. 1175. F 20b, *τίτλος ξα' περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρόφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν*. This is followed by a list of forty-one chapters with short titles consisting of the first three or four words of the chapter. F. 227b, *περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρόφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν τίτλος ξα'*. Text. Ends F 230a.

To understand the principles upon which my critical apparatus is based, it is necessary to distinguish the sources of the treatise. Z. (*Geschichte des Griechisch-Römischen Rechts*, 1892, p. 17) says that its paragraphs fall into three groups: 1st, paragraphs which are described as extracts *ἐκ τοῦ ρόφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν*, and which are found in c. 8 of the *Tactica* of Leo: 2nd, paragraphs of the Digest and the Code, which have been either taken from an unknown *Summa* or have been freely worked over, in so far as they are derived from known Indices: 3rd, paragraphs added subsequently from the *Ecloga Prochiron* and the *Basilica*. Z. declines to determine whether the official *νόμος στρατιωτικός* (he then believed that it was official) originally consisted exclusively of paragraphs belonging to the first group, or whether it also contained paragraphs belonging to the second.

Z., who uses here the text of Leunclavius (1596), cites as belonging to the third group chapters 8, 20, 48, 58 and 60 of Leunclavius, which are not in my text, and which therefore are not in the original form of the treatise, and also chapters 9, 31, 44 and 47 of Leunclavius. Now chapter 9 is τ in my text and is derived from Code 9, 8, 6, 2. Chapter 31 is $\kappa\zeta$ in my text and is derived from Dig. 49, 16, 6, 3. Chapter 44 is $\iota\eta$ in my text and is derived from Dig. 49, 16, 3, 14. Chapter 47 is $\lambda\epsilon$ in my text and is probably derived from Novella 150 (130), c. 4. It follows that the third group—as Z. himself admits—has no part in the original text of the treatise, which is derived exclusively from

two sources—the legislation of Justinian and Byzantine manuals of military discipline. This is fully recognised in the manuscripts, especially in L and V, as a reader of the apparatus criticus will observe. The paragraphs which are derived from Byzantine manuals of military discipline are also found, although in modified forms, in two books, the *Tactics* of Leo and the *Strategica* of Maurice. The *Tactics* of Leo were first published, according to Z., *op. cit.* p. 437, by Meursius at Leyden in 1613, and subsequently, with the help of another manuscript, in the works of Meursius, ed. Lami, T. vi. Florence, 1745, pp. 535 *seqq.* My copy of the original edition is dated 1612. The editor says in his preface that he has used three manuscripts—one in the library of the King of France, the other in that of the Elector Palatine, and the third belonging to Joannes Pistorius. He refers to another manuscript in England which he had not seen and which formed the basis of the Latin version of Joannes Checus (see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Cheke, John). The eighth chapter (διάταξις ἡ) is entitled περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων (pp. 92–97). At p. 440 there are some conjectures of Meursius.

The other book—the *Strategica* of Maurice—was published by Jo. Schefferus at Upsala in 1664. I have never seen the book, which cannot be common. It is described by Brunet, s.v. Arrianus (*Manuel du Libraire*, 5th ed., i. 496) and by Z. (*op. cit.* p. 440). Z. in his article gives in parallel columns the paragraphs which are contained in the *Strategica* of Maurice and the *Tactics* of Leo.

The text which I print below is based upon the six manuscripts which I have described, and which are probably the oldest. I begin with the title and table of chapters. Of the manuscripts which I have seen, only three—L, F, and Roe 18—contain a table of chapters. I give the table as it appears in L, and underneath each chapter of L the corresponding chapter of F. As the order of the chapters in F is not identical with the order in L, it follows that the chapters of F do not appear in the order in which they appear in F. I note, however, before each title the order in which it appears in F. I do not, either here or elsewhere, give the variants of Roe 18. I am convinced that it is a copy—either direct or indirect—of L and that its variants from L are due to conjecture.

In the text, the chapters are given in the order in which they appear in L, but I note, at the beginning of each chapter, the place which it occupies in F, V, B, M, m. While I hope that my critical apparatus is sufficiently minute for practical purposes, I do not as a rule notice matters of accentuation and breathing, nor the omission of *ι* adscript or subscript, nor confusions of vowels and diphthongs, such as the use of *ε* for *αι*, e.g. ἀπωθεῖτε for ἀπωθεῖται; of *ει* for *η* and vice versa, e.g. ὑφέλειται for ὑφέληται, εὔρεθῇ for εὔρεθῇ, ὑπομένη for ὑπομένει; of *ι* for *ει* and *η*, e.g. ἀλγιδών for ἀλγηδών, στρατίας for στρατείας, τραχίαν for τραχείαν, ἀχριώσει for ἀχρειώση; of *ο* for *ω* and vice versa, e.g. εἰκώς for εἰκός, τολμώντας for τολμώντας.

Underneath the apparatus criticus I give the passages from the Code or Digest on which the chapter is based, and also corresponding passages in the Byzantine text-books.

Where a chapter agrees, not with Roman law-books, but with Byzantine

manuals, I give underneath the corresponding chapter from the *Strategica* of Maurice. For the text of the edition of 1664 I have had to rely upon Z.'s reprint in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iii, pp. 442 *seqq.* I have been able to improve this text by the help of two ancient manuscripts—one at Florence and the other at Naples.

Laur. 55, 4, which is fully described by Bandini, *Cat. Cod. Graecorum Bibl. Laurentianae*, ii. pp. 218—238, contains a collection of writings on military matters. It is at latest of the early eleventh century. (F 3a) λόγος πρώτος εἰσαγωγή κεφάλαια τοῦ πρώτου λόγου ἢ περὶ ἐπιτιμίων στρατιωτικῶν : (F 5a) Οὐρβικίου [see as to this name, Z. p. 440] τακτικά στρατηγικά. The text begins at F 9b. I cite the manuscript hereafter as T(actica). The other manuscript is a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Strategica* which is in the Royal Library at Naples. Professor Bassi of Naples was kind enough not only to call my attention to the manuscript, but also to provide me with excellent photographs of the leaves containing the relevant chapters. I cite the manuscript hereafter as N. T and N begin (F 9b, T : 24a, N) ε. ποία μανδύα περὶ [om Z.] καθοσιώσεως δεῖ τοῖς στρατιώταις δοθῆναι. μετὰ τὸ ὀρδινεῖσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι τὰ κουντουβέρνια [Z. omits first υ] δεῖ συναγαγεῖν τὸ τάγμα κατὰ δεκαρχίαν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιγινώσκουσιν οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου μανδύα τῆς καθοσιώσεως λέγειν αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μήγε ἐγγράφως διὰ τοῦ ἰδικοῦ [ιδίου Z.] ἄρχοντος εἰπεῖν ταῦτα ἐπισχολῆς [after καθοσιώσεως T goes on : ἐπι τοι γε ἐγγράφως ἐπισχολῆς. διὰ τοῦ ἰδικοῦ ἄρχοντος, εἰπεῖν ταῦτα]. This is followed by nine unnumbered chapters, of which 1—8 appear in my text and 9 is as follows : εἴ τις λαμβάνων ῥεπαρτίονα [ῥεπαρτίονα T] τῶν ἑαυτοῦ [αὐτοῦ Z.] ὅπλων περιφρονήσῃ, καὶ μὴ τοῦτον ὁ δέκαρχος [δεκάρχης T] ἀναγκάσει [ἀναγκάσῃ T] ταῦτα [om. T] κτησάσθαι ἢ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι φανερώσῃ, καὶ ὁ στρατιώτης αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ δέκαρχος [δεκάρχης αὐτοῦ T] σωφρονισθῶσιν. This is followed by ξ ποία μανδύα περὶ καθοσιώσεως δεῖ τοῖς τῶν ταγμάτων [πραγμάτων Z., evidently a misprint] ἄρχουσι δοθῆναι. This is followed by four unnumbered chapters, of which the first is not in my text. It runs [F 25a N] εἴ τις μὴ ὑπακούσῃ [ὑπακούσῃ T] τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι, σωφρονιζέσθω κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. The others are in my text. At the end of the last comes : μετὰ τὰ [om. T] μανδύα τῆς καθοσιώσεως δεῖ ταγῆναι τὰ τάγματα τὴν πολεμικὴν τάξιν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίμια [ἐπιτήδεια Z.] τοῦ πολέμου γνῶναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ τάγματι ταπτομένους. Then in capitals : ἡ περὶ ἐπιτιμίων στρατιωτικῶν. After this. μετὰ τὸ ταγῆναι τὰ τάγματα, ἀναγινώσκειται τὰ ἐπιτίμια ῥωμαιστί καὶ [om. N, Z.] ἑλλη[ι N]νιστὶ οὕτως. This is followed by five unnumbered chapters which are in my text.

I do not give the corresponding chapters from the *Tactica* of Leo, as the printed texts are easily accessible. In order, however, that the printed texts may not lead the student astray, here are the variants of T from the text of the *Tactica* as given by Z. (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, iii. pp. 442—447). 1, 7, προειρημένα] εἰρημένα || 2, 6, ἑκατοντάρχω] κεντάρχω. See Duc. s.v. col. 633 || 7, 7, τολμήσῃ || 3, 2 and 4, προσέλθῃ || 5, 1, εἰ δέ τινες || 6, ἢ τῆς στάσεως || 6, 2, παραδώσῃ || 4, ἀναχωρήσῃ || 7, 1, ἐλεγχθῇ || 6, ἐμήνυσεν || 8, 4, πταίσει || 9, 2, τι] om. || 6, αὐτὸ || 10, 1, τὸν] om. || 2, προαιρέσει || 3, ἀποθεραπεύσει || 4,

ἀποκαταστήσει || 11, 3, περιφρονήσει || 4, δέκαρχος || there is no gap after ἀναγκάση || 5, κτήσαι || κτήσασθαι || 7, T here has δεκάρχης as in the printed text, although two lines above it has δέκαρχος || αὐτοῦ] om. || 13, 1, ζημιώσει || 2, αὐτὸ || ἀποκαταστήσει || 15, 2, δίχα] so T || κομεάτου || 4, τολμήσει || 16, 3, προδώσει || 4, ἀναχωρήσει || 17, 1, μὲν καὶ ἐν || 4, οἰοδήποτε || 19, F 282a || 1, γοῦν] οὖν || 20, 3, εἴση καὶ ἡ (ἡ above line) φύγη || 20, 13, ἐτέροις αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλ., || 21, 3, ἀπίη, as also 23, 2; 24, 2 || 5, πρῶτον || 23, 11, τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τούτου || 24, 4, μηδὲ || 7, τοὺς . . . 8, τολμῶντας . . . 9, τῶν ἐταίρων περιφρονήσαντας || 26, 1, ἐξκουσεύει || 2 εἰσελθεῖν (συν is added over the line) || 3, τάξη] κατὰσχῃ || 4, παρεκτὸς [F 282b] τῶν || κρίνου] σκρινίου || 6, λίτραν μίαν] λι ᾱ || 6, τουρμάρχης || 27, 1, τοσαῦτα || περὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν || ὅπως καὶ || καθόλου || ἐν τῇ] ἐν τε τῇ.

Περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων

This is the title in L. It has (F 339b) κε^αφ^ω τ^ω στρατιωτικ^ω ἐπιτιμίων, which is followed by the table of contents. After that comes (F 340b) π^ε στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων and then the text. Other MSS. add to this title: ἐκ τῶν (or τοῦ) ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν. Thus, F has (F 349b) περὶ στρατιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπιτιμίων, which is followed by the table of contents, and after that (F 350b) ποινάλιος περὶ στρατιωτικῶν καὶ ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν. V has (F 337b) π^ε στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τῶν ρόφου καὶ τῶν τακτικ^ω. B has (F 254a) π^ε στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμ^ι ἐκ τῶν ρούφ^υ καὶ τῶν τακτικ^ω. M has (F 188b) περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν κεφ. μά. m has (F 20b and 227b) περὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων ἐκ τοῦ ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν.

It would appear from most of these titles that the chapters of the treatise were derived exclusively from Rufus and the *Tactics*. If that were so, Rufus would be responsible for the passages which come from the Digest and the Code. Rufus in that case would be author of a translation or paraphrase or abridgment of the Digest and the Code. On the other hand, L in the table of contents draws a distinction between the chapters which come from the Digest and those which are derived from Rufus and the *Tactics*. Z. suggests that Rufus was secretary of Mauricius (*op. cit.* p. 456), but for this there is no evidence.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Capitals βιβλίου τ^ω διγέστων τίτλος ις L; ἐκ τοῦ μθ βιβλίου τοῦ διγέστου τίτλου μς F.

- α. περὶ στρατιωτῶν πράγμα ἀπηγορευμένον ἐν πολέμῳ ποιοῦντων L.
- 2α. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν πολέμῳ πράγμα ἀπηγορευμένον ποιοῦντος F.
- β. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν πολέμῳ βαγεύοντος L.
- 2β. περὶ στρατιώτου τὸ πολέμιον ἐπισταμένου βαγεύσει ἢ ἀπὸ φροσύτου ἀναχωρήσει F.

- γ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν πολέμῳ νοσεῖν ἑαυτῷ ποιήσαντος L.
 2γ. περὶ στρατιώτου τῷ φόβῳ τῶν πολεμίων νοσεῖν τὸ σῶμα προσποιησα-
 μένου F.
 δ. περὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνοντος εἰς βασιλείαν L.
 2δ. περὶ ἁμαρτάνοντος εἰς βασιλείαν F.
 ε. περὶ στρατιώτου τὸ χαράκομα τὸ προσταγὲν αὐτῷ παρεξελθῶν^τ L.
 2δ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν τὸ χαράκομα τὸ προσταγὲν αὐτῷ ἐξέλθῃ F.
 ε. περὶ τοῦ αὐτομολήσαντος εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους L.
 2ε. περὶ τοῦ βουλευσαμένου αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους F.
 ζ. περὶ στρατιώτου καταλιπόντος (sic) τὴν στασίονα αὐτοῦ L.
 2ζ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ καταλίπῃ F.

ἐκ τ^ω ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν (in capitals) L.

- η. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως πολέμου τὴν τάξιν ἢ τὸ βάνδον
 αὐτοῦ ἐὼντος καὶ φεύγοντος L.
 1η. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως φευγόντων καὶ τὴν τάξιν
 φυρόντων F.
 θ. περὶ τοῦ ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως πολέμου ἐὰν γένηται τροπὴ ὑπανα-
 χωροῦντος ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου μέρους L.
 1θ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐν καιρῷ παρατάξεως φευγόντων ἄνευ αἰτίας F.
 ι. περὶ τοῦ ἐὰν γένηται ἀφέρεσις βάνδου ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν L.
 1ι. περὶ βανδοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν χειροθέντος F.
 ια. περὶ στρατιώτου ρίπτωντος ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου τὸ ὄπλον αὐτοῦ L.
 1ιδ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου τὰ ἴδια ρίπτωντος ὄπλα F.
 ιβ. περὶ τοῦ εἰς φοσσάτον γενομένης τροπῆς καὶ παρατάξεως L.
 1ιγ. περὶ τροπῆς γενομένης μέρους ἢ παρατάξεως τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐστῶτος F.
 ιγ. περὶ παραφυλακῆς κύστρου ἢ πόλεως πιστευθείσης καὶ προδοθείσης L.
 1η. περὶ στρατιωτῶν το κύστρον ἢ πόλιν προδιδόντων ἢ τὴν παραφυλακὴν
 ἀμελούντων F.

ἐκ τ^υ βιβλίου τ^ω διγ^ω τιτλ^ε ιγ^ς (in capitals) L.

- ιδ. περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀταξία ἐξάρχων καὶ τοὺς δῆμους θορυβούντων L.
 2η. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίας ποιοούντων ἢ θόρυβον F.
 ιε. περὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποφυγόντος καὶ ὑποστρέψαντος (sic) L.
 2θ. περὶ τοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φυγόντος καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέψαντος F.
 ις. περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς οἰασοῦν αἰτίας ἐκπεσόντων τῆς στρατείας L.
 2ι. περὶ στρατιωτῶν τῆς ἐξ οἰασοῦν αἰτίας ἐκπιπτόντων τῆς στρατείας F.
 ιζ. περὶ τῶν ἐγκαταλιπόντων στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἰδίων ἐξάρχων (sic) L.
 2λ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐὰν τὸν ἴδιον ἐξαρχὸν ἐγκαταλίπωσιν F.
 ιη. περὶ στρατιώτου κλέπτωντος ἄλλότρια ὄπλα L.
 2ια. περὶ στρατιώτου κλέπτοντος ὄπλα F.
 ιθ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίαν τραχίαν ποιοούντων L.
 2ιβ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίαν τραχείαν ὑφαπτόντων F.
 κ. περὶ στρατιώτου δεπορτατευθέντος καὶ ἀνακίμπτωντος τοῦ γενέσθαι πάλιν
 στρατιώτης L.

- 2ιγ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν πορτατευθῇ ἐν τόπῳ καὶ ἐκφύγῃ τὴν τιμωρίαν F.
 κα. περὶ μοιχῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ πουβλήκῳ ἐγκλήματι κατακρι-
 θέντων L.
- 2ιδ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ μοιχεία ἢ ἄλλῳ ἐγκλήματι κρατηθέντων (sic) F.
 [F 310a L] κβ. περὶ τῶν ἀποφενγόντων στρατευθῆναι L.
- 2ιε. περὶ τοῦ ἀποφυγόντος στρατευθῆναι F.
- κγ. περὶ τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον ὕν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ὑφελώντος L.
 [F 350a F] 2ις. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ὑφέλῃται
 τῆς στρατείας F.
- κδ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν χείρας ἐπιβαλλόντων τῷ ἰδίῳ πρεποσίτῳ L.
- 2ιζ. περὶ στρατιώτου χείρας ἐπιβάλλοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ πραιποσίτῳ F.
- κε. περὶ τοῦ τὸν ἴδιον στρατιώτην τραυματίσαντος L.
- 2ιη. περὶ στρατιώτου τὸν ἴδιον συστρατιώτην τραυματίσαντος F.
- κς. περὶ στρατιωτοῦ ἐαυτὸν πλήττοντος L.
- 2ιθ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν ἐαυτὸν πλήξῃ ἢ ἄλλως πῶς θάνατον ἐαυτῷ κατα-
 σκευάσει F.
- κζ. περὶ στρατιώτου φεύγοντος ἐν παρατάξει ἐπ' ὄψεσιν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν L.
- 2κ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν πρῶτος ἐν παρατάξει [ἐν π. corr. from πατάξει]
 φεύγων F.
- κη. περὶ στρατιώτου διαταράττοντος τὴν εἰρήνην L.
- 2κ. περὶ στρατιώτου διαταράττοντος τὴν εἰρήνην F.
- κθ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐναντιουμένου τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτοῦ L.
- 2κθ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐναντιουμένου τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι F.
- λ. περὶ κλίσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν στρατιώτου καὶ φεύγοντος L.
- 2κβ. περὶ στρατιώτου κλίσαντος τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐκφυγόντος F.
- λα. περὶ τοῦ κατὰ οἶνον καὶ μέθην ἁμαρτάνοντος L.
- 2κγ. περὶ στρατιωτῶν οὔτινες κατὰ οἶνον καὶ μέθην ὀλισθαίνουνσι καὶ
 ἁμαρτάνουσι F.
- λβ. περὶ τοῦ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ παρελθόντος L.
- 2κδ. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ παρελθόντος F.
- λγ. περὶ παραφυλαττόντων καὶ ραθυμούντων L.
- 2κε. περὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλασσόντων πρόσωπα καὶ κατὰ ραθυμίαν ἀπολέσωσιν
 αὐτὰ F.
- λδ. περὶ στρατιώτου συμφωνήσαντος πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν αὐτοῦ L.
- 2κς. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν αὐτοῦ συμφωνήσῃ F.
- λε. περὶ ἀρχόντων ἀργυρολογούντων L.
- 2κζ. περὶ ἐξάρχων καὶ οἱ ὅποσοὺν διασώζοντες τὸ στράτευμα ἐναργυρολογῶσι
 τὰ χωρία F.
- λς. περὶ στρατιώτου παρασκευάζοντος ἀταξίαν L.
- 2κη. περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν μέχρι φωνῆς μόνῃς στρατιωτικὴν ἀταξίαν παρα-
 σκευάσῃ γενέσθαι F.
- λξ. περὶ τοῦ φυλάττοντος παλάτιον καὶ καταλιμπάνοντος αὐτῷ L.
- 2λα. περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀφορισθέντων εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ παλατίου F.
- λη. περὶ τοὺς αἰρεθίζοντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ παραδίδοντα (sic) ῥωμαίους L.
- 2λγ. περὶ στρατιώτου τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρεθίζοντος ἢ παραδιδόντος χριστι-
 ανούς F.

λθ. *περὶ τοῦ αὐτομολούντος πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους* L.

2λδ. *περὶ στρατιώτου αὐτομολούντος εἰς βαρβάρους* F.

μ. *περὶ ἐκπρορατόρων ἀπαγγελούντων τοὺς πολεμίους* L.

2λε. *περὶ ἐξπιλατόρων ἐὰν ἀπαγγείλωσι τοὺς πολεμίους τὰ ἀπόκρυφα βουλευματα τῶν ῥωμαίων* F.

^ω
εκ τ ρούφου καὶ τῶν τακτικῶν (in capitals) L.

μα. *περὶ τῶν συνομοσίαν ἢ φατρίαν κα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων ποιούντων* L.

1α. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν συνομοσίαν ἢ φατρίαν κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχόντων ποιούντων* F.

μβ. *περὶ τῶν μὴ ὑπακούοντων τοῖς ἰδίους ἄρχουσιν* L.

1β. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς ἰδίους μὴ ὑπακούοντων ἀλλ' ἐναντιουμένων* F.

μγ. *περὶ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων τοῖς ἰδίους ἄρχουσιν* L.

See above for F.

μδ. *περὶ τῶν μὴ φυλασσόντων τὸ μανδάτον τοῦ ἰδίου δεκάρχου* L.

1γ. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν τῶν τὸ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ ἄρχοντος μὴ φυλαττόντων* F.

με. *περὶ ἄρχοντος ἀδικούντος τὸν ἴδιον στρατιώτην* L.

1δ. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν ἀδικουμένων* F.

μς. *περὶ στρατιώτου βαγέυσαντος ὑπὲρ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ κομμέατου καὶ τῆς στρατείας* [στρατείας is corrected from στρατει . . εως (?)] L.

[F 340b] L μς. *περὶ τοῦ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου διὰ κομμέατου ἀπολύοντος τὸν στρατιώτην* L.

1ε. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου παρά τινων ἀπολυομένων* F.

μη. *περὶ τοῦ θελήσαντος ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδοῦναι* L.

1ς. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν αὐτομολούντων* F.

μθ. *περὶ τοῦ ζημιώσαντος στρατιώτην συντελεστήν* L.

1ζ. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν ἢ συντελεστῶν ὑπὸ τινων ζημιωθέντων* F.

ν. *περὶ τοῦ εὐρώντος ἄλογον καὶ μὴ φανερῶντος αὐτῷ* L.

1θ. *περὶ στρατιωτῶν πᾶν κτῆνος ἄλλότριον ἢ ἕτερον τὸ οἰονοῦν εἶδος εὐρισκόντων καὶ μὴ φανερῶντων* F.

να. *περὶ τοῦ πιπράσκοντος ὄπλα πολεμικὰ εἰς βαρβάρους* L.

2λβ. *περὶ στρατιώτου εἰς βαρβάρους ἀπιόντος καὶ ὄπλα πιπράσκοντος* F.

νβ. *περὶ τοῦ μετὰ λίθον (sic) τραυματήσαντος* L.

2λς. *περὶ στρατιώτου τραυματίσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἢ τὸν συστρατιώτην αὐτοῦ* F.

ιγ. *περὶ στρατιώτου κλέπτοντος* L.

2λη. *περὶ στρατιώτου κλέπτοντος ἐν οἰωδήποτε τόπῳ τὸ οἰονοῦν εἶδος* F.

^ε
After this π στρατιωτικῶν ἐπιτιμίων in capitals L.

The table of chapters in L ends here; in F it continues:—

2λς. *περὶ στρατιώτου ἐὰν ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πόνου (sic) πρᾶγμα ἀπηγορευμένον περὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἄρχοντος ποιῇσει* [repetition of 2α].

περὶ στρατιωτικῆς καταστάσεως.

α. *περὶ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι στρατιώτας διοικητὰς ἢ μισθωτοὺς.*

β. *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀπασχολεῖσθαι στρατιώτας εἰς ἐμπορίας ἢ φροντίδας τινάς.*

[These two chapters are in the text of L though not in the table of contents.]

- TEXT. (1) *α. εἰν τις ἐν πολέμα πρᾶγμα ἀπηγορευ-*
 (2) *μένον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δουκὸς ποιήσει ἢ τὰ*
 (3) *ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ μὴ πληρώσει,*
 (4) *κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται, εἰ καὶ καλῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα*
 (5) *ἐδιόκησεν.*

This chapter is given twice in V; first on F 340a, where it = $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$, and secondly on F 342b as the last chapter of all. I denote its readings in the first place by V, and in the second by v. In B. M. the chapter is $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$; in m it is $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ || (F 190b) M || 1, *εἰν τις* v || *ἐὰν στρατιώτης* V B M m || *ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου* V B M m || *ἀπηγορευόμενον* B || 2, *αὐτὸ* || v || *δουκὸς*] *οἰκείου ἄρχοντος* B M m; *δοῦξ* is probably used in the sense of *τριβοῦνος* (Maspero, *Org. Milit.*, p. 88, n. 4) || *ποιήση* B || ἢ] om. v B M m || ἢ τὰ] τὰ δὲ V || 3, *παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ* V, *αὐτῷ ἐνταλθέντα* (omitting *παρ' αὐτοῦ*) B M m || *πληρώσει* v, *φυλάξη* V, *φυλάξας* B M m || 4, *κεφαλικῶς*] *ἐσχάτως* V B M m || *τιμωρεῖτε* v, *τιμωρεῖσθω* B M m. As to the meaning of *κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται* see *Schol. Basil. Heimh.*, v. p. 700 || 5, *ἐδιόκησεν* M.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 15. In bello qui rem a duce prohibitam fecit aut mandata non seruauit, capite punitur, etiamsi res [lege, rem] bene gesserit.

Basil. vii. p. 134, § 5, *ὁ ἐν πολέμῳ ποιῶν τὸ παρὰ τοῦ δουκὸς ἀπηγορευθὲν ἢ μὴ ποιῶν τὸ προσταχθέν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται, εἰ καὶ καλῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔπραξεν* = *Synopsis*, p. 475, latter part of §.

- (1) *β. ἐὰν στρατιώτης τῶν πολεμίων ἐπισταμέν-*
 (2) *ων βαγεύσῃ ἢ ἀπὸ φωσσάτου ἀναχωρήσει*
 (3) *ἢ πρῶτος ἐν παρατάξει φύγῃ ἐπ' ὄψεσιν*
 (4) *τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ τὰ ἴδια ὅπλα ἀπολέσῃ*
 (5) *ἢ πωλήσῃ, εἰς κεφαλὴν κολάζεται. εἰ δὲ*
 (6) *φιλανθρωπίας τύχῃ, τυπτόμενος τὴν στρατείαν*
 (7) *ἐναλλάττει.*

Continuation of last chapter in V B M m. In V the chapter is repeated on F 340b; the second form is cited as v. 1. *ἐὰν στρατ. τῶν*] *ἐὰν δὲ* V: ἢ καὶ B M m || *τὸ πολέμιον ἐπιστάμενος* v || 2, *βαγεύσῃ* ἢ] *ἐὰν βαγεύσας* B M m || ἢ] om. V || *φωσσάτου* V v. The spelling and accentuation are uncertain. I follow my MSS. See Ducange s.v.; De Boor's *Gloss. ad Theophanem*, ii. p. 786, s.v. *φῶσα*; *Gloss. ad Prochiron Vatic.* p. 346; Fabrot. *Gloss. ad Cedrenum*, ii. p. 945. It is always *φωσσατον* in *Par. Aphrod.* (*Par. B. Mus.* iv: e.g. 1349, 1357 || *ἀναχωρήσῃ* B M m, *ἀναχωρέσῃ* V v || 3, ἢ] om. V B M m || *ἐκ παρατάξεως* B M m || *φύγει* L, *φύγῃ* τὲ B, *φύγει* τε M m || (F 256a) *ἐπ' ὄψεσιν* B || 4, after *στρατιωτῶν* B m add *κὰν ἐχθρὸν πατάξῃ*, M adds *καὶ ἐχθρὸν πατάξει* || ἢ καὶ τὰ ἴδια M || *ἀπολέσῃ ὅπλα* B M m || 5, *πολήσῃ* v, *πιπράσει* V, *πιπράσῃ* B M m || *κολαζέσθω* B M m || *εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλ.* B M || *τύχει* V m, *τύχοι* M, *ἐπιτύχῃ* B || 7, *ἐναλλάττει* L, *ἐναλλαττέτω* B M, *ἐν ἡλλαττέτω* m.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 4. Is qui exploratione emanet hostibus insistentibus aut qui a fossato recedit, capite puniendus est. Dig. 49, 16, 6, 3. Qui in acie prior fugam fecit, spectantibus militibus, propter exemplum capite puniendus est.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 13. Miles qui in bello arma amisit uel alienauit, capite punitur; humane militiam mutat.

Basil. vii. p. 134, § 2, ὁ καταλιμπάνων τὴν κατασκοπὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐφeskώτων καὶ ὁ τοῦ φοσσάτου ἐκπίπτων κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται = *Synopsis*, p. 475 α (last three lines).—*Basil.* vii p. 135, § 14, ὁ ἀπὸ παρατάξεως πρώτος φυγὼν ἐπ' ὅψει τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται = *Synopsis*, p. 475, ιδ (last two lines).—*Basil.* vii. p. 134, § 3, ὁ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ὅπλα πωλῶν ἢ ἀπολλύων κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται ἢ φιλανθρώπως τὴν στρατείαν ἐναλλάσσει = *Synopsis*, p. 475, ε.

- (1) γ. ὅστις φόβῳ τῶν πολεμίων νοσεῖν τὸ σῶμα
- (2) προσεποιήσατο, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

Only in L V. In V it = λγ. 1. τῷ φόβῳ L.

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 5. Sed et caligatus, qui metu hostium languorem simulauit in pari causa eis est [i.e. capitis poenas luit].

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 16, καὶ οἱ [τί]ρωνες ἢ ἀδ' εἰς διὰ φόβον τῶν πολεμίων νοσεῖν προσποιησάμενοι.

- (1) δ. εἰάν τις τὸ χαράκωμα τὸ προσταγὲν αὐτῷ
- (2) ἐξέλθῃ, εἰς κεφαλικὴν κολάζεται τιμωρίαν· εἰ δὲ
- (3) τὴν φώσσαν αὐτοῦ παρέλθῃ, τῆς στρατείας ἐκπίπτει.

δ] In V = λδ; in B M m λ || 1, αὐτῷ [F 341a] ἐξέλθῃ V || 2, ἐξέλθει L || κεφαλὴν B M m || κολάζονται m || τιμωρίαν] om. B M m || 3, φώσσαν [F 341a] αὐτοῦ L || φώσαν V || αὐτοῦ] om. B M m || παρέλθει L M || ἐκπιπτέτω V.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 17. Nec non et si uallum quis transcendat . . . capite punitur; 18, Si uero quis fossam transiluit, militia reicitur.

Basil. vii. p. 134, § 6, ὁ τὸ χαράκωμα παρεξιών . . . κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται· ὁ δὲ τὴν τάφρον ὑπερπηδῶν ἀποστρατεύεται = *Synopsis*, p. 475 η.

- (1) ε. ὁ ἁμαρτάνων εἰς βασιλέα φονεύεται
- (2) καὶ δημεύεται· καὶ ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ κρίνεται
- (3) μετὰ θάνατον.

ε] In V = λε. In B M m λa || 2, B M m omit all after δημεύεται || μνήμη L.

Cod. 9, 8, 6, 2. Hoc iure uti coepimus ut . . . conuicto mortuo memoria eius damnetur et bona eius successoribus eripiantur.

Schol. in Bas. 60, 36, 19 (ed. Heimb. V. p. 713), Θεοδ. ὁ ἁμαρτάνων εἰς βασιλέα δημεύεται καὶ ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ κρίνεται μετὰ θάνατον.

Marc. gr. 579 F 149b, ι, ὁ κατὰ τῆς σπῆρας τοῦ βασιλέως μελετήσας φονεύεται καὶ δημεύεται. Repeated F 186a λ = *Prochiron*, 39, 10 = *Epanagoge*, 40, 12.

Prochiron Vatic. 34, 9, ὁ μελετήσας τοῦ φονεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀπόλλυσι τὰ ἴδια πράγματα καὶ φονεύεται.

- (1) $\bar{\epsilon}$. εἰ δέ τις βουλευσάμενος αὐτομολῆσαι
- (2) πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ ἐπισχεθῇ, καὶ
- (3) οὗτος εἰς κεφαλὴν τιμωρεῖται.

In V this chapter appears twice: first = $\bar{\kappa}\bar{o}$ and secondly = $\lambda\bar{\epsilon}$. In the second form it is cited as v. In B M m the chapter is $\lambda\bar{\beta}$ || Headed in V in

capitals: τοῦ η καὶ $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$, τιτλ̣ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\beta}$ $\bar{\tau}$ $\bar{\eta}$ || 1, εἰ δέ τις] στρατιώτης B, ὁ στρατιώτης M m || εἰ δέ τις βουλ.] ὁ βουλόμενος V, εἰ δέ τις βουλόμενος v || αὐτομολῆσει v || 2, τοὺς] om. V B M m || καὶ] ἐὰν V; om. v || ἐπισχεθεῖ L ἐπεσχέθη V v || καὶ οὗτος] om. V B M m || 3, εἰς κεφαλὴν] κεφαλικῶς V || τιμωρεῖται] κολάζεται B M m.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 11. Et is, qui uolens transfugere adprehensus est, capite punitur.

Marc. gr. 579 F 149b, $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$, οἱ πολέμοι καὶ οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολοῦντες ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν.

- (1) ζ . ὁ στρατιώτης τὴν στασίονα αὐτοῦ
- (2) καταλιμπάνων ἢ μαστιγοῦται ἢ τῆς στρατ-
- (3) είας αὐτοῦ ἀποκινεῖται.

This chapter is only in L V, where it is a continuation of c. = $\lambda\bar{\epsilon}$ || 1. στασίονα] στρατείαν V. Cp. στατιών in B. G. U. p. 326 (i. p. 319) [end of 2nd century] στατιωνεῖ [ζ] οντος P. Amherst 140, p. 100. Cp. P. Oxy. i. 65; Ducange, s.v. στατίων || 2, καταλιμπάνων V || μαστιγοῦται L || 3, ἀποκινεῖται V.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 5. Qui stationis munus relinquit . . pro modo delicti aut castigatur aut gradu militiae deicitur.

- (1) η . ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἐν καιρῷ παρατίξῃ
- (2) ἢ πολέμου τὴν τάξιν ἢ τὸ βάνδον αὐτοῦ
- (3) εἰσὴ καὶ φύγῃ ἢ τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ ἐτάγῃ
- (4) προπηδήσῃ καὶ σκυλεύσῃ νεκρὸν ἢ εἰς ἐπι-
- (5) δίωξιν ἐχθρῶν προπετῶς καταδράμῃ, τοῦτον
- (6) κελεύομεν κεφαλικῶς τιμωρηθῆναι,
- (7) καὶ πάντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐπαιρ-
- (8) ὄμενα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ κοινῷ δίδοσθαι
- (9) τοῦ τάγματος ὡς ἐκείνου τὴν τάξιν παρα-
- (10) λύσαντος καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις αὐτοῦ ἐντεῦθεν
- (11) ἐπιβουλεύσαντος.

η L $\bar{\iota}\bar{\alpha}$ ceteri || 2, πολέμον [F 189b] τὴν τάξιν M || τάξιν L || 3, εἰσὴ καὶ φύγῃ ἢ] αἰσὴ καὶ φύγῃ ἢ V, παραιᾶ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν B, εἰ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν M. εἰ καὶ ἐπαναχωρῶν m || 4, προσπιδήσῃ V, προσπηδήσῃ B M m || σκυλεύσῃ B || after νεκρὸν B M m add ὑπ' ἄλλου ἐσφαγμένον ἐχθρὸν || 5, ἐχθρῶν] ἐτέρων ἐχθρῶν B M m || καταδράμῃ L || 6. κελεύομεν] om. L || τιμωρηθῆναι V τιμωρεῖσθαι B M m || 7, εἰκός V B m || ἐπαιρό [F 338b] μενα V, ἐπαιρ is over an erasure in V, originally ἐπαιρομεν in B || 8, τοῦ κοινῷ δίδοσθαι τάγματος M || 9, παρακελεύσαντος m || 10. ἐτέροις] L V B; om. m. || αὐτοῦ] om.

B M m || 11, B M m add εἰ δὲ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τύχη [B m τύχοι M] ἡ
 ῥοπάλοις τυπτέσθω [τυπτέτω B] ἡ τὴν στρατείαν [B m τῆς στρατείας m]
 ἐναλλάττει [B m ἐναλλαττέτω M].

Maur. c. 14, N, T: viii. 2 Z. || 2, ἡ καὶ || βάνδιον Z. || 3, καὶ ἡ φύγη T ||
 τόπου [F 10b T] ἐν || 4, προποδήση N, Z. || καὶ || ἡ || 5 προπετώσ] om. ||
 καταδράμοι N, Z. || After καταδρ. adds ἡ τοῦλδον [ω T] ἡ φόσσατον [ω T]
 ἐχθρῶν ἐπέλθοι [ει T] [As to τοῦλδον see De Boor's *Gloss. ad Theoph.* ii. p. 777;
 Ducange, s.v.; Leo *Tact.* iv. 29; Niceph. Phocas, *de Velit. Bellica*, pp. 132B—
 146B; Fabrot. *Gloss. ad Cedren.* ii, p. 942; τοῦλδος in *Get. Gloss.* p. 122] || 6,
 κελ. κεφ. τιμ.] κελεύομεν καὶ [om. T] τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν κεφαλικῶς || 7,
 πάντα ὡς εἰκος τὰ T || ὡς εἰκὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ || 9 ἐκείνου om. || 10, ἐτέροις T Z. ||
 ἐντεῦθεν] om.

- (1) Θ. εἰ ἐν καιρῷ δημοσίας παρατάξεως ἡ
- (2) πολέμου γένηται τροπὴ ἄνευ τινὸς εὐλόγου
- (3) καὶ φανερᾶς αἰτίας, κελεύομεν τοὺς στρατιώ-
- (4) τας ἐκείνου τοῦ τάγματος τοῦ πρώτου φεύγ-
- (5) οντος καὶ ἀπαναχωροῦντος ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως
- (6) ἡγουν τοῦ ιδίου μέρους τοὺς εἰς τὴν μαχὴν
- (7) ταγέντας ἀποδεκατοῦσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
- (8) λοιπῶν ταγμάτων κατατοξευθῆναι ὡς τὴν
- (9) τάξιν παραλύσαντας καὶ αἰτίους τῆς τοῦ
- (10) παντὸς μέρους τροπῆς γεγονότας· εἰ δὲ
- (11) συμβῇ τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰκὸς πληγάτους
- (12) ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ συμβολῇ γενέσθαι, ἐκείνους
- (13) ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐγκλήματος.

Θ L ιβ ceteri || 1, ἐν] om. V || ἐν] om. L m || 2, γένεεται L; γ is over an
 erasure in B || 2, τροπῇ M || 3, φανερώς m || 4, τοῦ πρ. φεύγ.] τοῦ πρώτου
 φύγοντος V τοὺς πρώτον φεύγοντας B M m || 5, ἀπαναχωροῦντας B M m ||
 παρατάξεως τάξεως V B M m || 6, ἡτουν L || μαχὴν [F 255a] ταγέντας B || 7,
 καὶ τοξεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ταγμάτων B M m || 8, ταγμάτων [F 228b] ὡς
 m || 11, ὡς εἰκὸς πληγάτους] πληγάτους ὡς εἰκὸς B M πληγὰς τοὺς ὡς εἰκὸς
 m || 12, συμβουλῇ m || ἐκείνους . . . ἐγκλήματος] ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τοῦ
 ἐγκλήματος τοὺς τοιοῦτους κελεύομεν B M m.

Maur. c. 15, N, T; viii. (3) (4) Z. 2, πολέμου] συμβολῆς || τροπή, ὅπερ
 ἀπίη (ἀπή N) γένηται || 4, ἐκείνου . . . φεύγοντος] τοῦ πρώτον (πρώτου Z.)
 φεύγοντος τάγματος || 5, ἀναχωροῦντος || ἐκ] om. || 6, ἡτοι || 7 παγέντας N, Z. ||
 8, κατατοξέυσθαι || 10, παν [F 25b] τὸς N || 10, γενομένους || εἰ δὲ] new c.
 begins in Z. || 11, ἐν αὐτοῖς || 12, αὐτῇ] om. N, Z. || 13, τοῦ τοι. ἐγκλ. εἶναι.

- (1) ι. εἰ ἐν βάνδου ἀφαίρεσις ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν γέν-
- (2) ηται ἄνευ τινὸς εὐλόγου καὶ φανερᾶς προφάσεως,
- (3) κελεύομεν τοὺς τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ βάνδου πιστευ-
- (4) θέντας σωφρονίζεσθαι καὶ οὐλτίμους γενέσθαι

- (5) τῶν ἀρχομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἦτοι τῶν σχολῶν ἐν
 (6) αἷς ἀναφέρονται. εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν μαχομένους
 (7) συμβῇ γενέσθαι πληγάτους, ἐλευθέρους τοὺς
 (8) τοιοῦτους φυλάττεσθαι τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐπιτιμίου.

ι L, ιγ ceteri || 1, γένηται [F 341b] ἀνευ L || 2, after εὐλόγου m adds αἰτίας || 3, τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ βάνδου] τούτου τὴν παραφυλακὴν B M m || after πιστευθέντας B M m add τοῦ βάνδου || 4, οὐλίτους V M] οὐτίλους B, οὐτήλους m ἀτίλους L || γινέσθαι L || 5, αὐτῶν ἦτοι]. Between these words V inserts ἐν τῇ τοιαντῇ, which is cancelled by double dots || 6, αἷς] οἷς B M m || εἰ δέ . . . 7, πληγάτους] εἰ δέ τινες αὐτῶν μαχόμενοι πληγάτοι γενήσονται B M m || 7, συμβῇ] om. V || ἐλευθ . . . 8 ἐπιτ.] ἐλεύθεροι τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐπιτιμίου φυλαττέσθωσαν B M m || 8, τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐπιτιμίου] om. V.

Maur. c. 16, N; viii. (5) Z. || 1, ἀφαιρέσεις N || 2, after γένηται is added ὅπερ ἀπείη || 2, εὐλόγου τινὸς καὶ T. || τινὸς] om. N, Z. || 4, οὐλίτους]. In N there is a reference to the margin and in the margin ὑποχειρίους (?) || 5, τῶν] om. N, Z. || 6, συμβῇ before τινὰς || 7, ἐλευθ . . . 8, ἐπιτ.] τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐλευθέρους τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου τούτου φυλάττεσθαι N, T.; in Z. ἐλευθέρους is after τούτου.

- (1) ια. ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου
 (2) ῥίψῃ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ, κελεύομεν αὐτὸν τιμωρ-
 (3) εἶσθαι ὡς ἑαυτὸν γυμνῶσαντα τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς
 (4) ὀπλίσαντα.

ια L, ιε ceteri || 1, τοῦ] om. M || 2, ῥίψῃ B M || ὅπλα] ὅπα M || τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν m || 3, τοὺς δέ] καὶ τοὺς B M || 4, ὀπλίσαντα L B m || After this c. V has a heading in capitals: ποιινάλιος στρατιωτικός, which is followed by unnumbered chapters, the first of which = ιε.

Maur. c. 18, N; viii (7) Z. 1, ἐν καιρῷ . . . 2, αὐτοῦ] τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ ῥίψῃ ἐν πολεμῷ || 3, ἑαυτὸν . . . τοὺς δέ] γυμνῶσαντα αὐτὸν [ἑαυτὸν T] καὶ τοὺς

- (1) ιβ. ἐὰν ἔτι τοῦ φοσσίουτου ὄντος γένηται
 (2) τροπὴ μέρους ἢ παρατάξεως, καὶ μήτε πρὸς διφέν-
 (3) σoras προσδράμωσιν οἱ τραπέντες, μήτε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ
 (4) φοσσίουτῳ καταφύγωσιν ἀλλὰ περιφρονήσαντες
 (5) ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἀπέλθωσιν τόπῳ, κελεύομεν τοὺς
 (6) τοῦτο πράσσειν τολμῶντας τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς
 (7) τῶν ἐτέρων περιφρονήσαντας καὶ αἰτίους γεγονότας.

ιβ L, ιδ ceteri, except m, where the chapter is erroneously numbered ιγ || 1, ἔτι τοῦ] om. B M m || φωσίουτου L, φουσσίουτου V m || γενήσεται B, but not M m || 2, τρο [F 339a] πῇ V || διφενσώρας V, διφενσoras B, διαφένσωρας m. See Ducange s.v. δεφένσωρες; δηφίνσ[ω]ρ in *Par. Lips.* i. 31, p. 107; 35, p. 111 (fourth century); δεφένσωρες in *Veteres Glossae*, p. 23 || 3, δράμωσιν B M, δράμουσιν m || 4, φωσίου L, φουσσίου V || περιφρονούντες V || 6, τολμήσαγ-

τας L || τιμωρήσαι L, τιμωρείσθω m || 7, περιφρο[F 190a]νήσαντας M || αἰτίους πτώματος γεγονότας B M m.

Maur. c. 17, N, viii (6); Z. 1, ἔτι . . 2, παρατάξεως] φοσσάτου ὄντος τροπή, ὅπερ ἀπείη, μέρους ἢ παρατάξεως γένηται || 2, μηδὲ || πρὸς] om. Z. || 3, οἱ τραπέντες] om. || μηδὲ || 4, after καταφύγωσιν adds οἱ [om. Z.] τρεπόμενοι || περιφρονούντες || 5, τόπω προσδράμωσι || 6, ποιεῖν Z. || 7, ἐταίρων N, T || καὶ αἰτίους γεγον.] om.

- (1) ιγ. εἴ τις παραφυλακὴν πόλεως ἢ κάστρου
- (2) πιστευθεὶς τοῦτο προδώσει, ἢ δυνάμενος
- (3) τοῦτο ἐκδικῆσαι ἐκείθεν ἀπαναχωρήσει
- (4) παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ
- (5) ἐκτὸς ἀνάγκης εἰς ζῶν συντεινούσης κεφαλικῇ
- (6) καταδικασθῆσεται τιμωρίᾳ.

ιγ L, θ̄ ceteri || 1, φυλακὴν F || πιστευθεὶς before πόλεως F || κάστρου ἢ πόλεως L || 2, after πιστευθεὶς B M (but not m) add ἢ μὴ πιστευθεὶς || τοῦτο] τούτω L: om. B M m || after προδώσει B m add ἢ καὶ βουληθῇ (εἰ m); M adds ἢ καὶ μὴ βουληθῇ || ἢ] εἰ M || 3, ἀνα(ο m)χωρήσει ἐκείθεν B M m || 4, ἢ καὶ . . . 5, συντεινούσης] καὶ μάλιστα ἀνάγκης ἐκτὸς τῆς συντεινούσης εἰς θάνατον B M m || 5, εἰς] om. F || κεφαλικὴν . . . τιμωρίαν L || 6, καταδικαζέσθω B M m.

Maur. This chapter appears twice:—(a) i. c. 4, N, T; κεφ. ζ' c. 6 Z. εἴ τις παραφυλακὴν πόλεως ἢ κάστρου πιστευθεὶς τοῦτο προδώσει, ἢ παρὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκείθεν ἀναχωρήσει, ἐσχάτῃ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβληθήσεται [ὑποβληθείη T]: (b) ii. c. 13 N, T; vii. 5 Z. εἴ τις πόλιν ἢ κάστρον πιστευθεὶς εἰς παραφυλακὴν, τοῦτο προδώσει ἢ [ἢ om. T] χωρὶς ἀνάγκης εἰς ζῶν συντεινούσης ἀναχωρήσει, δυνάμενος τοῦτο ἐκδικῆσαι, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβαλέσθω [ὑποβαλλέσθω T].

- (1) ιδ. οἱ τῶν ἀταξιῶν ἑξαρχοὶ καὶ τὸν δῆμον
- (2) θορυβοῦντες κατὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκείας ἀξίας ποιότητα
- (3) ἢ ἀποτέμνονται ἢ ἐξορίζονται.

ιδ L, ιξ̄ ceteri, except V, where it = ιξ̄. In V it is headed in capitals:

τοῦ ιθ̄ τ̄ τ̄^υ μῆ β̄ των ιγ̄. In m it is headed in red: βιβλίον με τῶν διγέστων τίτλος ιε̄ || 2, τὴν] om. M. || 3, ἢ (first)] om. V, but there is an erasure, which has also removed the breathing of α || ἢ τυπτόμενοι ἐξορίζονται B M m.

Dig. 48, 19, 38, 2. Actores seditionis et tumultus populo concitato pro qualitate dignitatis aut in furcam tolluntur aut bestiis obiciuntur aut in insulam deportantur. Cp. Paul. 5, 22, 1.

- (1) ιε. ὁ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφυγὼν καὶ ὑπο-
- (2) στρέψας βασανίζεται καὶ ἢ θηρίοις παραδίδεται
- (3) ἢ εἰς φοῦρκαν καταδικάζεται.

ιε L, in V = ιξ̄ [F 341a]; in B M m λγ̄ || 1, τοὺς] om. m || ἀπο-

στρέψας m || 2, βασανιζέσθω B M m || M omits all after βασανιζέσθω || και] om. B m || παραδιδόσθω B m || 3, φρουράν L. φρουράν B m || καταδικαζέσθω B m.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 10. Is qui ad hostem confugit et rediit, torquebitur ad bestiasque uel in furcam damnabitur, quamuis milites nihil eorum patiantur.

Leonis Novella, 68 (Z., I.G.R. iii. p. 163), ὁ κατὰ τῶν εἰς πολεμίους αὐτομολησάντων κείμενος νόμος βούλεται . . . τὸν ἡὺτομοληκότα, if he returns, ἔκδοτον εἰς βρώσιν θηρίοις γινέσθαι ἢ ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι.

Dig. 48, 19, 38, 1. Transfugae ad hostes uel consiliorum nostrorum renunciatōres aut uiuī exuruntur aut furcae suspenduntur. Cp. Basil. 60, 51, 34.

Prochiron Vatic. 34, 16. οἱ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκουσίως ἀπερχόμενοι καὶ ἀποσκηπίζοντες τὰς ἡμετέρας βουλὰς ἀναρτῶνται εἰς φοῦρκαν ἢ καίονται = Proch. 39, 17.

See notes on $\overline{\lambda\theta}$ and $\overline{\mu}$.

- (1) $\overline{\iota\zeta}$. οἱ ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς ἐξ οἴασοῦν αἰτίας
- (2) ἐκπεσόντες τῆς στρατείας οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν
- (3) δύνανται ἔχειν ἢ πράττειν.

$\overline{\iota\zeta}$ In V = $\overline{\kappa\theta}$; in B M m latter part of $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ || headed in V in capitals:

$\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$ $\overline{\tau\iota\tau\lambda}$ $\overline{\iota\beta}$ $\overline{\beta\iota\beta\alpha}$ $\overline{\tau}$ $\overline{\kappa}$ || 1. οἱ ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς V m. οἱ γὰρ ἐπιτιμία τῆς B, ἢ γὰρ ἐπιτιμίαι τῆς M || ἐκπεσόντες αἰτίας m || 2, οὐδεμίαν to end] οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἔχειν ποτὲ ἢ πράττειν δύνανται V. οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι ἢ πράττειν δύνανται οὔτε τιμὴν [τιμὴν m, μὴν M] τινὰ ἔχειν ποτε B M m.

Cod. 12, 35, 3. Milites ignominia missi, cum infamia notantur, nullis honoribus . . . uti possunt.

- (1) $\overline{\iota\zeta}$. ἐὰν ἴδιον ἑξαρχον οἱ στρατιῶται ἐγκατα-
- (2) λείπωσιν, ἢ παραχωρήσωσιν ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν
- (3) αὐτὸν συσχεθῆναι καὶ μὴ ὑπερασπίσωσιν
- (4) αὐτοῦ, δυνάμενοι αὐτὸν διαφυλάξαι κἀντεῦθεν
- (5) συμβῆ αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι, κεφαλικῶς τιμωροῦνται.

$\overline{\iota\zeta}$ L, $\overline{\kappa}$ ceteri || In L F 342a begins with this c. || In V the chapter is headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ || 2, παραχωρήσωσιν . . . 3, καὶ] om. L || 3, αὐτὸν] om. m || 4, αὐτῶ B M m || αὐτοῦ . . . 5, συμβῆ] om. L || αὐτὸν διαφυλάξαι] ἀπαλλάξαι m || κἀν[F 229a]τεῦθεν m || 5 αὐτοὺς καὶ τελευτήσῃ L || τιμωρεῖσθωσαν B M m.

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 8. Qui praepositum suum non protexit, cum posset, in pari causa factori habendus est; Dig. 49, 16, 3, 22. Qui praepositum suum protegere noluerunt uel deseruerunt, occiso eo capite puniuntur.

Basil. vii. p. 134 § 7, ὁ μὴ ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ προεστῶτος ἢ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸν κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται ἐὰν ὁ προεστὼς ἐφονεύθῃ; Sghorpsis, p. 475, $\overline{\iota\zeta}$, ὁ δυνάμενος καὶ μὴ ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ προεστῶτος, τιμωρεῖται.

- (1) $\overline{\iota\eta}$. ὁ στρατιώτης κλέπτων ὅπλα ἀλλότρια
- (2) τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς στρατείας ἐξωθεῖται.

τη L. In V = λη. Not in B M m.

Dig. 49, 16, 3. Qui aliena arma subripuit, gradu militiae pellendus est.

Basil. vii. p. 134, § 4, ὁ κλέψας ἀλλότριον ἄρμα τὸν βαθμὸν τῆς στρατείας ἐναλλάσσει; *Synopsis*, p. 475 ζ, ὁ κλέψας ἀλλότριον ἄρμα [in marg. ἀλλότρια ἄρμα] τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς στρατείας ἐξωθεῖται.

- (1) ιθ. ἐάν τις ἀταξίαν τρύχειαν στρατιωτῶν
- (2) ὑφάψῃ ἢ διεγείρῃ, εἰς κεφαλὴν κολάζεται.
- (3) εἰ δὲ ἄχρι φωνῆς μόνῃς τὴν στρατιωτικὴν
- (4) ἀταξίαν παρεσκεύασεν γενέσθαι,
- (5) μεχρὶ ψιλῆς κατὰ τινων μέμψεως ἢ
- (6) ἀταξία διανέσθῃ, τότε τοῦ βαθμοῦ τῆς
- (7) στρατείας ἀποβάλλεται· καὶ ὅτε δὲ πολλοὶ
- (8) ἄμα στρατιῶται συμπνεύσωσιν εἰς ἄτοπὸν
- (9) τι ἢ λεγῶν αὐτῶν ἀτονήσῃ, ἀποστρατεύεσθαι
- (10) εἰώθασιν.

This chapter is repeated in L in another form as λς. In V it = λθ. It is not in B M m || 1, τραχίαν V || 2, ὑφάψει L V || ῥ] καὶ V || διειγῆρει L,

διεγῆρει V || 3, ἄχρη V || 7, στρατίας L || στρατιῶται πολλοὶ ἄμα V || 8, συνιπ-
πεύσωσιν L || 9, the spelling in the papyri varies between λεγῶν (2, *P. Grenfell*,
74, p. 117; *B.G.U.* 21, 195, 378) and λεγιῶν (*B.G.U.* 156, 302, 455, 140 = *Mitteis*,
ii. p. 373; *P. Monac.* p. 22). After the fifth century it is merely a literary
survival: *Maspero, Organ. milit.*, p. 69, n. 1 || αὐτὸν L.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 19. Qui seditionem atrocem militum concitavit, capite punitur. 20. Si intra uociferationem aut leuem querellam seditio mota est, tunc gradu militiae deicitur. 21. Et cum multi milites in aliquod flagitium conspirent uel si legio deficiat, auocari militia solent.

Synopsis, p. 475 θ, ὁ τραχείαν ἐξερεθίζων στρατιωτῶν στάσιν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται. ὁ δὲ [in marg. εἰ δὲ] μέχρι φωνῆς, ἢ ψιλῆς μέμψεως ἢ στάσις, τοῦ βαθμοῦ ἐκβάλλεται.

- (1) κ. ὁ δεπορτατευόμενος, ἐὰν ἐκφυγῶν
- (2) τὴν τιμωρίαν εἰσαῦθις ἐσπούδασεν στρατ-
- (3) ευθῆναι, παραπροσποιησάμενος τοῦ εἶναι
- (4) δεπόρτατος, ἢ ἡνέσχετο στρατευθῆναι, εἰς
- (5) κεφαλὴν τιμωρεῖται· ὁ δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐξ-
- (6) ορισθεὶς, εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως στρατ-
- (7) εὔσηται, εἰς νῆσον δεπορτατεύεται· εἰ δὲ
- (8) παραπροσποιήσῃται καὶ ἠνάσχηται τῶν
- (9) στρατευόντων αὐτῷ, διηνεκῶς ἐξορίζεται.
- (10) ἐὰν δὲ τις προσκαίρως ἐξορισθεὶς καὶ φυγῶν
- (11) τὴν τιμωρίαν μετὰ τὸ περαιωθῆναι τὸν χρόνον
- (12) τῆς ἐξορίας στρατεύσῃται, ζητοῦμεν εἰς ποίας
- (13) αἰτίας κατεδικάσθη τῇ ἐξορίᾳ, καὶ εἰ μὲν
- (14) ἀτιμίαν ἐπιφέρει εἰς διηνεκὴ τὸ αὐτὸ παραφυλάττομεν.

$\bar{\kappa}$ L; = $\bar{\mu}$ V. I here give only the readings of L and V || 1, *δεπορτατευόμενος*] Cp. *Theoph. Inst. Iust.* i. 15, 6; *Epit.* 40, 41; *Proch. Vatic.* pp. 271, 346 || 2, *εἰς αὐθις*] *εἰς αὐτὸς* (after the first *ς* a letter has been erased) L; ἡ *αὐτὸς* V || 3, *παραπροσποιησαμένω* (?) L || *τοῦ* τὸ V || 4, *δε* [F 341b] *πορτατος* V || ἡ] om. L || *ἐνεσχάτω* V || 7, *νῆσσον* L || *δεπορτατεύηται* L || 8, *προσποιοῖσθαι* V || 9, *αὐτὸν* V || 10, *προσκαίρω* V || 11, *περεωθῆναι* L || 12, *ζητοῦμεν εἰς ποίας*] *ζητουμένη σποίας* V || 13, *εἰ*] ἡ V || 14, *ἀτιμία* V || *ἐπιφέρει*] *ἐτι φέρειν* V.

In B M m this chapter is divided into two, $\bar{\lambda}\delta$ and $\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$, which I give now:—

- (1) $\bar{\lambda}\delta$. ὁ στρατιώτης δεπορτατευόμενος,
- (2) ἐὰν ἐκφυγὼν τὴν τιμωρίαν καὶ προσ-
- (3) ποιησάμενος τοῦ εἶναι δεπορτάτος ἠνέσχετο
- (4) στρατευθῆναι πάλιν, εἰς κεφαλὴν τιμωρ-
- (5) εἰσθῶ· ὁ δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐξορισθεὶς, εἰ
- (6) μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως στρατεύεται, μετὰ
- (7) τὸ περαιωθῆναι τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἐξ-
- (8) ορίας, εἰς νῆσον δεπορτατεύεται διηνεκῶς·
- (9) ἐάνπερ ἡ αἰτία τῆς ἐξορίας αὐτοῦ δειχθῇ
- (10) ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς στρατείας γεγонуῖα, οἶον
- (11) ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἢ ἄλλῳ ἐγκλήματι πουβλικῷ.

1, ὁ στρ.] στρ. ὁ B; ὁ στρ. ὁ m || 2, τιμ. [F 191a] καὶ προσπ. M || 3, τοῦ τὸ B; om. m || ^pδεποτάτος B || ἠνέσχετο]. The leaf has been cut away in B so that only the first letter is visible || 5, καιροῦ m || 7, περεωθῆναι B m || ἐξωρείας m || 9, ἐτία B || διχθῇ B, δηχθῇ m.

- (1) $\bar{\lambda}\epsilon$. ὁ στρατιώτης διηνεκῶς δεπορτατευ-
- (2) ὁμενος διὰ πουβλικὸν ἐγκλημα οἶον
- (3) μοιχείαν καὶ λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀτιμία τῆς
- (4) στρατείας γενομένοις, προσποιοῦμενος
- (5) μὲν τοῦ εἶναι δεπορτάτος, ἀνάσχηται δὲ
- (6) τῶν στρατευόντων στρατευθῆναι πάλιν,
- (7) εἰς κεφαλὴν τιμωρεῖσθω· ὁ δὲ πρὸς καιρὸν
- (8) ἐξορισθεὶς διὰ μικρὸν ἀτόπημα, καὶ ἐκ-
- (9) ουσίως μετὰ τὸ περαιωθῆναι τὸν χρόνον
- (10) τῆς ἐξορίας στρατευόμενος, εἰς νῆσον
- (11) δεπορτατεύεται· δεκτοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι οὐκ
- (12) εἰσὶ κὰν βούλονται στρατευθῆναι.

1, ὁ στρ.] στρ. ὁ B ὁ στρ. ὁ M m || 2, οἶον . . . ἀτιμία] om. m || 4, γενομένης m || 5, τοῦ τὸ B m || 8, ἐξωρεισθεὶς m || 9, περεωθῆναι B || 11, οὗτοι] om. m || 12, βούλονται B M m.

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 2. In insulam deportatus, si effugiens militiae se dedit lectusue dissimulavit, capite puniendus est.

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 3. *Temporarium exilium uoluntario militi insulae relegationem adsignat, dissimulatio perpetuum exilium.*

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 4. *Ad tempus relegatus si expleto spatio fugae militem se dedit, causa damnationis quaerenda est, ut, si contineat infamiam perpetuam, idem obseruetur.*

- (1) $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$. οἱ ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐγκλήματι πουβλίκῳ
- (2) κατακριθέντες, οὐκ εἰσι δεκτοὶ βουλόμενοι στρατ-
- (3) ευθῆναι.

$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ L = $\overline{\mu\alpha}$ V. Not in B M m, but see above.

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 7. *Adulterii uel aliquo iudicio publico damnati inter milites non sunt recipiendi.*

Basil. vii. p. 134 § 8, ὁ τῷ περὶ μοιχείας ἐγκλήματι ἢ ἐτέρῳ δημοσίῳ καταδικασθεὶς οὐ δύναται στρατιώτης εἶναι = *Synopsis*, p. 475 $\overline{\iota\beta}$.

- (1) $\overline{\kappa\beta}$. ὅστις ἀποφύγῃ τοῦ στρατευθῆναι,
- (2) στρατιωτικῶς κολάζεται. βαρὺ γὰρ ἀμάρτημά
- (3) ἐστὶν τὸ ἐκφυγεῖν τὰ λειτουργήματα
- (4) τῆς στρατείας εἴπερ τὸ στρατευθῆναι.
- (5) οἱ γὰρ προσκαλούμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατευθῆναι
- (6) καὶ ἀποφεύγοντες ὡς προδότηι τῆς οἰκίας
- (7) ἐλευθερίας καταδουλοῦνται.

$\overline{\kappa\beta}$ L = $\mu\beta$ V, $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$ B M m. 1, ἀποφύγει V || ὅστις ἀποφ. || ὁ ἀποφεύγων B M m || τῷ V || 2, κολάζεται [F 342a] βαρὺ L || 3, τὸ ἐκφυγεῖν om. m || τὸ τοῦ M || ἐκφυγεῖν LV || λειτουργήματα L || 4, εἴπερ || ὑπὲρ m || τὸ om. L || 5, οἱ γὰρ || διὸ οἱ B M m || ἐπὶ τὸ om. B M m || ἔτι V || στρατεύεσθαι m || 6, οἰκίας L.

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 9. *Qui post desertionem in aliam militiam nomen dederunt legiue passi sunt, imperator noster rescipsit et hos militariter puniendos. Grauius autem delictum est detrectare munus militiae quam adpetere: nam et qui ad dilectum olim non respondebant, ut proditores libertatis in seruitium redigebantur.*

Schol. ad Basil. 39, 1, 6, 9 [ed. Heimb. iii. p. 681], πρῶν δὲ οἱ παραιτούμενοι στρατεύεσθαι ὡς προδότηι τῆς ἐλευθερίας κατεδουλοῦντο.

- (1) $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$. ἐάν τις τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου
- (2) ὑφέλῃται τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξορίζ-
- (3) εται καὶ εἰς μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ δημ-
- (4) εύεται. εἰ δέ τις τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ἐν καιρῷ
- (5) πολέμου ἀχρειώσῃ, ἵνα ἀνεπιτίδεις εύρεθῇ
- (6) πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἐξορίζεται.

$\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ $\overline{\mu\gamma}$ V, $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$ B M m || 1, τοῦ πολέμου B M m || 2, ἀφέλῃται B M m || 2, after αὐτοῦ B M m add ἢ ἀχρειώσῃ ἵνα ἀνεπιτίδεις (ἐπιτίδεις m) εύρεθῇ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἐξορίζεται || 4, B M m end with δημεύεται || 5, εύ [F 342a] ρεθῇ V.

Dig. 49, 16, 4, 11. Qui filium suum subtrahit militiae belli tempore, exilio et bonorum parte multandus est . . . 12. Eum, qui filium debilitavit dilectu per bellum indicto, ut inhabilis militiae sit, praeceptum diui Traiani deportavit.

Basil. vii. p. 134, § 9, ἐὰν ὁ πατήρ ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου ἀπογράψῃ τὸν υἱόν, ἐξορίζεται καὶ εἰς μέρος δημεύεται . . . § 10, ὁ τὸν υἱὸν ἀχρειώσας ἐν καιρῷ πολέμου, ἵνα εὕρεθῇ ἀνεπιτήδειος, περιορίζεται.

Schol. ad Basil. 39, 1, 6, 9 [ed. Heimb. iii. p. 169] καὶ διγ. τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τὸν υἱὸν ἀχρειώσας ἐν καιρῷ στρατολογίας, ἵνα εὕρεθῇ ἀνεπιτήδειος, δεπορτατεύεται.

- (1) κδ̄. ἐὰν τις τῶν στρατιωτῶν χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλῃ
- (2) τῷ ἰδίῳ πρεποσιτῷ, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

κδ̄] μδ̄ V; not in B M m || 1, ἐπιβάλλει L || 2, πρεπ- is the reading of L V, while Roe 18 has πραιπ- which is the almost invariable reading of the papyri, e.g. *P. Oxyr.* 43, 60, 1047, 1101, 1190, 1253; *P. Amherst*, 139, p. 169, 142, p. 174, 145, p. 177; *P. Grenfell*, ii. 74, p. 117; *P. Brit. Mus.* 971, iii, p. 129, 1693 line 18, V, p. 94; *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, p. 59, line 17. πρεπ- is in *P. Oxyr.* 43 (A.D. 295).

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 1. Qui manus intulit praeposito, capite puniendus est.

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 13, ὁ χεῖρας ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ προεστῶτι αὐτοῦ κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται . . . = *Synopsis*, p. 475 ἰδ̄.

- (1) κε̄. εἴ τις τὸν ἴδιον συστρατιώτην τραυματίσει,
- (2) εἰ μὲν λίθῳ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, ἀπωθεῖται τῆς
- (3) στρατείας· εἰ δὲ ξίφει, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

κε̄] με̄ V. In B M m this and next chapter are united into one, which is numbered κς̄, and which I give at the end of next chapter || 2, λίθῳ] ἀληθῶς V.

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 6. Si quis commilitonem uulneravit, si quidem lapide, militia reicitur, si gladio, capital admittit.

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 17, ὁ τὸν συστρατιώτην αὐτοῦ τραυματίσας, εἰ μὲν λίθῳ, ἀποστρατεύεται, εἰ δὲ ξίφει, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

- (1) κς̄. ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἑαυτὸν πλήξῃ ἢ ἄλλως πῶς
- (2) θάνατον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευάσῃ, εἰ μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ
- (3) ἀλγηδὼν τοῦ σώματος ἢ ἄλλως πῶς τάξιν σιαιν-
- (4) ὁμένος ἢ κατὰ μανίαν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἢ αἰσχυν-
- (5) ὁμένος ἀποθανεῖν ἢ βουλήθῃ, οὐχ ὑπομένει μὲν
- (6) κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν, ἐφυβρίστως δὲ τῆς στρατείας
- (7) ἀπολύεται, ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτο προείσχεν διὸ
- (8) ἐπεχείρησεν ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

κς̄ L, με̄ V || 3, τάξει L || σιενόμενος V. Cp. *Cyrrilli Gloss.* 1682, p. 166, σιαινομαι tedo; Hemsterhus. ad *Iuc. Dial. Mort.* x. 9, ed. Amst. 1743; i. p. 372 || 4, ἡ (second)] om. V || 7, μηδὲν τούτων προείσχεν διῶν V.

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 7. Qui se uulneravit uel alias mortem sibi consciuit, imperator

Hadrianus rescripsit ut modus eius rei statutus sit, ut, si impatientia doloris aut taedio uitae aut morbo aut furore aut pudore mori maluit, non animaduer-
tatur in eum sed ignominia mittatur; si nihil tale praetendat, capite puniatur.
Cp. Dig. 48, 19, 38, 12.

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 18, ὁ ἑαυτὸν τραυματίσας . . . διὰ νόσον ἢ . . .
ἀτίμως ἀποστρατεύεται· εἰ δὲ χωρὶς πάσης τῆς αἰτίας, κεφαλικῶς
τιμωρεῖται.

In B M m the last two chapters appear as follows :—

- (1) κζ. ὁ λίθῳ τραυματίσας στρατιώτης τὸν
- (2) συστρατιώτην αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες
- (3) τραυματίσει, μὴ φεύγων σώματος ἀλγηδὸνα
- (4) ἢ πάθος ἢ θάνατον, τυπτόμενος τῆς στρατείας
- (5) ἐξωθείσθω. εἰ δὲ ξίφει τραυματίσει, κεφαλικῶς
- (6) τιμωρεῖσθω εἴτε ἑαυτὸν εἴτε τὸν ἕτερον ὡς αὐτο-
- (7) φονευτῆς καὶ τολμηρός.

3, ἀλγηδὸνα B m || 5, ἐξωσθήτω m || 6, τὸν] om. M || 7, after τολμηρός,
M m repeat κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖσθω.

- (1) κζ. ὁ πρῶτος ἐν παρατάξει φεύγων ἐπ' ὄψεσιν
- (2) τῶν στρατιωτῶν κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται· εἰ δὲ καὶ
- (3) οἱ ἐξπλωράτορες τοῦ ῥωμαικοῦ στρατεύματος
- (4) κρύφα βουλεύματα τῶν ῥωμαίων . . . κεφαλικῶς
- (5) κολάζονται· καὶ ὁ κολεδάτος δὲ στρατιώτης τὸν
- (6) συστρατιώτην ξίφει τραυματίσας ἀποκεφαλίζεται.

κζ] μζ V. This chapter, which is only in L V, is made up of paragraphs
which appear elsewhere. 1, ὁ πρῶτος . . . 2, τιμωρεῖται is a repetition of the
second paragraph of β; 2, εἰ δὲ καὶ . . . 5, κολάζονται is a mutilated forecast
of μ; 5, καὶ ὁ . . . end is a repetition of κε || 1, ἐν παρατάξει] ἐὰν πατάξει
V || 3, ἐξπλωράτορες V, ἐξοπρорάτορες L. Cp. *Veteres Glossae*, p. 28, ἐκπλο-
άτορες. κατὰσκοποι; p. 34, ἐξπλωτήρες. κατὰσκοποι; and cp. also various
readings of μ1; 4, κρύφα] unaccented in L || κρύφα βουλ. τῶν] ἢ V || one or
more words, such as ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις, must be wanting, but there
is no gap in LV || 5, κολάζεται V || κολεδάτος] unaccented in LV. Cp. *Veteres
Glossae*, p. 60, κολεδάτος. στρατιώτης; Ducange s.v. and s.v. καλιγύτος || 6,
τραυματίσει V.

κη. ὁ διαταράττων τὴν εἰρήνην στρατιώτης κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

This chapter is only in L, where it begins F 343 (wrongly numbered 344)a.
In V B M m it appears at the end of my μ.

Dig. 49, 16, 16, 1. Miles turbator pacis capite punitur.

Basil. vii. p. 136, § 26, ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην ταράσσω κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

- (1) $\overline{\kappa\theta}$. ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἐναντιωθῇ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι
- (2) βουλομένῳ αὐτὸν τυπτῆσαι, εἰ μὲν κατέσχε
- (3) μόνον τὴν ῥάβδον, τῆς στρατείας ἐναλλάττεται.
- (4) εἰ δὲ ἐξεπίτηδες ἔκλασεν αὐτὴν ἢ χεῖρας αὐτῷ
- (5) ἐπήγαγεν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

$\overline{\kappa\theta}$] $\overline{\iota\theta}$ ceteri || 1, ἐναντιωθεῖ L || τῷ ἰδίῳ ἄρχοντι] τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτοῦ L || 2, βουλόμενος LV || αὐτὸν V || τύψαι m || εἰ μὲν [F 339b] κατέσχε V || 3, ἐναλλάττεται (sic) L ἐξωθεῖται V, ἐξωθήτω B, ἐξοσθήτω m ἐξωθήτω M || 4, εἰ δὲ καὶ M || ἐξεπίδες m || ἢ] om. V || 5, αὐτῷ ἐπήγ.] ἐπέβαλεν αὐτῷ L || 5, κεφαλ.] ἐσχάτως V B M m || τιμωρείσθω B m, κολάζεται L.

Dig. 49, 16, 13, 4. Nam eum, qui centurioni castigare se uolenti restiterit, ueteres notauerunt : si uitem tenuit, militiam mutat : si ex industria fregit uel manum centurioni intulit, capite punitur.

$\overline{\lambda}$. ὁ κλάσας τὴν φυλακὴν στρατιώτης καὶ ἐκφυγὼν κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

$\overline{\lambda}$] $\overline{\mu\eta}$ V, λη B M m || 1, στρατ. before τὴν φυλ. V || 2, τιμωρεῖται L V m] κολάζεται B M.

Dig. 48, 19, 38, 11. Miles qui ex carcere dato gladio erupit poena capitis punitur; 49, 16, 13, 5. Eum tamen, qui carcere effracto fugerit, etiamsi ante non deseruerit, capite puniendum Paulus scripsit.

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 23 . . . εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τὴν φυλακὴν κλάσας ἔφυγεν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται.

- (1) $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$. τοῖς κατὰ οἶνον τε καὶ μέθην ἢ κατὰ
- (2) ἄλλην τρυφὴν ὀλισθαίνουσι καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσι
- (3) στρατιώταις ἢ κεφαλικὴ τιμωρία συγχωρεῖται,
- (4) ἐπιφέρεται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ τῆς ἰδίας στρατείας
- (5) ἐναλλαγή.

$\overline{\lambda\alpha}$] $\overline{\mu\theta}$ V, $\overline{\lambda\theta}$ B M m || 2, ἁμαρτάνουσι στρατιώταις B m] ἁμαρτάνοντες στρατιώται L, ἁμαρτάνουσιν στρατιώται V M || 3, after στρατ. B adds τυπτομένοις corrected from τυπτόμενος; M adds τυπτόμενοι; m adds τυπτομένοις || ἢ] om. M || τὴν κεφαλικὴν τιμωρίαν V || 4, after αὐτοῖς B M m add τυπτομένοις || καὶ ἢ τῆς M || τῆς [F 342b] ἰδίας V.

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 7. Per unum aut lasciuiam lapsis capitalis poena remittenda est et militiae mutatio irroganda.

- (1) $\overline{\lambda\beta}$. ὁ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμῳ παρεξελθὼν
- (2) ἢ ῥοπάλοις τύπτεται ἢ τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ
- (3) ἐναλλάττει.

$\overline{\lambda\beta}$] = $\overline{\nu}$ V. Not in B M m || 3, ἐναλλάττει L.

Dig. 49, 16, 3, 16. Sed qui agmen excessit, ex causa uel fustibus caeditur uel mutare militiam solet.

- (1) $\lambda\gamma$. ἐὰν τινὲς φυλάττοντες πρόσωπα κατὰ
- (2) ῥαθυμίαν ἀπολέσωσιν αὐτά, ἢ τύπτονται ἢ
- (3) τὴν στρατείαν ἀποβάλλειν ὀφείλουσιν κατὰ
- (4) τὸ μέτρον τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος· εἰ δὲ κατὰ οἶκτον
- (5) ἀπολέσωσιν τὰ πρόσωπα, ἐκπίπτουσιν τῆς στρατείας·
- (6) εἰ δὲ κατὰ πανουργίαν, κεφαλικῶς τιμωροῦνται ἢ
- (7) εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον βαθμὸν τῆς στρατείας καταφέρονται.

$\lambda\gamma$] = $\nu\alpha$ V, μ B M m || In B F 257a begins with this chapter || 1, τινὲς] στρατιῶται B M m || 3, τὴν στρ. ἀποβ. ὀφείλ. τῆς στρατείας ἀποβάλλονται B M m || ἀποβαλεῖν V || 4, τοῦ μέτρον M || εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ m || 5, ἀπολέ [F 191b] σωσιν M || τὰ πρόσωπα] αὐτὰ B M m || After ἐκπίπτουσιν B M m add ^{τεί} μόνον || 6, εἰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ B || 7, στραας M || Between στρ. and καταφ. V inserts αὐτὸν || καταλέγονται m.

Dig. 48, 3, 14, 2. Qui si negligentia amiserint [sc. custodiam], pro modo culpaе uel castigantur uel militiam mutant: quod si leuis persona custodiae fuit, castigati restituuntur. nam si miseratione custodiam quis dimiserit, militiam mutat: fraudulenter autem si fuerit uersatus in dimittenda custodia, uel capite punitur uel in extremum gradum militiae datur. Cp. Basil. 60, 35, 14 (ed. Heimb. v. p. 700).

- (1) $\lambda\delta$. ἐὰν στρατιώτης πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν αὐτοῦ
- (2) συμφωνήσῃ, ἀποστρατεύεται.

$\lambda\delta$] = $\nu\beta$ V, $\mu\alpha$ B M m || 1, ἐὰν] om. B M m || ὁ before στρατ. is added by L M || τὸν] om. B M m || αὐτοῦ] om. B M m || 2, συμφωνήσῃ V, συμφωνῶν B M m || After ἀποστρ. V B M m add καὶ δημεύεται.

Dig. 48, 5, 12 (11) pr. Miles, qui cum adultero uxoris suae pactus est, solui sacramento deportarique debet.

Basil. 60, 37, 13 pr. (ed. Heimb. v. p. 720), ὁ στρατιώτης συμφωνῶν μετὰ τοῦ μοιχοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός, καὶ ἀποστρατεύεται καὶ περιορίζεται.

- (1) $\lambda\epsilon$. οἱ ἑξάρχαι καὶ οἱ ὁπωσοῦν διασώζοντες τὸ
- (2) στράτευμα, ἐὰν ἀργυρολόγωσιν τὰ χωρία, εἰς τὸ
- (3) διπλάσιον καταδικάζονται.

$\lambda\epsilon$] $\tau\epsilon$ ceteri || 1, οἱ ὁπωσοῦν] οἰοσδήποτ' οὖν M || 2, ἀργυρολογῶσιν L V, ἀργυρολόγησωσι B, ἀργυρολογήσω(ου m)σι M m || εἰς] om. V || 3, καταδικαζέσθωσαν B M m.

Z. cites Nov. 150 (130), chapter 4, p. 652, ed. Schoell. [We forbid] μηδένα τῶν ἐξάρχων . . . ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἢ <τῶν> χωρίων ἐπ' ἀπαργυρισμῷ τι λαμβάνειν. He who does so pays back double.

- (1) $\lambda\zeta$. ἐάν τις μέχρι φωνῆς μόνης στρατιωτικῇν
- (2) ἀταξίαν παρασκευάσῃ γενέσθαι, ἢ καὶ πολλοὶ
- (3) εἰς τοῦτο συμπνεύσωσιν, τυπτόμενοι σφοδρῶς
- (4) τῆς στρατείας ἐξωθοῦνται. ἐὰν δὲ ἀταξίαν τραχείαν
- (5) στρατιωτῶν ὑφάψῃ καὶ διεγείρῃ, ἀποτέμνεται.

$\overline{\lambda\zeta}$] $\overline{\omega\eta}$ ceteri. This chapter is an abridged repetition of $\overline{\omega\theta}$. In V it is

headed in capitals: τοῦ $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ τιτλ^υ $\overline{\mu\theta}$ $\overline{\beta}$ τῶν $\overline{\eta}$; in m it is headed: βιβλίου $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$ τίτλος $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ τῶν διγέστων || 2, ἀταξίαν] ἀξίαν M || παρασκευάσει L B M m || $\overline{\eta}$] εἰ M m || 3, τυπτόμενοι [F 255b] σφοδρῶς B || $\overline{\iota}$, ἐξωσθήτωσαν B, ἐξωθήτωσαν M m || εἶ δὲ] εἰ δὲ καὶ B M m || τραχεῖαν [F 343 (wrongly numbered 344)b] στρατ. L || 5, ὑφάψει V || διεγέρει L, διεγείρει M, διεγείρου m, ἐγείρει V || ἀποτέμετε L V, ἀποτεμένεσθω B M m.

- (1) $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$. ὁ ἀφορισθεὶς εἰς παραφυλακὴν τοῦ παλατίου
- (2) καὶ καταλιπὼν τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγρυπνίας καὶ ἐξ-
- (3) κούβιτα, ἐσχάτως τιμωρεῖται, ἢ φιλανθρωπίας
- (4) ἀξιούμενος τυπτόμενος ἐξωθεῖται.

$\overline{\lambda\zeta}$] $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ ceteri || headed in capitals τοῦ αὐτοῦ V || 1, τοῦ] του V; om. B M m || 2, καταλείπων V B m || αὐτὸν V, followed by two letters erased; αὐτοῦ B M m || ἐξοῦβιτα B, ἐξούβιτα m. In this and similar words the authorities vary between the spellings ἐξκ- and ἐκσκ-. See Fabrot, *Gloss. ad Cedren*, s.v. ἐξκούβιτα (ii. p. 904, ed. Bonn.); Ducange, s.v.; De Boor, *ad Theoph.* s.v. ἐκσκούβιτα (ii. p. 601); -σκουβίτορος *P. Brit. Mus.* i. 113 (7), 14; τῶν ἐξκουβίτων Beltrani, *Doc. lang. e greci*, ix. p. 11 (A.D. 999) || 3, τιμωρηται V, τιμωρεῖσθω B M m || 4, τυπτόμενος] om. B M m || ἐξωθείσθω B M m, ἐξορίζεσθω V.

Dig. 49, 16, 10. Qui excubias palatii deseruerit, capite punitur.

$\overline{\lambda\eta}$. καὶ ὁ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρεθίζων ἢ προδιδούς πολεμίους ῥωμαίων ὡσαύτως τιμωρεῖται.

$\overline{\lambda\eta}$] $\overline{\kappa\gamma}$ ceteri. In V headed in capitals: τοῦ $\overline{\mu\delta}$ τιτλ^υ $\overline{\mu\eta}$ βιβ^λ τ $\overline{\eta}$ || 1, καὶ] om. L. || πολέμους V || αἰρεθίζων L, ἐξεριθίζων m || 2, πολεμίους M || ῥωμαίων L V, ῥωμαίους B, ῥωμαίοις m; om. M || ὡσαύτως] om. L || τιμωρεῖσθω B M m.

Dig. 48, 4, 3. Lex duodecim tabularum iubet eum qui hostem concitauerit quique ciuem hosti tradiderit, capite puniri.

Prochiron 39, 1 = *Epanagoge* 40, 1.

Prochiron *Vatic.* 34, 1, ἐὰν παραδώσῃ πολεμίους Ῥωμαίους τις, ἢ διεγείρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς . . . κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑπόκειται. See note at p. 234.

Basil. 60, 36, 3 (ed. Heimb. v. p. 707), ὁ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐρεθίσας ἢ παραδούς αὐτοῖς πολίτην, εἰς κεφαλὴν τιμωρεῖται. See note m.

Marc. gr. 579, F 149a, τίτλος $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$ $\overline{\pi}$ ποινῶν $\overline{\alpha}$ ὁ ἐρεθίζων τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ ὁ παραδούς πολεμίους ῥωμαίους κεφαλικῶς κολάζεται. Repeated F 188a (under title περὶ κεφαλικῶν ἐγκλημάτων κ.τ.λ.) $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$ ὁ ἐρεθίζων πολεμίους ἢ παραδιδὼν (sic) πολεμίους ῥωμαίον κεφαλικῶς κολάζεται.

- (1) $\overline{\lambda\theta}$. τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν μερῶν πρὸς
- (2) τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφεύγοντας ὡς πολεμίους
- (3) ἔξεστιν ἀκινδύνως φονεύειν.

$\overline{\lambda\theta}$] In V this chapter is treated as a continuation of $\overline{\kappa\delta}$. It is not in B M m.

Dig. 48, 8, 3. 6. Transfugas licet, ubicunque inuenti fuerint, quasi hostes interficere.

Prochiron 39, 3 = *Epanagoge* 40, 3.

Prochiron *Vatic.* 34, 3, p. 235, χωρὶς φόβου φονεύεται ὅστις ἀποφεύγει πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.

Marc. gr. 579, F. 149a, γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποφεύγοντας ὡς πολεμίους ἔξεστιν ἀκινδύνως φονεῦν.

Cp. note on $\overline{\alpha\epsilon}$.

- (1) $\overline{\mu}$. ἐὰν οἱ ἐκσπλοράτορες τοῦ ῥωμαικοῦ
- (2) στρατεύματος ἀπαγγείλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ
- (3) ἀπόκρυφα βουλεύματα τῶν ῥωμαίων κεφαλικῶς
- (4) τιμωροῦνται.

$\overline{\mu}$] $\overline{\kappa\delta}$, B M, $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ V m || This chapter begins F 340a in V, where it is headed in capitals τοῦ $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ τίτλου $\overline{\mu\theta}$ βίβλ. τῶν $\overline{\zeta}$ || 1, οἱ] om. B M m || ἐξπλορατωρες V, ἐκσποράτορες B m, ἐκσπουράτορες M. See table of contents. T (Laur. 55, 4) gives (F 72a) ἐκπλορατόρων and (F 270a) ἐξπλοράτορας || 2, ἐκστρατεύματος V B M m || 4, τιμωρεῖσθωσαν B M m || V B M m add ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ τὴν εἰρήνην διαταράττοντες (διαπράττοντες m).

Dig. 49, 16, 6, 4. Exploratores, qui secreta nuntiauerunt hostibus, proditores sunt et capitis poenas luunt.

Basil. vii. p. 135, § 15, οἱ κατάσκοποι μὲν ὑμῶν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ ἀπόρρητα κεφαλικῶς τιμωροῦνται.

- (1) $\overline{\mu\alpha}$. οἵτινες τολμήσωσι συνομοσίαν ἢ φατρίαν
- (2) ἢ στάσιν κατὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἄρχοντος ποιῆσαι
- (3) ὑπὲρ οἰασθήποτε αἰτίας, κεφαλικῇ ὑποβληθῇσονται
- (4) τιμωρίᾳ, κατεξαίρετον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ αἵτιοι τῆς
- (5) συνομοσίας ἢ τῆς στάσεως γεγόμενοι.

$\overline{\mu\alpha}$ L] $\overline{\alpha}$ ceteri || 1, τολμήσουσι m || In margin of M φατρία σύνταγμα || 2, στάσιν] ἀκαταστασίαν L || τοῦ] om. m || 4, κατεξαίρετως B M m || 5, συνομοσίας B || γεγονότες B M m.

Maur. chapter 4 N; ζ (5) Z. Headed in capitals in N: περὶ τῶν συνομοσίαν ποιούντων κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν. Text: 1, οἵτινες] εἵτινες || τολμήσουσι N, Z. || 2, τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἰδίου || 3, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποβληθῶσι || 4, καὶ αἵτιοι] om.

- (1) $\overline{\mu\beta}$. ἐὰν στρατιώτης τῷ ἰδίῳ πεντάρχῳ
- (2) μὴ ὑπακούσας ἐναντιωθῇ, σωφρονιζέσθω.
- (3) ὁμοίως καὶ πένταρχος, ἐὰν τῷ οἰκείῳ δεκάρχῳ
- (4) μὴ ὑπακούσῃ ὡσαύτως δὲ ἐὰν καὶ δεκάρχος
- (5) τῷ ἰδίῳ ἑκατοντάρχῳ.

$\overline{\mu\beta}$ L] $\overline{\beta}$ ceteri || In V F 338a begins with this chapter || 2, $\mu\eta$ ὑπακούσας . . . 5, ἑκατοντάρχῳ] ἡ πένταρχος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεκάρχῳ, ὡσαύτως καὶ δέκαρχος τῷ οἰκείῳ ἑκατοντάρχῳ μὴ ὑπακούσας ἐναντιωθῇ, σωφρονιζέσθω B M m || 3, καὶ] om. L || τῷ [F 350b] οἰκείῳ F || 4, ὑπακούσει L || 4, καὶ] om. L || 5, ἰδίῳ] οἰκείῳ F || In words like ἑκατοντάρχος, the papyri vary between the ending in -ος and that in -ης. E.g. ἑκατοντάρχος B.G.U. 21 (A.D. 340); 283 (second century); 390 (third century) -ον P. Oxy. 1261 (x. p. 184) (A.D. 325); ἑκατοντάρχης P. Genève, 3, 1, p. 2: 74, p. 112: B.G.U. 436 (second to third centuries); ἑκατοντάρχαι P. Oxy. 1185 (ix. p. 200).

- (1) $\overline{\mu\gamma}$. εἰ δέ τις τῶν τοῦ τάγματος τολμήσει
- (2) ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ μείζονι ἄρχοντι αὐτοῦ, ἡγουν
- (3) τῷ κόμητι ἢ τριβούνῳ, τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ὑποκείσθω
- (4) τιμωρία.

In my MSS. except L this is a continuation of $\overline{\beta}$ || 1, εἰ δὲ καὶ τις B M m || τῶν] τὴν M || τάγματος] πρίγματος M || τολμήσει L || 8, αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντι B M m || ἄρχοντι [F 189a] ἡγουν M || 3, after κόμητι L adds αὐτοῦ || after τριβούνῳ B M m add ἡ ἄλλω οἰοδύποτε || ἐσχάτι L.

Maur. $\overline{\mu\beta}$ and $\overline{\mu\gamma}$ form the first chapter in Maur. It is at the foot of F 24a in N and runs thus:—ἐὰν στρατιώτης τῷ ἰδίῳ πεντάρχη, εἴτε [ἡ Z.] τετράρχῃ [τετράρχῃ ἢ πεντάρχη T] ἐναντιωθῇ, σωφρονιζέσθω. εἰ δὲ πεντάρχης ἢ τετράρχης τῷ ἰδίῳ δεκάρχῳ [δεκάρχη T], ὁμοίως. εἴτε [εἰδὲ T] δεκάρχης τῷ [F 246 N] ἑκατοντάρχῳ, ὁμοίως. εἴτε [εἰδὲ T] τις τῶν τοῦ τάγματος τολμήσει τοῦτο ποιῆσαι εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα· τουτέστιν εἰς [final εἰς om. in T; last five words omitted in Z.] τὸν κόμητα αὐτοῦ ἢ τριβούνον, κεφαλικῇ τιμωρίᾳ ὑποκείσθω.

- (1) $\overline{\mu\delta}$. εἰ τις ἀκούσας τὸ μανδάτον τοῦ δεκάρχου
- (2) αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξει, σωφρονιζέσθω· εἰ δὲ ἀγνοῶν
- (3) τὰ μανδάτα πταίσει, ὁ δέκαρχος σωφρονιζέσθω
- (4) δι' ὧν οὐ προεδίδαξεν αὐτόν.

$\overline{\mu\delta}$ γ ceteri || εἰ] ἐὰν B M m || After ἀκούσας B M m add στρατιώτης || No accent on μανδάτον in V || 2, φυλάξει V, φυλάξη B M m || 3, τὸ μανδάτον B M m || πταίσει M (?) πέσει V m παίση B || 4, διὸν L διότι B M m.

Maur. c. 6, N, T; ζ (8) Z. || 1, τὰ μανδάτα || 2, αὐτοῦ] om. || φυλάξη T || 3, τὰ μανδάτα] om. N || πταίση T || δεκάρχης T || 4, δι' ὧν . . . αὐτόν] ἐπειδὴ οὐ προεῖπεν αὐτῷ.

- (1) $\overline{\mu\epsilon}$. ἐὰν στρατιώτης ἀδικηθῇ παρά τινος, τῷ
- (2) ἄρχοντι τοῦ τάγματος ἐγκαλείτω. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ
- (3) τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀδικηθῇ, τῷ μείζονι ἄρχοντι
- (4) προσερχέσθω.

$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$ δ ceteri || 1, L inserts τις between ἐὰν and στρατιώτης || ἀδικηθεῖ, (and 4) L || τινος] τοῦ ἄρχοντος M || 2, ἄρχοντι [F 344a] τοῦ τάγματος L || 3,

αὐτοῦ] om. B M || After ἀδικηθῇ B M m add τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος || ἀδικηθῇ [F 228a] τοῦ ἰδίου m || After ἄρχοντι F V add περὶ τούτου || 4, προερχέσθω m.

Maur. In X, T this is a continuation of the first chapter; in Z. it is ζ'c (3) || εἰ μέντοι [μέν τι Z] ἀδικηθῇ [ἀδικηθεῖ T] παρά τινος, τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ τάγματος αὐτοῦ προσέλθαι [προσέλθει T], εἰ δὲ καὶ [om. Z] παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτοῦ ἀδικηθῇ, τῷ μείζονι ἄρχοντι προσέλθαι [προσέλθει T].

- (1) $\overline{\mu\zeta}$. εἴ τις τολμήσει βαγεῦσαι ὑπὲρ τὸν χρόνον
- (2) τοῦ κομμεάτου, καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἐκβληθῇς-
- (3) εται, καὶ ὡς παγανὸς τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐκδοθῇς-
- (4) εται ἄρχουσιν.

$\overline{\mu\zeta}$] $\bar{\epsilon}$ ceteri || 1, εἴ τις] ἔαν στρατιώτης B M m || τολμήσει B M m || 2, κομμεάτου B M, κομετάτου m || καὶ] om. B M m || ἐκβληθήσεται L || 3, ὡς] ὡ V, ὁ m || παγανικός B M m. παγανὸς here is a civilian as opposed to a soldier and is equivalent to ἰδιωτής. Παγανοὶ are also yeomanry as opposed to regular troops. Bell on *Par.* 1674 (*P. Brit. Mus.* v. p. 62, c. A.D. 570). Cp. *Basil.* 60, 35, 12. Schol. εἰ δὲ καὶ παγανὸς ἦν ὁ φυλάττων (ed. Heimb. v. p. 700): *P. Soc. Ital.* i. 29 (fourth century), ἔμπροσθεν . . . στρατιωτῶν . . . καὶ παγανῶν; *Veteres glossae*, p. 83. παγανοί· ἀστράτευτοι. παγανικός is the adjective. *B.G.U.* 936 (A.D. 426), εἰς παγανικὰς συντελείας; *P. Florent.* 287 (iii. p. 7), παγανικῶ σχήματι 'in abito borghese'; Maspero, *Organ. milit.* p. 92, n. 2, μετὰ . . . παγανικῆς βοθηθείας. παγανικός is not used in a substantival sense till the twelfth century. *Prochiron Vatic.* 37, § 64, p. 298, ἐπὶ γὰρ παγανικῶν τὸ ἐναντίον γίγνεται.

Maur. c. 2, X, T: ζ' (4) Z. 2, κομμεάτου X, T || ἐκβληθῇ X, ἐκβληθεῖ T || 3, ἄρχουσι παραδοθείη X, T, ἄρχουσι παραδοθήσεται Z.

- (1) $\overline{\mu\zeta}$. εἴ τις ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ κομμεά-
- (2) ου στρατιώτην ἀπολύσαι τολμήσει, λ νομίσματα
- (3) ποινὴν διδόντω· ἐν δὲ καιρῷ παραχειμαδίου
- (4) δύο ἢ καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν ποιείτω κομμεάτα
- (5) ὁ στρατιώτης· ἐν δὲ καιρῷ εἰρήνης, κατὰ τὸ
- (6) διάστημα τῆς ἐπαρχίας τὰ κομμεάτα τῷ στρατιώτῃ
- (7) γενέσθω.

$\overline{\mu\zeta}$ L, $\bar{\epsilon}$ ceteri || 1, τοῦ] om. M || κομμεάτου V B M, κομετάτου m || 2, τολμήσει B || λ] τριάκοντα V F B M m || νομίσματα] ἰν L, ἰν m || 3, ἐν δὲ καιρῷ] ἐν καιρῷ δὲ V, εἰ δὲ ἐν καιρῷ B M m || ἐν δὲ κ. παραχ. is omitted by F, but a gap is left || 4, ἢ] εἰ m || καὶ] om. L F || ποιήτω F || κομμεάτα B M, κομετάτα m || 5, ὁ στρατ.] ὡς στρατ. L || ἐν δὲ κ.] εἰ δὲ ἐν καιρῷ B M, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν καιρῷ m || 6, διάστημα B || οὕτω τὰ B M m || κομμεάτα B M, κομετάτα m || στρατιώτῃ L || γινέσθω L F.

Maur. c. 12, X; vii. (4) Z. || 1, τοῦ] om. || διὰ] δίχα Z. || κομμεάτου X, Z. || 2, τριάκοντα νομισμάτων || 3, ἀποδιδόντω Z || ἐν καιρῷ δὲ || 4, καὶ] om. || τρεῖς μηνῶν X, Z. || κομ. ὁ στρ.] om. || 5, ἐν καιρῷ δὲ || 6, κομμεάτα X, Z. || 7, γινέσθω T.

- (1) $\mu\eta$. εἴ τις ἐλεγχθῇ θελήσας ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
- (2) παραδοῦναι, τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ὑποβληθήσεται τιμωρία·
- (3) οὐ μόνον δὲ αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συγγνώσαντες
- (4) αὐτῷ καὶ σιωπήσαντες.

$\mu\eta$ L, ζ ceteri || 1. ἐλεγχθεῖ L || θελήσας . . . 2, παραδοῦναι] ὅτι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἑαυτὸν παραδοῦναι ἠθέλησεν B M m || ἐχθροῖς [F 338a] παραδοῦναι V || 2, ἠθέλησεν [F 254b] τῇ ἐσχάτῃ B || ἐσχάτῃ L || ὑποβληθήσεται L, ὑποβληθήτω B M m || 3, δὲ] om. V B M m || οἱ] om. F || συγγνώσαντες F || 4, αὐτὸν L F.

Maur. c. 5, N, T; VI (7) Z || 1, ἐλεγχθείη T || ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς] ἐχθροῖς ἑαυτὸν || ἑαυτὸν (F 10a T) παραδ- || 2, ὑποβλ. τιμ.] τιμωρία ὑποβληθῇ (ὑποβληθείη T) || 3, δὲ] om. || 3, οἱ συγγν. to end of chapter] ὁ τοῦτο συνειδώς, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γινούς, τῷ ἄρχοντι οὐκ ἐμύνησεν.

- (1) $\mu\theta$. εἴ τις ζημιώσει στρατιώτην ἢ συντελεστήν
- (2) ἢν, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποκατα-
- (3) στήσῃ τῷ ζημιωθέντι. εἰ δὲ οἰοσδήποτε ἄρχων
- (4) ἢ στρατιώτης ἐν παραχειμαδίῳ ἢ κατὰ πάροδον
- (5) ἢ εἰς τὰ σέδετα ζημιώσει στρατιώτην ἢ συν-
- (6) τελεστήν, καὶ τοῦτον δεόντως οὐκ ἀποθεραπεύ-
- (7) εὔσει, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι αὐτὸ τὸ πᾶγμα
- (8) τῷ ζημιωθέντι ἀποκαταστήσει.

$\mu\theta$ L, η ceteri || 1, εἴ τις . . . 3, ζημιωθέντι] om. B M m || ζημιώση F || συντελεστήν] See Sophocles s.v. In *P. Fiorent.* 283 (iii. p. 5) the word is used 'nel senso di proprietario di terreni.' 2, τῷ αὐτῷ F αὐτὸ L || 3, δὲ] τις B M m || οἰοσδήποτε L, ὁ οἰοσδήποτε V || 4, παραχειμαδίῳ L || 5, σέδεκτα M. Cp. σέδετον· τὸ φωσσάτον Suid.; σέδετον· τὸ φοσσάτον *Veteres Glossae*, p. 108 || ζημιώση B || After στρατ. B m add ἕτερον || ἢ συντελεστήν] om. V || 6, τοῦτον δεόντως] κατὰ τὸ δέον B m, τοῦ δέοντος M || ἀποθεραπεύση L B, ἀποθεραπεύει F || 7, αὐτὸ . . . 8, ζημιωθέντι] τὴν ζημίαν B M m.

This chapter is represented by two (or three) chapters in Maur. The first is 8 N, T; ζ 10 Z. It runs: εἴ τις ζημιώσει τὸν [om N, T] συντελεστήν, καὶ μὴ τοῦτον προαιρέσει ἀποθεραπεύσει, κατὰ τὸ διπλάσιον τὴν ζημίαν αὐτῷ ἀποκαταστήσει. The second (or, second and third) is 11 N, T; vii. 2, 3 Z. It runs: εἴ τις ζημιώσει στρατιώτην [στρατιώτῃ T] ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι τοῦτο [om. T] αὐτῷ ἀποκαταστήσει· ὁμοίως καὶ συντελεστήν. (3 Z.) εἰ δὲ ἐν παραχειμαδίῳ ἢ εἰς τὰ σέδετα ἢ κατὰ πάροδον ἄρχων ἢ στρατιώτης ζημιώσει συντελεστήν καὶ μὴ τοῦτον δεόντως ἀποθεραπεύσει, ἐν διπλῇ ποσότητι [ποιότητι T] τοῦτο αὐτῷ [om. Z.] ἀποκαταστήσει.

- (1) ν . εἴ τις ἄλογον ζῶν ἢ ἕτερόν τι εἶδος μικρὸν
- (2) ἢ μέγα εὐρὼν μὴ φανερώσει αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ
- (3) ἄρχοντι παραδώσει, ὥς κλέπτῃς σωφρονιζέσθω
- (4) αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ συγγνώσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ
- (5) σιωπήσαντες.

$\bar{\nu}$ L, τ ceteri. || 1, εἴ τις] ὅστις B, ὥστις m || After τις B M add στρατιώτης || 2, εὐρὸν B || φανερώσι L, φανερώση V B M || αὐτὸ καὶ] om. B M m || 3, B M m add καὶ before παραδώσει || παραδώσι L, παραδώση B || 4, αὐτός . . . 5, σιωπ.] σὺν τοῖς συγγνώσασιν αὐτῷ [αὐτὸν m] καὶ σιωπήσασιν B M m || συγγινῶντες F || αὐτὸ L || In F, F 350b ends with this chapter.

Maur. c. 7, N, T; ζ' (9) Z || 1, ἕτερόν τι] ἄλλο οἰονδήποτε || 2, φαν. αὐτὸ] τοῦτο φαν. || φανερώση T || τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ ἰδίῳ || 3, after παραδώσει N, Z. add: ἵνα τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη ἀποκαταστή || 4, αὐτός τε to end of chapter] οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ συνειδὼς αὐτῷ, ὡς κλέπται ἀμφότεροι.

- (1) $\bar{\nu}\alpha$. ὁ εἰς βαρβάρους ἀπιὼν, ἡ προφάσει πρεσβείας
- (2) παραγενόμενου αὐτοῦ, ὅπλα πιπράσκων ἐργασ-
- (3) μένα ἢ ἀνέργαστα ἢ τὸ οἰονοῦν σίδηρον, τῇ
- (4) ἐσχάτῃ ὑποκεῖται τιμωρίᾳ.

$\bar{\nu}\alpha$ L, $\kappa\beta$ ceteri. || In V this chapter is headed in capitals: τοῦ \bar{M} $\tau\iota\tau\lambda$ $\bar{\beta}$ $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota$ τοῦ κωδικ. In m it is headed in red: $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\acute{o}\nu$ τῶν κώ $\delta\eta$ $\kappa\tau\iota$ $\bar{\mu}$ || 1, after ἀπιὼν B M m add αὐτομόλως || ἡ] εἰ m || ἡ καὶ προφάσει V B M m || πρεσβείαις V || 2, παραγενόμενος B M m, παραγενόμενον V || αὐτὸν V; om. B M m || καὶ ὅπλα B M m || εἰργασμένα B M || 3, τὸν B M m || οἶον m || 4, ἐσχάτι L || ὑποκεῖσθω B M m.

This chapter is based on Cod. 4, 41, 2, ed. Krueger, p. 638, reproduced in *Synopsis*, p. 469, μηδεὶς βαρβάρους, προφάσει πρεσβείας παραγενόμενοις, ὅπλα πιπρασκέτω, ἡ ἡργασμένα ἢ ἀνέργαστα· μηδὲ σίδηρον ὅλως. ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τι, δημευέσθω· καὶ κεφαλικῇ ὑποκεῖσθω τιμωρίᾳ. Basil. 19, 1, 84, 2 (ed. Heimbr., ii. p. 269) and 19, 1, 87, 2 (*Suppl.* Z. p. 261) copy *Synopsis*.—*Prochiron*, 39, 9 = *Epanagoge* 40, 11; in a slightly different form, *Proch. Vatic.* 34, 8, p. 236; *Πεῖρα* 42, 16, p. 197, reading περὶ πρεσβείας γενομένης instead of προφάσει πρεσβ. γεν.—Marc. gr. 579, F 149b; θ μηδεὶς πιπρασκέτω βαρβάρους ὅπλα εἰργασμένα ἢ ἀνέργαστα ἢ σίδηρον. ἐπεὶ κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖται. Repeated F 188a, c. $\bar{\mu}\zeta$.

- (1) $\bar{\nu}\beta$. ὁ λίθῳ τραυματίσας τὸν συστρατιώτην
- (2) ἡ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες τραυματίσας, εἰ μὲν
- (3) φεύγων σώματος ἀλγηδόνα ἢ πάθος ἢ θάνατον
- (4) τοῦτο εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν, τυπτόμενος τῆς στρα-
- (5) τείας ἐξωθεῖται.

$\bar{\nu}\beta$. L = $\kappa\zeta$ V. Not in B M m || In L F 345b begins with this chapter || In V headed in capitals τοῦ αὐτοῦ || 1, συστρατιώτην V || 2, αὐτὸν V || μὲν] μὴ V || This chapter is a repetition with variants of chapters $\kappa\epsilon$, $\kappa\zeta$, and agrees closely with the form in B M m which is given previously.

- (1) $\bar{\nu}\gamma$. ὁ δὲ κεφαλικὴν καταδικασθεὶς τιμωρίαν
- (2) ἡ ἐξορίαν ἢ ἐτέρῳ πουβλικῷ ἐγκλήματι καὶ
- (3) τὴν τιμωρίαν διαφυγεῖν δυνηθεὶς, οὐδέποτε
- (4) δύναται στρατεύεσθαι.

$\overline{\nu\eta}$ L. In V latter part of $\kappa\eta$; in B M m first part of $\kappa\eta$. || 1, \acute{o} δὲ . . . τιμωρίαν] \acute{o} κεφαλῆς ἀποτομὴν καταδικασθεὶς στρατιώτης B M m || 2, ἐξορία M || 3, δια [F 340b] φυγὴν V || δυνηθῇ V B M, δυνηθείη m || After δυνηθ. B M m add $\tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$ οἰοδήποτε || οὐδέποτε] om. m. || 4, δυν. στρατ.] στρατεύεται B M m.

- (1) $\overline{\nu\delta}$. \acute{o} στρατιώτης κλέπτων ἐν οἰοδήποτε
- (2) τόπω τὸ οἰονοῦν εἶδος, τὸ διπλάσιον παρέχει
- (3) καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀποβάλλεται.

$\overline{\nu\delta}$ L = $\kappa\eta$ V; $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$ B M m || In V headed in capitals τοῦ αὐτοῦ || 1, \acute{o} κλέπτων στρατιώτης B M m || 2, τὸ οἰονοῦν] τὸ εἰτίουν m, εἴτιουν B M || εἶδος καὶ τὸ V || παρέχει καὶ] παρέχων B M m || 3, ἀποβαλλέσθω B M m.

- (1) $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$. οἱ στρατιῶται οὔτε διοικηταὶ οὔτε
- (2) μισθωτοὶ οὔτε ἐγγυηταὶ ἀλλοτρίων πραγμάτων
- (3) γίνονται.

$\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ L = $\overline{\lambda}$ V. Not in B M m || Headed in V in capitals: π στρατιωτικῆς τ / $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ τ $\overline{\zeta\delta}$ τ $\overline{\beta\iota\beta\lambda}$ τοῦ κώδικος.

- (1) $\overline{\nu\epsilon}$. μήτε δὲ γεωργίαις ἀπασχολέσθωσαν ἢ
- (2) ἐμπορίαις μήτε πολιτικὴν φροντίδα εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
- (3) λαμβανέτωσαν ἐπεὶ τῆς στρατείας καὶ τῶν
- (4) στρατιωτικῶν προνομίων ἐκβάλλονται.

$\overline{\nu\epsilon}$ L = $\overline{\lambda\alpha}$ V, $\overline{\kappa\theta}$ B M m || Headed in V in capitals: τ $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$ τίτλ τ $\overline{\iota\beta}$ $\overline{\beta\iota\beta\lambda}$ τ $\kappa\acute{\omega}$ || 1, μήτε δὲ] οἱ στρατιῶται μήτε B M m || γεωργίας B m || ἀπασχολισθῶσιν B || 2, μήποτε M || πολιτικὴν [F 229b] φρ. m || 3, ἀναλαμβάνετωσαν B M m || ἐπὶ L V || 4, προνομίων L V || ἐκβαλλέτωσαν M || At the end V adds in capitals, feliciter.

Cod. 12, 35, 15, 1. Milites . . . debent . . . nec agrorum cultui et custodiae animalium uel mercimoniorum quaestui, sed propriae muniis insudare militiae . . . 16, pr. Militares uiros ciuiles curas adripere prohibemus, aut si aliquam huiusmodi sollicitudinem forte susceperint, et militia statim et priuilegiis omnibus denudari decernimus. Cp. Cod. 4, 65, 35, 1; Nov. 116, 1.

After chapter $\overline{\mu\alpha}$, which is the last chapter in the MSS. of the Second family (B M m) B adds τοὺς ἐν φοσσάτω κλέπτοντας· εἰ μὲν ὅπλα σφοδρῶς προστάττομεν τύπτεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τι τῶν ὑποζυγίων, χειροκοπέσθωσαν.

This provision is also found in M (F 151b) $\overline{\mu\alpha}$, except that the last word is χειροκοπέσθω. It also appears in *Ecloga* xvii i (p. 45, ed. Z.); *Proch.* 39, 53; *Epanag.* 40, $\overline{\sigma\alpha}$ (p. 215, ed. Z.); *Basil.* 60, 15, 6 (ed. Heimb. v. p. 553); *Proch. Vatic.* 34, 51 (p. 248).

After this chapter B adds in lighter ink \acute{o} μέλλων στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ χρήματα δεδωκός ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ στρατεύσασθαι· ὅπερ δέδωκεν ἀναλαμβάνει (?) \acute{o} δὲ ἀπετάσας αὐτὰ ὡς ἐπὶ διασισμῶ λαβὼν τιμοῦται.

W. ASHBURNER.

THE DATE OF THE TREASURY OF ATREUS

PROFESSOR KARO¹ and the excavators of Tiryns have welcomed the publication of the report of the excavations which I conducted at Mycenae for the British School at Athens from 1920 to 1923,² and have expressed themselves as in general agreement with the results. In the last two numbers of this *Journal*,³ Sir Arthur Evans has queried one or two points and the editors have kindly allowed me to reply to his questions here. This is necessary because some of the facts are not quite correctly stated by him. He is inclined to doubt the architectural evolution of the beehive tomb as set forth in our report, and thinks that the two which are most advanced in construction, the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra, should be assigned to an earlier date.^{3a} Secondly, he would suggest a somewhat different classification and dating for Late Helladic III. pottery. These two questions hang together, since L.H. III. sherds were discovered under the threshold and under the dromos walls of the Treasury of Atreus. It seems best, however, to treat them separately, and we will deal first with the architectural and other evidence for the dating of the two tholos tombs, and later with the problems of L.H. III. ware. In doing so every care must be taken to prevent the danger of allowing theories or preconceived prejudices to outweigh the facts, that is to say, the archaeological evidence obtained by excavation.

I. THE TREASURY OF ATREUS AND THE TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA

The architectural evolution of the tholos tombs of Mycenae is clearly set out in our report⁴ and there is no need to recapitulate it here. Both the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra are built of hammer-dressed and sawn conglomerate, and from this and other technical details belong to the third or most advanced group of tholos tombs. Sir Arthur has said that the Treasury of Atreus is structurally a great advance on the Isopata Tomb,⁵ which belongs to the L.M. II. period. Thus it would be reasonable to date the Treasury of Atreus to the beginning of L.H. III. In the use of sawn conglomerate the

¹ *Phil. Woch.*, 1925, p. 1300 ff.

² *B.S.A.*, xxiv. p. 185 ff.; xxv. p. 1 ff.

³ *J.H.S.* 1925, pp. 45, 74, 263 ff.

^{3a} In a recent letter Professor Kurt Müller writes:—'Ich halte trotzdem die von Evans vorgeschlagene Datierung nicht für bewiesen und soweit ich seine Gründe kenne, auch für schwerlich beweisbar. . . . Zweitens halte ich die stilistische Reihe in die Sie die zehn Kuppelgräber gebracht haben für ausserordentlich wahrscheinlich;

der Möglichkeit, dass man diese Reihe etwa umkehren könnte (also mit Ihrer dritten Gruppe anfangen und mit der ersten schließen) widerspricht vor allem die Erneuerung der Fassade am Aegistiusgrab und was sich sonst über die Entwicklung der spätmykenischen Architektur des Festlandes sagen lässt.'

⁴ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 387 ff.

⁵ *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 168.

tombs resemble the megaron at Tiryns, which is L.H. III. in date. Further, the remaining tholos tomb of the same style is dated to L.H. III. by the evidence of various glass paste ornaments found in it by Professor Tsountas.⁶ But apart from these general considerations our examination of the tombs revealed even more definite evidence.

We discovered L.H. III. potsherds in undisturbed surroundings in the foundations of the dromos walls of the Treasury of Atreus.⁷ Further, we found some L.H. III. potsherds and other small objects under the threshold of the tomb in an absolutely pure medium under the southern big conglomerate block (not under the central wedge of *poros*, as Sir Arthur says), which was still securely mortared up to the other blocks with the original yellow clay.⁸ This means that the objects thus enclosed must have been in place when the tomb was in use and long before earth accumulated in the dromos in later times and partially obstructed the entrance. It was in this accumulated earth that Stamatakes found some fragments of stone bowls, L.H. III. pottery⁹ and terra-cotta figurines, fragments of gold-leaf and other small objects. Sir Arthur suggests either (1) that the potsherds below the threshold are intrusive, that is, have insinuated themselves at a later date under a heavy block tightly mortared up with yellow clay, or (2) that the central wedge of the threshold was at first of conglomerate, but perished and was replaced by two *poros* wedges. For the second theory there is no evidence at all, and in any case the whole threshold was covered with a wooden door frame, traces of which are still visible. Indeed this suggestion is based on a misconception as to the finding place of the sherd, which was not under the central wedge, but under the southern big conglomerate block. His first theory, that of intrusion, is untenable in view of the condition of the threshold when we examined it. On the contrary, the idea of intrusion seriously affects the odd fragments of stone bowls and L.H. III. pottery and terra-cottas found in the earth accumulated above the dromos floor; all these cannot but be intrusive. The fragments of the stone bowls which resemble, as Sir Arthur says, Cretan finds of L.M. I. *a* date, being found with L.H. III. pottery in intrusive earth have no chronological value. To disregard the L.H. III. potsherds found with them and to claim only these broken pieces of stone bowls as part of the original contents of the tomb is to abandon fact for conjecture. In any case the earth which accumulated in the dromos would have been brought down by rain from the hill slopes above and at the sides of the tomb.

The Tomb of Clytemnestra is dated also by early L.H. III. sherds found by us under the walls of the tholos and by an unplundered grave pit found by Professor Tsountas in the dromos.¹⁰ Excavation of the chamber tombs of Mycenae (as will be seen in the report of the excavation of the Kalkani Cemetery soon to be published in *Archaeologia*) has shown clearly that it was the custom at Mycenae to remove the remains of earlier interments from the tomb chamber and re-inter them in a pit in the chamber or dromos so as to clear the chamber

⁶ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 376 ff.

⁷ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 340.

⁸ *B.S.A.*, xxv. pp. 347 ff., 356 ff.

⁹ Furtwangler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 53; *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 353 ff.

¹⁰ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 374; p. 368 ff.

for later burials.¹¹ Thus the contents of the pit in the dromos of the Tomb of Clytemnestra should belong to an early interment. None of the objects, especially the gold work from this burial, can be dated earlier than the beginning of L.H. III., and the carved ivories are the immediate forerunners of the ivories in the Menidi and Spata tombs, which are without doubt L.H. III.¹² In Mrs. Schliemann's excavation of the tomb and in later repairs to it in 1913, a miscellaneous lot of pottery ranging from Middle Helladic to Hellenistic, including both geometric and classical,¹³ was found with some odd pieces of small stone bowls and fragments of two large steatite *pitthoi*. The fragments of small stone bowls like those from the Treasury of Atreus, even though they resemble Cretan work of M.M. III. b, are of no value for dating the tomb in view of the late and miscellaneous pottery associated with them. The steatite *pitthoi* Sir Arthur would date to the end of the M.H. period or beginning of L.H. I., because such *pitthoi* copy in stone the clay medallion *pitthoi* of Knossos, which are M.M. III. b.¹⁴ These also, because of the miscellaneous pottery found with them, cannot be proved to be part of the original contents of the tomb. Even if this is so and they are as early as Sir Arthur says, they may quite well be antiques. It was a Cretan and Mainland custom to preserve antiques and even put them in tombs. In the Isopata Tomb (L.M. II.) part of an Early Dynastic Egyptian stone bowl¹⁵ was found and part of a similar bowl (presumably Egyptian) in Tomb II. at Asine¹⁶ (L.H. II.-III.), and both these tombs are unquestionably not earlier than the late fifteenth century. At Palaikastro the excavators noted a clear case of the careful storing away of early vases, and that many early vases, to judge by their worn condition, had been in use a long time, especially as they were associated with later pottery.¹⁷ Indeed just as a find of coins is not to be dated by the earliest coin in it, so a tomb cannot be dated by the earliest object from it. But there is other evidence which casts doubts on Sir Arthur's dating. The steatite *pitthos*¹⁸ which we were able to restore partially stood at least 80 m. high, and is thus one of the largest, if not the largest, objects of carved steatite found in Crete or on the Mainland. Now the excavators of Palaikastro note that large pieces of steatite do not occur till late, i.e. not before L.M. II., and that really large lamps of steatite are of L.M. III. date.¹⁹ Thus on Cretan analogies²⁰ one could hardly date so large an object of steatite before the beginning of L.H. III. This is borne out by observations from tombs of the Mainland. In the Shaft Graves, which are not later than the end of L.H. I., stone vessels are rare and small.

¹¹ Cf. Tsountas, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1888, p. 130.

¹² Fimmen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 144.

¹³ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 363 ff.; cf. Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, p. 52.

¹⁴ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 563, Fig. 409.

¹⁵ Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 151.

¹⁶ *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres d. Lund*, 1924-25, Pl. XXXIX., p. 87.

¹⁷ Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 23.

¹⁸ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 367, Fig. 80.

¹⁹ *B.S.A.*, x. p. 204; Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 138 ff.

²⁰ The date of the large lamp from Knossos (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i. p. 345, Fig. 249), which is of gypsum, not steatite, and much restored, seems uncertain. It was found near fragments of vases in the later Palace style (*B.S.A.*, ix. p. 7), and was first published as Late Minoan, but is now dated back to M.M. III.

In L.H. II., as in Tomb 102 at Mycenae,²¹ stone vessels become commoner, but are still of no great size.

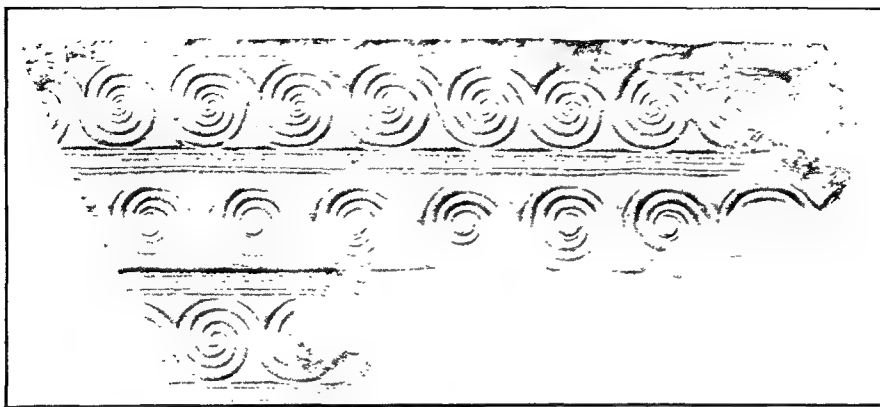


FIG. 1.—FROM THE TREASURY OF ATREUS.

Another query of Sir Arthur's concerns the decorative sculptures in low relief from the façades of these two tholos tombs. He believes that these friezes in low relief 'find their nearest parallels in the ornamental fragments, the



FIG. 2.—FROM THE TOMB OF CLYTEMNESTRA

spiral reliefs and undercut rosettes from the South Propylaeum ' at Knossos,²² which he dates to M.M. III. *b*. Careful examination, however, reveals a wide stylistic difference between the Knossos and Mycenae reliefs. The former are

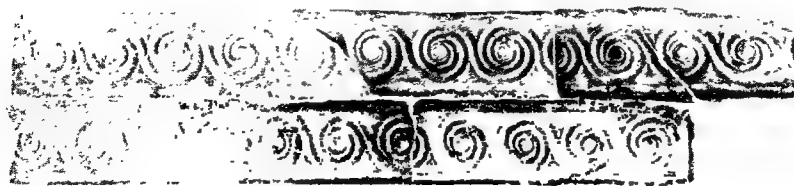


FIG. 3.—FROM THE MEGARON AT TIRYNS.

deeply undercut, as Sir Arthur says, and they show no sign of inlay work. The decorative sculptures from the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytem-

²¹ *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 324 ff.

²² *B.S.A.*, viii, p. 55, Fig. 16

nestra are in low relief, and the spiral reliefs from the two tombs (Figs. 1, 2), are almost identical with a spiral frieze from the Megaron at Tiryns²³ (Fig. 3), which dates from L.H. III. Sculptured bands imitating inlay work, similar to that on the alabaster frieze from the Tiryns Megaron,²⁴ are clearly recognisable on the columns (Fig. 4) and the rosette frieze of the Treasury of Atreus.²⁵ Further, one of the belts of the spiral relief from the same tomb in the British Museum shows 'a hole bored in the centre of each spiral for the insertion of glass or metal ornaments.'²⁶ So far then from their finding their nearest parallels at Knossos, the sculptured decoration of the two tholoi shows the strongest kinship with the sculptured friezes in low relief from the Megaron at Tiryns, which is L.H. III. in date. The Tirynthian and the Knossian decorative sculptures differ in style and in date. The former is low relief and has inlay. The latter is deeply undercut and has no inlay. Thus, since the sculptured decoration from the façades of the two tholoi agrees in style and technique with the friezes of Tiryns,²⁷ it should therefore be dated to the same period. L.H. III. There is, however, one small piece of a deeply undercut rosette frieze from Mycenae,²⁸ found in the Palace Propylon, which shows an earlier and a later period. When published it could not be dated, since it was found in disturbed earth. But now Sir Arthur's dating of the Knossian fragments enables us to assign this Mycenae fragment to L.H. I., and it is thus an additional small piece of evidence for the existence of an earlier (L.H. I.) palace at Mycenae.

II. THE CLASSIFICATION OF L.H. III. POTTERY

Sir Arthur's second query concerns the dating and classification of Late Helladic III. pottery. He says that in the report of the excavations at Mycenae no attempt is made to distinguish between the earlier and the later styles of L.H. III. ware, and that no mention is made of his own subdivision of the

²³ See Dörpfeld *apud* Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 292, Pl. IV. Professor Kurt Muller kindly informs me:—'Er war im grossen Megaron in die Stufe für den Thron (an der Ostseite) verbaut, deren bedeutung ist bei unserer Untersuchung der Fussbodenmalereien erkannt wurde. Sie wird bei Schliemann als "kleines Bassin" unbekannter Bestimmung bezeichnet. Diese Stufe ist allerdings spät. Das Megaron selbst gehört wahrscheinlich erst der dritten Burg an: die Stufe ist noch jünger, da ein älterer Stuckfussboden durchschlagen wurde, um sie zu verlegen: der bemalte Fussboden ist mit ihr gleichzeitig oder jünger. Das Spiralband war aber so verbaut dass es gar nicht sichtbar war. Die Steine sind also, wie Dörpfeld richtig sagt, wieder verwen-

det und ihr Schmuck stammt aus einer Zeit die sicher älter ist als die Anlage der Stufe, wie alt ergibt sich jedoch nicht aus den Fundumständen. Evans fragte mich danach und ich habe ihm die gleiche Auskunft gegeben. Das Stück lässt sich also nicht zur Datierung in Ihrem Sinne verwenden, kann aber ganz gut frühes L.H. III. sein, wurde also auch für Evans Datierung nichts beweisen.'

²⁴ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. IV., cf. Dörpfeld, *ibid.* p. 284 ff.

²⁵ *B.M. Sculpt.* III. No. 2725.

²⁶ *B.M. Sculpt.* I. No. 1.

²⁷ The frieze from the Tomb of Clytemnestra is even in the same stone as the spiral frieze from Tiryns.

²⁸ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 236, Fig. 47 a.

Cretan ware of the period into L.M. III. *a* and *b*.²⁹ Unfortunately Sir Arthur's classification of L.M. III. ware and its subdivision and the evidence for it is still unpublished, and the recently issued volume of the *British Museum Catalogue of Vases*, though it deals with L.M. III. *a*, gives no account of L.M. III. *b*.³⁰ On the contrary, in the Mycenae report an attempt was made on the evidence from the Granary and the stratification beside it to separate off the latest L.H. III. ware as the Granary Class,³¹ following up the observations of Professors Dawkins and Droop at Phylakopi.³² To this point we shall return below. Further, Sir Arthur says that the sherd found under the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus belongs to a panelled class which, grouped by Furtwängler and Loeschke under their fourth style, 'can hardly have come into vogue much before 1200 B.C. and heralds the earliest Philistine.' Now Furtwängler and Loeschke as a matter of fact divide the panelled style between their third and fourth styles. This sherd from the Treasury of Atreus is almost identical with two sherds grouped by Furtwängler and Loeschke under their third style.³³ It has no likeness to the pottery on the two plates³⁴ quoted by Sir Arthur, which illustrate the close style, a subdivision of the Granary Class. Further, the pottery from Phylakopi and Paros³⁵ referred to by Sir Arthur

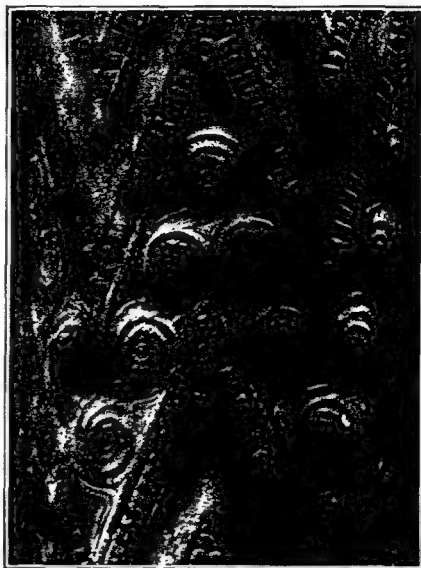


FIG. 4.—FROM THE TREASURY OF ATREUS.

²⁹ Sir Arthur regrets that in the Mycenae report no reference is made to his subdivision of L.M. I. into *a* and *b*, though the evidence and details of this subdivision are not yet published. The excavators of Palaikastro, though they do class one or two vases as L.M. I. *b*, group L.M. I. and II. together (Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 23). The *British Museum Catalogue* (i. 1, p. xxxvii) treats L.M. I. *b* summarily and groups it with L.M. II. *a*, while L.M. II. *b* is not mentioned. Seager says that much of the L.M. I. pottery from East Cretan sites looks as though it belonged to the end of L.M. II. (*Psira*, p. 30), and Sir Arthur himself (*Palace of Minos*, i. p. 30) has said that 'all stratigraphical demarcations are of their nature somewhat arbitrary.' So since he also says (*op. cit.* p. 29) that the L.M. II. style is a special product of Knossos, which practically is

unknown in East Crete, and that fashions changed later in places remote from Knossos, it would be unsafe to apply the Knossian system too rigidly to Mycenae. Thus in the Mycenae report the broad divisions of L.H. I. and II. are preserved as being more in keeping with Mainland conditions, though further stratigraphic exploration on Mainland sites may in time enable us to subdivide these periods. It would, however, be premature to do so now, till the Cretan subdivisions are surely established.

³⁰ Vol. I. Pt. I. p. xxxviii.

³¹ *B.S.A.*, xxv. pp. 30, 34, 40 ff., 51 ff.

³² *B.S.A.*, xvii. p. 18 ff.

³³ Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pls. XXXIII. 317, XXXIV. 340.

³⁴ Furtwängler-Loeschke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pls. XXXVII. XXXVIII.

³⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1917, p. 71.

belongs to the Granary Class, with which, as has been stated, the Atreus sherd has no resemblance either in style or in fabric. The difference between late and early L.H. III. fabrics has been pointed out in the Mycenae report and is clearly illustrated there.³⁶ These misunderstandings removed, we can proceed to consider impartially the evidence in Crete and on the Mainland for the dating of L.M. III. and L.H. III. pottery. By the beginning of the fourteenth century Crete and the Mainland, though both enjoying a culture derived in the main from the same source, were developing that culture on independent, but parallel lines. Indeed after the fall of Knossos at the end of L.M. II., Crete was decaying, while the Mainland, released from the cultural overlordship of Crete, was free to express itself.³⁷ So the Helladic characteristics which had been obscured by the imported Cretan style during L.H. I. and II. now gained the upper hand. Thus the wide extension of the influence of the Minoan culture in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1400 B.C. was principally due to Mainland centres such as Tiryns and Mycenae. This can be seen in the vases from the various cemeteries of Rhodes and Cyprus, which are similar to Mainland fabrics and differ from the Cretan. This view is held by the Swedish excavators who have recently been working in Cyprus.^{37a}

Late Minoan III. Pottery.—The vases of this period are degenerate in fabric, and Sir Arthur says³⁸ Professor Dawkins ‘rightly insisted on “the slightly mechanical scheme of decoration in which the field is parcelled out by a rigidly disposed system of lines and thickly covered with patterns.”’ This class of ceramic decoration is known as the close style and, as Sir Arthur says, ‘betrays indeed many anticipations of the succeeding Geometrical class,’ adding: ³⁹ ‘It must at the same time be observed that the apparent decadence observable in this “close style.” as compared with the finer fabrics of the later Palace of Knossos, does not necessarily imply any great discrepancy of date.’⁴⁰ The quasi-geometrical features here observable were, as has been pointed out, in many cases anticipated by the painted wall decoration of the Palace itself.’ Sir Arthur proceeds to define this period as that of El Amarna. This is the class that is called L.M. III. *a*,⁴¹ and, as can be seen from various specimens, as well as from Professor Dawkins’ analysis of its characteristics, the designs are distinctly of the panel type. The jars and pyxides from Palaikastro show an admirable combination of the close and panel styles.⁴²

³⁶ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 357; cf. Pl. V. *e* and *f*: Pl. V. *e* is early L.H. III. and of good fabric, but Pl. V. *f* is late, of inferior fabric, belongs to the Granary Class and is painted inside. This type of bowl is a common and typical shape on the Mainland throughout L.H. III. It is rare in Crete, where it does not appear till late (Bosanquet-Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 113). Only about a dozen examples are exhibited in the Candia Museum. It is prominent in the quasi-geometric style of Vrokastro (Hall, *Vrokastro*, Pl. XXIX.).

³⁷ Cf. Fimmen, *Kritisch-Mykenische Kultur*, pp. 94, 144.

^{37a} Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric*

Cyprus, p. 325 ff.

³⁸ *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 126.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ Sir Arthur says the resemblance of the L.H. III. panelled style to Geometric ware implies that it must be late (*J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 264). On the other hand, he classes the Cretan close style as L.M. III. *a*, although he says that it anticipates Geometric pottery in many respects (*Tomb of Double Aces*, p. 17; *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 126).

⁴¹ *B.M. Cat. Vases*, I. I. p. xxxviii.

⁴² Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 95, Fig. 79; p. 100, Fig. 83; p. 101, Fig. 84; Pl. XXIII; cf. p. 89, Fig. 73.

Birds and fishes, which apparently first occur in L.M. II.,⁴³ now become popular motives, and two vases from the L.M. III. tombs of Phaistos are good examples of this.⁴⁴ One well illustrates all three aspects, the representation of birds and fish, the panel and the close styles. Another good example is the large alabastron from Tomb 3 at Isopata.⁴⁵ This, though inferior in fabric, is classed as L.M. III. *a* by Sir Arthur, who emphasises the anticipation of Geometric vases from Knossos observable in its designs. There is other evidence for classing the panel and close styles as L.M. III. *a*. In L.M. II., especially in large jars of the so-called Palace Style, there is a tendency to divide the field into panels by bands running down from the handles.⁴⁶ This foreshadows L.M. III. fashions. In one jar⁴⁷ from Isopata with architectural patterns (probably imitated from frescoes) and a chess-board motive resembling that on a vase from Phaistos⁴⁸ (L.M. III. *a*), the half rosettes indicate the origin of the similar motive on the close style pyxis from Palaikastro.⁴⁹ So it is not surprising that the panel style was well established in Crete in L.M. III. *a*, the period which Sir Arthur equates with the Amarna age.

Later L.M. III. ware (L.M. III. *b*) has not yet been treated in detail. The Palaikastro excavators in their latest publication just mention it,⁵⁰ and the *British Museum Catalogue* passes it over.⁵¹ Sir Arthur himself has not yet issued any account of it, and so we are dependent on the few notes from Palaikastro, where it is marked by a degenerate and confused panel style.⁵² It thus approaches the quasi-geometric style of Vrokastro, which approximates to Philistine pottery⁵³ and heralds the beginning of the Iron Age.

Late Helladic III. Pottery.—The recent excavations at Mycenae supplied good evidence for distinguishing a class of L.H. III. pottery as that which was in use about the time of the destruction of Mycenae. It ranks as the latest style of L.H. III. ware and is known as the Granary Class, because the first and best group of it came to light in the East Basement of the Granary by the Lion Gate.⁵⁴ Other specimens were found in the south, east and west corridors of the same building.⁵⁵ The close style of the Mainland is one subdivision of the Granary Class; ⁵⁶ several examples come from the Granary itself, especially a hydria found by Schliemann and figured by Furtwängler and Loeschcke.⁵⁷ Only two bowls decorated in the panel style were found in the Granary. One,⁵⁸ from the south corridor, is of very inferior fabric and is covered with thin black paint inside, which is a mark of Furtwängler and Loeschcke's fourth style.⁵⁹

⁴³ *J.H.S.*, 1903, p. 198.

⁴⁴ Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, i. Pl. XXI.

⁴⁵ Evans, *Tomb of Double Axes*, p. 16 ff., Pl. II.

⁴⁶ *E.g.* Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, Pl. C., p. 158 ff., Figs. 143, 144.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159, Fig. 144.

⁴⁸ Maraghiannis, *Ant. Crétoises*, Pl. XXI. 1.

⁴⁹ Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 95, Fig. 79.

⁵⁰ Bosanquet-Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁵¹ I. 1, p. xxxviii.

⁵² *B.S.A.*, ix. p. 317 ff.; x. p. 196.

⁵³ Cf. Fimmen, *Kritisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 197.

⁵⁴ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 50 ff.

⁵⁵ *B.S.A.*, xxv. pp. 40, 47.

⁵⁶ *B.S.A.*, xxv. pp. 34, 41.

⁵⁷ *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXXVII. 380; cf. *B.S.A.*, xxv. Pls. VII. *a, b*; X. *g*.

⁵⁸ *B.S.A.*, xxv. Pl. V. *f*.

⁵⁹ *Myk. Vasen*, p. 63.

It resembles sherds from the uppermost stratum at Phylakopi,⁶⁰ which thus confirms the Mycenae evidence. The other bowl,⁶¹ of much better style and fabric, was found broken and trodden into the earthen floor of the east corridor. It may either have been broken at an early date or may have been in use for a long time. There is good evidence from Palaikastro that vases remained in use over a long period.⁶² Further evidence for the late date of the Granary Class is provided by the stratification of the section between the Granary and the Lion Gate. Here about midway in the Bronze Age deposit a wall and a floor of hard beaten earth and pebbles divided the strata into an earlier and a later group.⁶³ Below the floor not one sherd of the Granary Class was found. In the first stratum above the floor the first pieces of the Granary Class appeared, and in the succeeding strata the Granary Class became more and more common, till in the latest Bronze Age strata it formed the bulk of the L.H. III. ware.⁶⁴ Evidence from tombs confirms this. In Tombs 502 and 515 the pottery of the latest interments was of the Granary Class. At Asine the vases of the last interment in Tomb I are of the same class, as well as those from a niche for offerings in Tomb V.⁶⁵ Other examples of the Granary Class have been mentioned in the Mycenae report.⁶⁶

As the latest L.H. III. class is thus clearly distinguished, we can approach the earlier class. The pottery found below the clay floor between the Granary and the Lion Gate may be taken from its stratification as a definitely earlier group of L.H. III. ware.⁶⁷ Many fragments show designs, marine motives, flowers, hatched leaves and spirals, which link them to L.H. I. and II.,⁶⁸ while some bowls show an early form of the panel style with patterns derived from architectural decoration.⁶⁹ This deposit cannot, of course, be considered as a repertory of all early L.H. III. patterns, and the few hundred sherds from El Amarna cannot either be taken as the sole criterion,⁷⁰ though useful in supplying evidence for date. No marine designs occur at Amarna, and some of the most characteristic L.H. III. patterns and shapes, such as the mug, are wanting. Although much of the Amarna pottery shows careless drawing,⁷¹ yet it is technically excellent and cannot be dated later than the middle of the fourteenth century. Between the Amarna sherds and those from the early strata by the Lion Gate there are several points of likeness. The panel style is already developed at Amarna,⁷² and one of the larger pieces closely resembles a

⁶⁰ *B.S.A.*, xvii. Pl. XIV., 43, 44. A similar fragment from Paros (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1917, p. 70 ff. Fig. 80) was not stratified as stated in the *British Museum Vase Catalogue* (I. 1, p. xliii.) and by Sir Arthur (*J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 75).

⁶¹ *B.S.A.*, xxv. Pl. VIII. a.

⁶² Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 23.

⁶³ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 27: p. 19, Fig. 4.

⁶⁴ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 29 ff.

⁶⁵ *Bull. Soc. R. d. Lettres d. Lund*, 1924-5, Pls. XXX., XLV.

⁶⁶ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 30, 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv. p. 20 ff.

⁶⁸ *E.g.* *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 25, Fig. 7 a-g; Pl. V. b, d.

⁶⁹ *B.S.A.*, xxv. Pl. V. c, e.

⁷⁰ As in the *British Museum Vase Catalogue* (I. 1, p. xli), where the classification hangs on one flower and other designs are not taken into account.

⁷¹ See Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, Pl. XXVI. ff.

⁷² Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI. 1, 3, 19; XXX. 114, 115, 117, 118.

vase from the second level of the Lion Gate area.⁷³ Thus, since the Amarna pottery overlaps that of the Lion Gate section, we may take the early strata of that deposit to have been laid down in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The panel style has a long history on the Mainland. A primitive form of it is found in the earlier matt-painted ware of M.H. times, as at Aphidna, Aegina and Korakou.⁷⁴ Panelled cups akin to the Cycladic are common in later M.H. pottery,⁷⁵ and panels are characteristic of the last matt-painted style, that of the Sixth Shaft Grave.⁷⁶ Fragments from Eleusis of L.H. I. or L.H. II. date show a panel scheme.⁷⁷ Several of the large jars of the so-called Palace style of L.H. II. display a tendency to divide the field into panels by bands running down from the handles,⁷⁸ as already noted in the L.M. II. vases from Isopata. The chess-board motive on a well-known sherd of Furtwängler and Loeschcke's third style⁷⁹ can be traced back to M.H. matt-painted sherds from Eleusis.⁸⁰ It occurs on an L.H. I. goblet from Tomb 518 at Mycenae, and we have already noted it in Crete in L.M. II. at Isopata and in L.M. III. *a* at Phaistos. The panel style is thus typical of the Mainland,⁸¹ and it naturally came to the front again on the collapse of the cultural influence of Crete at the downfall of Knossos about 1400. We shall see that the panel styles of L.M. III. *a* and early L.H. III. are parallel in being strongly under the influence of architectural motives. Neither is the immediate antecedent of Philistine pottery, which derives from the L.M. III. *b* wares of Palaikastro and Vrokastro and the Granary Class of L.H. III.⁸²

The sherd from under the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus is similar in pattern, fabric and style to the deep bowl from the second level by the Lion Gate,⁸³ and also to two sherds assigned by Furtwängler and Loeschcke to their third style.⁸⁴ One feature of the pattern, a combination of horizontal and vertical lines, occurs on a fragment from El Amarna,⁸⁵ and other Amarna sherds are akin.⁸⁶ Another feature, the groups of half-ellipses, is prominent on the Palaikastro pyxis⁸⁷ (L.M. III. *a*). It has long been recognised that this association of half-ellipses with belts of vertical and horizontal lines is descended from the rosette and triglyph pattern,⁸⁸ which was very popular in architecture both for frescoes and sculptured friezes. The adaptation of this design on the Isopata *pithos* shows at once the origin of several panel style fragments assigned

⁷³ Cf. Petrie, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI. 11, with *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 22, Fig. 6 *g*.

⁷⁴ Montelius, *Grèce Préclassique*, Pls. 110 (2), 117 (9, 10, 12, 13); Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 19 ff., Figs. 28, 30.

⁷⁵ Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 24, Fig. 34; 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1912, p. 3, Fig. 1 (3).

⁷⁶ Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 28; *B.S.A.*, XXV. p. 140 ff.; Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Thongefässe*, Pls. VIII.-X.

⁷⁷ 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1898, p. 74, Fig. 13; 1912, p. 9, Fig. 5 (1).

⁷⁸ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1909, Pls. XVI., XXIII.; 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1914, p. 115, Fig. 25. Pl. II. 2.

⁷⁹ Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXXIV. 341.

⁸⁰ 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1912. pp. 16, 17, Figs. 7 (7), 9 (7).

⁸¹ Cf. Fummen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 197.

⁸² Cf. Fummen, *Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, pp. 145, 197; *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 47; ix. p. 317 ff.; E. H. Hall, *Vrokastro*.

⁸³ *B.S.A.*, xxv. p. 337, Fig. 76 *a*, Pl. V. *e*.

⁸⁴ *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXXIII. 317, XXXIV. 340.

⁸⁵ Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, Pl. XXX. 114.

⁸⁶ Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, Pl. XXIX. 79, XXX. 114, 115, 117, 118.

⁸⁷ Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 95, Fig. 79.

⁸⁸ *E.g. B.M. Cat. Vases*, I. 1. p. xlii.

by Furtwängler and Loeschke to their third style.⁸⁹ These are not painted inside (the mark of their fourth style)⁹⁰ and have no connexion with the Granary Class. It is clear that the panel style sherd from the threshold of the Treasury of Atreus and its kin from the early strata by the Lion Gate belong to the same group as the pieces of Furtwängler and Loeschke's third style just mentioned. This group is characterised by patterns depending on architectural motives like those of the L.M. II. *pithos* from Isopata. The Palaikastro pyxis has the same relationship to the Isopata *pithos*⁹¹ and is L.M. III. *a*, so the Mycenae group is contemporary and falls early in L.H. III. We have already shown its likeness to the El-Amarna sherds. The pottery, therefore, confirms the evidence detailed above, that the Treasury of Atreus is to be dated to the early fourteenth century, early L.H. III., in other words to what may be called the Amarna epoch.

A. J. B. WACE.

⁸⁹ *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XXXIII. 315, 317, 318, 319, 322, 324, 327: cf. the ivory from Mycenae, *Καββαδίας, 'Ιστορία 'Ελλ. Τέχνης*, Fig. 36.

⁹⁰ *Myk. Vasen*, p. 63.

⁹¹ Cf. Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, p. 159, Fig. 144, with Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Unpublished Objects*, p. 95, Fig. 79: see too K. Müller, *Ath. Mitt.* 1909, p. 320.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion. By A. B. COOK. Vol. II: Zeus. God of the Dark Sky (Thunder and Lightning). Part I. Text and Notes. Part II. Appendixes and Index. Pp. xliii + 1397, with 47 Plates and 1023 illustrations in the text. Cambridge University Press, 1916. 48 8s. net.

All that we said of the first volume of this colossal work, in reviewing it in this *Journal* some eleven years ago, is true, and still more true of the second volume—or rather volumes. Vol. III, which is to deal with Zeus in relation to Clouds and Rain, Wind and Dew, Earthquakes and Meteorites, and Vol. IV, which is to give 'a general survey of the Sky-god and his cult as constituting one factor in the great fabric of Greek civilisation, indeed as in some sense a contribution to Christianity itself,' are supposed to be going to complete the work; but Mr. Cook may take warning that once begun this sort of thing acquires a momentum which nothing can stop. Into its all-devouring maw the whole of Pagan and Christian mythology will eventually be absorbed.

The book is already an institution. It is to be used with profit or the reverse: it is not to be reviewed. It is not even to be summarised. Mr. Cook says that 'reviewers and others that may wish to get a quick insight into the contents of the present volume would do well to begin by reading pp. 840–58, in which I have tried to summarise the principal results of my investigation.' It is obvious that this or any other reviewer, if he attempts to summarise these nineteen pages, will hardly do justice to the 1397. Anyhow, it is characteristic of the author that four of the nineteen pages of this summary were written for him by Cleanthes the Stoic, and three of them painted for him by the artist of the Dareios vase; we mean that, clearly as he may envisage his principles and conclusions himself, in setting them forth he cannot resist getting away from the general statement and driving home his point by the concrete instance. That is the delightful feature of the book. Personally, feeling fairly sure that no general theory is ever going to be invented which will give a fair account of Greek, or any other, religion, we do not care twopence for Mr. Cook's conclusions; but we do care very much for the exhaustive documentation, the scrupulous scholarship and the transparent honesty with which he has set out every step of his argumentation. Always, however much you may disagree with him, he gives you your reasons—or all that he has been able to remember, and he seldom forgets anything—for your disagreement. This honourable handling of evidence is not so common in anthropology and archaeology that we can let it pass without its meed of praise.

As we have said before, it is difficult to assert with confidence that Mr. Cook has left anything out. But we miss, whether by our own fault or his, any mention of the ladder of philosophy, which seems to us as relevant to his discussion of the ladder of heaven as much that he does adduce. The vision of Boethius was not without its effect on medieval art, as Mâle has shown. On the other hand, we seriously doubt the symbolic interpretation of the ladder watermarks of early Italian paper-makers: here we think Mr. Cook has been infected by the symbolist mania. The cross on top of the ladder does not make it the ladder of heaven, but is merely the cross which as often as not forms part of any other house-mark. On Italian casting counters shields and devices for which no ingenuity could devise a religious significance are ensigned with crosses. And of Mr. Cook's seven illustrations of watermarks, only two show the ladder with a cross, one with an angel, one with a star, and one with a fleur-de-lis. Here, as usual, he provides us with the means of his own refutation.

The same is true of his attempt to prove that on certain coins of Tenedos an amphora is attached by means of a fillet to the shaft of the double axe, which would show—as we have good reason to believe from other sources—that the double axe was an object of

worship. In view of the fact that none of the numerous other symbols on these coins is so attached, the present reviewer, as Mr. Cook notes (p. 657), suggested that the alleged fillet was an illusion produced by a crack in the die. On which Mr. C. T. Seltman 'justly observes that the occurrence of three specimens all showing a crack in precisely the same condition is most improbable.' Granted; but before applying Mr. Seltman's statement Mr. Cook should have satisfied himself that the crack, or whatever it may be, is in precisely the same condition in all three specimens. It is nearly so, but not quite, as is clear from a comparison of casts and photographs of the three coins, and even from his own illustrations. The fracture seems to be most advanced in the Berlin specimen; and we feel bound to add that Miss Talbot's drawing of this coin seems to be deceptive, the fillet-like appearance given to the attachment being unwarranted by the photograph with which we have compared it. Miss Talbot is as conscientious as Mr. Cook himself, so that it is with no suggestion of manipulation of the evidence that we make this criticism.

We may be permitted, in consideration of our whole-hearted admiration of the book, and without detracting from approval of the exhaustive way in which every jot of evidence is presented, to suggest some economy in illustration, which may help to bring future volumes more within the reach of those who are not millionaires. We see no reason, for instance, for illustrating no less than fifteen specimens of the Roman libral *as* and its reductions (pp. 332-4), where some two or three would have sufficed. Many of the plates are much too large, sometimes three times as big as they need be for the desired effect; such are Plates I (Nolan amphora of Zeus pursuing Semele), V (amphora from Capua with the attack on Orpheus), IX (inscribed omphalos at Delphi), X (relief from Phaleron), XII (the Chigi base at Dresden), XXII (janiform bust from Nemi) and XXIII (janiform bust in the Capitoline). The illustration of the silver simpulum from Cullera in silver on black paper can only be described as an error of taste, for which we should hardly dare to hold Mr. Cook himself responsible, were it not for the nasty, though doubtless anything but cheap, coloured restorations of the middle of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon and of the Zeus of Olympia and the Parthenos. We should not complain of such decorations if they really did anything to strengthen Mr. Cook's arguments in the eyes of scholars. Fortunately such moles on what is a most admirable body are very scarce.

G. F. H.

ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΗ; The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho. By EDGAR LOBEL. Pp. lxxvii + 180. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. £1 1s.

This book will be welcome to all scholars and 'Lovers of the Muses.' We are now put in possession of a complete, authoritative, and definite edition of all Sappho's work known up to the present time, including one or two new fragments hitherto unedited, which the generosity of Professors Hunt and Schubart has placed at Mr. Lobel's disposal.

The text of these poems, drawn from a twofold source, either fragments of papyrus or vellum from Egyptian rubbish heaps or the MSS. of those ancient authors who quote her poems, is edited in the most careful and conservative manner. Uncertain emendations—and what emendations are not uncertain?—are ruthlessly ruled out and relegated to the notes, which in international fashion are given in Latin. An important feature of the book is the Introduction (75 pp.), where for the first time are established the canons of verbal criticism for Sappho. These are based not on a general survey of what we know of the Aeolic dialect, but educed from a minute examination of every authentic fragment of Sappho's writings. In any future attempt to emend her mutilated lines we can now walk on comparatively firm ground, knowing more or less exactly what words and forms are allowable. This knowledge enables us to reject a good many conjectures, even by the best scholars, which previously secured approbation.

But this standard of authenticity, justified as it seems to be, carries some decided disadvantages in its wake. For the editor is forced by his own theory to divide the poems into normal and abnormal, of which the former conform to the rules laid down while the latter do not. It has thus been found impossible to bring the whole material into one focus, nor is any explanation as yet forthcoming for the fact that some of the poems do

not obey the canons deduced from a comprehensive analysis of the whole series. For instance, the fine poem, of which considerable fragments (which receive a fresh addition in this volume) were discovered by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, describing the home-coming of Hector with his young bride Andromache, is so full of anomalies that some competent critics have doubted whether it is by Sappho at all. Had it not been expressly attributed to her in the papyrus book, we cannot help thinking that the present editor would have adjudged it away from Sappho. Indeed he has not scrupled to cast doubt upon the genuineness of such a charming and, as generally thought, so characteristic a lyric as 'The Lonely Vigil':

'The Pleiads and the Moon have set,
Midnight is nigh:
The time is passing, passing, yet
Alone I lie.'

which for simplicity and directness, the distinctive qualities of Sappho's poetry, is unsurpassed and unsurpassable. We hardly have the heart to surrender this gem.

As to Sappho's language in general, we are told that it was not 'literary, but, as nearly as the nature of the case admits, the speech of her country and class,' contrasting in this respect with the language of Alcaeus. She, no doubt, and perhaps in this very poem, drew upon the folk-songs of her own land. She has, of course, many allusions to the current mythology of the Greek race. To her previously known allusions to Prometheus, Theseus, Jason, Helen, Endymion and others, Mr. Lobel now by happy conjectures adds Tithonus and rosy-armed Dawn, and Ajax, son of Oileus, the swift runner of the *Iliad*. For this quick-footed but not very attractive hero from Gyra's, however, we are not a little reluctant to sacrifice

'Hero, the light-foot girl from Gyra's isle.'

whom we supposed that Sappho had taught. But in recompense for our loss of Hero the pupil, we are given a possible passing glimpse of the Megara who is mentioned by Suidas, with Atthis and Telesippa, as one of her chief friends and companions.

In conclusion, there is one thing we do miss in this excellent edition, namely, an Index or Vocabulary. A concordance of all the words used by Sappho would have been of great value to students of Sappho. With this added and cross references between the text and relevant passages of the Introduction, our obligations to Mr. Lobel would have been complete, and it is difficult to see how we could have asked for anything more, except it were a detailed examination of Sappho's metres and rhythms. C. R. H.

Isaac Tzetzes de metris Pindaricis commentarius. Edited by A. B. DRACHMANN. Pp. 129 + 1 plate. Copenhagen: Høst and Son, 1925. Kr. 4.60.

A plain text which is intended to replace the very faulty edition by Cramer. The *apparatus criticus* is restricted to three MSS.; but since the chief codex (a Venetian MS. of the fourteenth century) has been heavily corrected, the assistance of the other two has been continually required.

Tzetzes' work consists of a general introduction to Greek prosody and of a running analysis of Pindar's metric schemes, with occasional references to the systems of other poets. For the history of scholarship it is not without interest.

Chronologie der Altattischen Komodie. By PAUL GEISSLER. Pp. 86. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925. M.4.

This book begins with a discussion of the epigraphic sources for the Old Comedy, among which the 'List of Victors' is declared to refer to poets, not to choregi. It then proceeds to discuss the date of some 150 plays which were presented between c. 450 and 370 B.C. The evidence for the time of production mostly consists of allusions to contemporary personages, and therefore in many cases is only approximate. Realising this, the author has been content to claim certitude for only one half of his dates. An unassuming but sound piece of work.

Alkestes; der Mythos und das Drama. By DR. ALBIN LESKY. Pp. 86. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky A. G., 1925. M.3-60.

The main object of this pleasantly written book is to find the original source of Euripides' plot, which the author traces back to a very widespread and primitive folk-tale in which Death receives one young life in substitution for another. This pre-moral and purely matter-of-fact tale was burlesqued by Phrynichus and moralised by Euripides, whose principal innovation was to exalt Alcestis into a happy mother of a family. On the other hand, Euripides did not import any fresh touch of malice into his Admetus, but merely preserved the moral insouciance of his prototype. Thus the poet is acquitted of misandry but convicted of uneven workmanship.

Histoire Grecque. Tome Premier: **Des Origines aux Guerres Médiques.** By G. GLOTZ and R. COHEN. Pp. xix + 635. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925.

This work forms part of a new French serial of World History, and is the first of three volumes (by the same authors) on the History of Greece. Though provided with extensive bibliographies and references for the use of more advanced students, it is primarily intended for the general reader. It therefore eschews polemics and takes a firm line on many points where hesitation would have been justified in a more esoteric book. On the other hand, unlike other treatises intended for laymen, it makes no attempt to economise information, nay rather, it 'sows with the sack.' By this procedure it well succeeds in bringing out the endless diversity of Greek institutions, which the authors rightly emphasise as one of the most characteristic and beneficial features of early Greek History; and the grouping of the facts is so skilful that the appearance of an overcrowded canvas is altogether avoided, and the resultant pictures stand out with Aegean clearness. A special word of praise is due to the lucid summary of the period preceding the Great Migrations, to many suggestive remarks on primitive Greek religion and its influence on political organisation, and to the graphic description of early Spartan institutions. A few slight deficiencies of treatment may here be noted. On one problem of the 'Homeric question' which is of great importance to historians—whether Homer 'archaeologised' or reflected the conditions of his own time—the authors do not give a sufficiently strong lead; they skim rather rapidly over the great change which overcame Spartan life in the sixth century, and consequently tend to over-emphasise the vitality of aristocratic institutions at Sparta; and it appears as if Mr. Seltman's book on Athenian coinage had not reached them betimes. Among the views expressed which seem scarcely tenable we may instance the following. Theognis is made into a Sicilian and Acusilaus into a Boeotian: for the former opinion there is but little authority, for the latter none at all, and the extant fragments of Acusilaus deal with Argive rather than Theban legend. Cleisthenes is credited with a reform of the Athenian calendar which Prof. West's recent investigation (*Am. Journ. of Archaeol.*, 1925, p. 3 ff.) has gone a long way to disprove. The invention of coinage is exalted into an indispensable instrument of Greek commercial development; yet equal progress was achieved by Babylonians and Phoenicians without the use of minted money. Lastly, the date at which the Athenians entered on the carrying trade to Italy, according to the authority quoted by the authors (R. Hackl, *Merkantile Inschriften*) is 480, not 560 B.C. (*op. cit.* pp. 92-3). Nevertheless, Profs. Glotz and Cohen are to be congratulated on a book which displays up-to-date scholarship, sound judgment, and an unusual power of making past events seem lifelike. The present volume clearly bears the mark of a standard work.

Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte. 4^{te} Lieferung. Griechische Abteilung: Marathon-Chaironeia. By KROMEYER-VEITH. Pp. 19; 41 plans on 5 plates. Leipzig: Wagner and Debes, 1926.

This publication is at once a résumé of Vol. IV. 1 of the same authors' *Griechische Schlachtfelder* and an anticipation of the as yet unpublished parts of that valuable work. The text, to which Dr. Grundy and other experts have also made contributions, contains each writer's own conclusions as to the site of each event and the principal rival theories. The

diagrams similarly present a variety of positions. Nothing essential is added to the views which the authors have already expressed on the Persian Wars and the campaign of Chaeroneia. In the chapter on Pylos Dr. Grundy effectively upholds the theory that the naval action was fought in the lagoon to the N. of the Bay of Navarino, not in the bay itself. In his account of the battle of Sardes (395 B.C.) W. Kaupert accepts Xenophon's version, but omits to notice Ch. Dugas' careful article (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1910, pp. 59-73), which makes out a strong case on behalf of the Oxyrhynchus historian. In reconstructing Second Mantinea Prof. Kromayer infers from Xenophon's silence that Epaminondas' battle line was not *en échelon*, as at Leuctra. But Xenophon is equally reticent as to the Theban formation in this previous battle; and the suddenness with which Second Mantinea was broken off after Epaminondas' death suggests that his entire battle line had not yet become closely engaged. For the retreat of the Ten Thousand Prof. Lehmann-Haupt traces a route which is based on actual knowledge of the country, and may therefore be accepted as authoritative. But whatever conclusions the reader selects in regard to this or that battle, he will be grateful to the authors for the candid way in which they have stated disputed cases, and for the exemplary clearness of their diagrams. A melancholy interest attaches to this volume in view of the recent untimely death of Col. Veith on the battlefield of Lela in Asia Minor. Col. Veith combined knowledge of the sources and *Sachkenntnis* in an unusual degree.

The Siege of Vienna, by Jeremias Cacavelas. Edited and translated by F. H. MARSHALL. Pp. xxiii + 185. Cambridge University Press, 1925.

A preliminary description of the British Museum MS. containing this Greek account of the Siege of Vienna in 1683 was given by Mr. Marshall in Vol. XLII of this *Journal*; it is a translation made, from a now rare Italian work, for purposes of anti-Turk propaganda by a monk who played a part in the revival of Greek learning in Roumania during the seventeenth century. Mr. Marshall has now given us the complete text, with an English translation, a glossary of strange words and a valuable introduction, which enlightens a little-known period of Greek culture. All this has been excellently done; the story makes good reading and, apart from its value as a historical document, may be recommended as an exercise in modern Greek.

Mr. Marshall has succeeded remarkably in recognising proper names under the strange transliterations of the Greek text; we would offer the following suggestions on one or two of the rare occasions on which he has been beaten; p. 51, read tribes of the Ka'ab; following line, for Amouda read Amida (Diarbekr); p. 59, Defoe looks like De Vaux; p. 85, maidan, not madern; p. 95, the younger Derfflinger, not Dörrfling.

The Siege of the Slave Population at Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries before Christ. By RACHEL LOUISA SARGENT. Pp. 136. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 3. Urbana, Illinois, 1925.

The purpose of this essay is sufficiently indicated by its title, and the conclusion reached is that at the height of prosperity under Pericles the slaves in Attica numbered under a hundred thousand, and that during the most flourishing part of the following century not more than two-thirds of this number was attained. The book is a serious contribution to the study of a highly speculative subject.

New Guide to Pompeii. By WILHELM ENGELMANN. Pp. 219, with frontisp., 140 figs. and map. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1925.

A Guide to be commended; conveniently arranged, lavishly illustrated and crammed with useful knowledge. Especially useful are the accounts of the newest excavations, including good reproductions of the Villa Ippolito frescoes, and the preliminary characterisations of painting, architecture, etc.—brief almost to curtness, with the point rammed home by an appropriate illustration. The English text is too literal a reproduction of the German and needs careful revision in a future edition, in which the plans might be reproduced with English names.

Xenophontis Memorabilia. Libri IV. Edidit CAROLUS RIBA. Pp. iv + 135.

Plato Diàlegs II. Càrmides, Lisis, Protàgoras. Text i Traducció de JOAN CRENELLS. Pp. 148. Barcelona: Fundació Bernat Metge, 1925.

Two examples of a new Catalan series of classical texts. The first, by Prof. Carles Riba, contains the text with brief critical notes in Latin. The volume of Plato follows the example of the Loeb and Budé series, the Greek text being interleaved with a translation in Catalan; and brief introductions in the same language are prefixed to the Dialogue. The Greek type is pleasantly legible and the series seems to merit all success.

La Géographie de Ptolémée: L'Inde (vii. 1-4). Texte établi par LOUIS RENON. Pp. xvi + 89, with four maps. Paris: Libr. Anc. Édouard Champion, 1925.

A critical edition of the chapters of Ptolemy dealing with India, which, as the author remarks, have not previously been edited in a satisfactory manner. The introduction describes the MSS.; then follows the text with a French translation and full *apparatus criticus*. A full index is added, and at the end are reproductions of the Ptolemaic map of India in two sections, accompanied by transcripts in Latin type.

Drogen und Drogenhandel im Alterthum. By Dr. ALFRED SCHMIDT. Pp. 136, 8vo. Leipzig: J. Ambr. Barth, 1924.

The 'traffic of the spice-merchants' goes all the world over, and was old before history began; it is the most romantic part of the inexhaustible romance of trade. However did *εἶδος* and *species* come to mean what we call 'spices'; why does our grocer call himself an 'Italian Warehouseman'? These are perhaps easy though they are not trivial problems. But to go deep into the matter and follow the highways and the byways by which the '*aromaticae species quas mittit Eous*' found their way to those Italian warehouses, or to the Bazaar of the Apothecaries, the *vicus thurarius*, in Rome, that is a prodigious task which all the knowledge in the world of language, history, geography, navigation, physic, botany and what not is scarce enough to grapple with.

Men have paid their tithe of mint and anise and cummin from time immemorial. Spice-merchants bought Joseph out of the pit; Sindbad the Sailor was one of themselves, the Queen of Sheba came with one of their caravans. Spices and drugs have always been the chief things which rich men desire, side by side with gold and jewels, and of greater import perhaps even than these. The merchant brings them from the ends of the earth; and to this day the old trade-routes are not abandoned, and something of the old romance and mystery clings to the ancient trade. The apothecary behind his counter has little renown among us; but I take off my hat to the merchant-druggist in his little office by Mark Lane, who knows where to find musk, camphor or ambergris, and the hundred other drugs and spices of which man wants but a very little, but that little he must and will have, cost what it may.

For his little book on Ancient Drugs and Druggists, Dr. Alfred Schmidt, then, has matter and to spare; and it is easy to see that with only some 130 pages to fill, the theme must be dealt with in a brief and simple way. The book begins with an account of the drugs themselves, with the many remedies which, in Babylon and Egypt, in Greece and Rome, the physician prescribed or the old nurse administered; with the drysaltery of such trades as the glassblower's or the potter's; with precious ointments and perfumes, such as rejoice the heart; with incense for the gods and balsams for the dead; with love-philtres, secret potions and magic spells; and with the common flavouring spices of the cookery book, the pepper, salt and mustard, thyme and ginger, rue and saffron, cardamoms and carraways, which we use just as our forefathers used them many and many a century ago.

The second part deals with the apothecary and his trade: with the *Unguentarii*, the *Seplasiarii* or the *Pigmentarii*; it tells also of trade-routes, and of the Tyrian, Arabian and far Eastern merchants: of weights and measures, of prices and of tolls. We are told what indigo cost in Pliny's time, or absinthe in Diocletian's; or what duty was payable

in Hadrian's time at Palmyra on a camel-load of precious ointment in alabaster boxes. We learn from Aristotle (or Pseudo-Aristotle) how the Tyrian dealers (rascals all) weighed out their purple in an uneven balance; or from Pliny of the shabby substitute for genuine crocodile's dung (matchless for the complexion) which Dioscorides found the Roman tradesmen fobbing off upon their fashionable customers.

The tricks of the trade were many, and were practised then as now by persons of the highest respectability. Does not Aristophanes mention a boom in the Silphium market, and is not Thales himself said to have rigged a little corner in Oil? The Egyptians did once in a while with papyrus (so Strabo tells us), and the Jews with dates and balsam, just as we have been doing for the last few months with rubber; and there was doubtless wrath in Athens, like unto Mr. Hoover's wrath, when sheet-papyrus went to a dollar a pound.

The most interesting part of the whole subject is perhaps that which deals with the remote sources of the commodities, and the legends woven around them by the fertile imagination of shopman, merchant-adventurer and sailor-man. Such is the ancient Sindbad yarn of the eagles that built their nests of sticks of cinnamon, bringing it from places inaccessible to men; or the many stories of the 'Rhizotomi,' who dug up the roots of the mandrake. They dug around the root, but left it to a poor dog, chained to the stump, to pull it out of the ground; the dog dying of terror there and then, while his master stopped his ears 'for feare of the terrible shriek and cry of the Mandrack.'

A drug of peculiar interest to the classical student is the celebrated silphium of Cyrene; and the small scale of the present book is exemplified by the fact that silphium has to be dealt with in one short paragraph. It was a plant very closely allied to asafoetida (*dolce e odorata medicina*, as Da Costa calls it), if not identical with it; but to this day, so far as I know, the true African silphium has never been rediscovered. The literature about it is nothing short of immense, and Dr. Else Strantz, in her recent book *Zur Silphionfrage*, has summed up most of it very well. In Bernard Laufer's *Sino-Iranica*, by the way, there is a very interesting chapter (written since Else Strantz's book) on asafoetida in the Far East.

Dr. Schmidt's little book will whet the reader's appetite for more. It is just what it professes to be, a sketch rather than a history. It is written seriously; there is very little to remind one of Sindbad the Sailor in it, and a good deal which suggests rather the style of the *Mark Lane Express*. But it is crammed full of information, as full as it can hold; and to my thinking it is a very useful and an interesting little book.

D'A. W. T.

St. Andrews.

Zeus Panamaros. By HANS OPPERMAN. RG.V. xix. 3. Pp. viii + 94. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1924.

Save for one casual reference in Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 62), who mentions that Zeus had a cult at Stratonikeia in Karia, but does not give his local title, nothing whatever was known of this deity until the French excavations of 1886, on the site of the ancient Panamara (see *B.C.H.* xi. and following vols.). Our evidence, therefore, is entirely inscriptional, save for such external matters as the position of the temples of the god. Oppermann, who in this work puts forth a revised and partly rewritten edition of his dissertation, *de Ioue Panamaro*, composed at Bonn in 1919-20, deserves well of students of the Hellenistic and native cults of Asia Minor by the care and sanity with which he has collected and, so far as seems to him possible, interpreted the material. After a study of the κοινὸν τῶν Παραμαρέων to which, it would appear, the worship of this god originally belonged, and of the local κοινὰ or associations of villages in general, he describes the priesthood, the three festivals (Panamareia, Heraia and Komyria) and the minor rites, also the mysteries which seem to have formed part of the Komyria. He is of opinion that the πεντετηρίς mentioned in some inscriptions was the same as the Hekatesia, in honour of Hekate and Roma Dea, and that the Heraia and Komyria took place in alternate years. On the dedication of hair which formed a part of the last-named festival, he has (p. 67 sqq.) some interesting remarks, but needlessly adopts the theory that hair was supposed to be the especial seat of life (p. 70). The fact that it was considered part of the person, even after being cut off, is reason enough for leaving it in a temple.

As to the nature of Zeus Panamaros himself, Oppermann rejects the etymology from $\pi\alpha\nu$ and $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$ and supposes that the title is Karian, and therefore of unknown meaning. He concludes that Zeus is here the hellenisation of a native god, whom he identifies, not with Sabazios or Men, as had been suggested by Head, but rather with the ancient sky-god variously known as Papas, Attis and so forth, concerning whom he is of opinion that he was originally a much more important deity relatively to the great Earth-goddess than Attis is usually represented as being in relation to Kybele. If this theory is correct, and it is not without plausibility, the hellenisation of the cult must have been fairly complete, for the consort of the god, Hera Teleia, is, as Oppermann points out, definitely inferior to him in the worship paid to the divine pair both at Panamara itself and at Stratonikeia.

H. J. R.

Vom Begriff der Religiösen Gemeinschaft: eine problemgeschichtliche Untersuchung über die Grundlagen des Urchristentums. By E. LOHMEYER. Pp. 86. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. 4 marks.

A brief account, sometimes rather obscure in style, but thoughtful and, of course, well-informed, of the development of the early Christian community and the connotation of some of its chief technical terms. The contents are obvious from the headings of the sections, viz. I. Formen urchristlicher Gemeinschaft; II. Die Norm der Gemeinschaft; III. Das Ich und die Gemeinschaft; IV. Das Handeln in der Gemeinschaft; V. Geschichte und Gemeinschaft. The value of the work is chiefly for theologians and students of Church history.

Marc-Aurèle, Pensées. Texte établi et traduit par A. I. TRANNOY. Préface d'AIMÉ PUECH. Pp. xxv + 290. Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925.

This volume of the attractive series issued for the Association Guillaume Budé makes no pretence to being a very important recension of the text, to which the editor brings no new material or re-collation of the known MSS. He chooses for the most part judiciously among the existing variants and the conjectures of former editors, adding some of his own, which the reviewer does not think particularly happy, but which are for the most part confined to the critical notes. There are one or two slight slips in his report of what others have proposed; thus, in the note on I. 17. 5, Schulz's final reading apparently was not $\langle\kappa\alpha\iota\rangle$ τοῖωνδὲ τινων [καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόμπου] but [τοιῶνδὲ τινω] καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου κόμπου. This, and one or two other minutiae, might have been gathered from the Didot edition by Dübner (1877), which presents *editionem Schulzianam . . . ab ipso Schulzio passim emendatam et correctam* (Praefatio, p. v).

The translation is perhaps rather too close to the original to be as good as a French translation can be, and occasionally misses the sense of the Greek. Thus, ἀστοργότεροί πως (I. 11) is misleadingly translated *en un sens incapables d'affection*; it might have been exactly rendered by *comme incapables d'affection*, or *quelque peu incapables*; (τὸ) προσσεσηρὸς is certainly not *de mines épanouies* (I. 15. 6), but rather *ricanement*; in III. 2, 6, apart from one or two other doubtful points in the rendering, *son œil arisé* quite misrepresents σῶφροσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς. A French colleague suggests *regard d'artiste* as giving the spirit, if not the letter, of this fine passage. πεπερεύσθαι (V. 5. 4) does not mean *divaguer*; perhaps *habler* would come somewhat nearer.

These, however, and other points which might be mentioned, are but details, which do not prevent the book from being a handy little edition, with a translation which is a useful guide. The two introductions, one by the editor and one by the veteran scholar M. Puech, are both excellent. Of misprints, besides one or two letters broken or dropped, I have noted, p. xxii, note 1, *observatione* for *observations*; p. 6 of the translation, notes 1 and 2 are reversed. But generally the compositor has dealt worthily with his beautiful types.

H. J. R.

Thirteen Epistles of Plato. Introduction, Translation and Notes. By L. A. Post, M.A. Pp. 167. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 5s. net.

A careful and scholarly translation, such as has long been needed. There are many passages where it is difficult to be sure of the exact meaning of the writer, whether he be Plato or another, and the translator has been well advised in leaving occasional obscurities and ambiguities. We have noticed only a few slips, such as that in 326D, where $\epsilon\lambda\delta' \sigma\iota\nu \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ surely cannot mean what Mr. Post says.

The introductions prefixed to each letter are excellent, and the notes concise and illuminating; in particular the discussion of the relation between Epistle VII and Isocrates' *Antidosis* should be mentioned. Mr. Post regards all the more important letters as genuine, including XIII. The second letter he assigns to 363 B.C. without discussing the alternative date 360, which is at least possible; though indeed the arguments which have been brought against either date make it hard to believe that Plato wrote this letter. The suggestion that Dion's posthumous son is referred to in VIII is very probable.

Theophrasti Characteres, edidit OTTO IMMISCH. Pp. vi + 46. Lipsiae: Teubner, 1923.

Diels's Oxford text of 1909 was for most countries the swan-song of the intransigents who refused any value to the *recentiores*, but despite the refutation of their view by the silent witness of the papyri, the echo 'A B V first and the rest nowhere' still resounds in the land of Budé.¹ We may welcome, therefore, as a foretaste of his promised second edition of the Leipzig *ἔρανος* of 1897, Dr. Immisch's new Teubner text, the first *Theophrasti Characteres* in that series since Foss's of 1858.

Dr. Immisch, who as textual editor of the Leipzig edition did more for the *Characteres* than any scholar since Casaubon, has made a fresh collation of B and certain corrections of the reported readings of A. For V he contents himself with recording the discrepancies between those of Loewe and Diels. It is not clear from its preface whether this edition is intended to give us any new information on the families C' D E or on the Munich Epitome (M). At any rate there appear to be a few corrections. As is quite right, the use of thick type in the notes distinguishes the passages where V is our only authority, but Dr. Immisch might have gone a little further in the same direction. Where an epitome has more than the fuller MSS., its readings are *prima facie* of so great importance that it would have been well to vary the type in such passages of M, which is rightly given in full at the foot of the other text. Nor has he gone far enough, I think—and this is more serious—in allowing the claims of the authorities other than A B V. At VI. 6 it is clear, surely, that the archetype of all our MSS. had $\tau\omicron\nu\nu \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ in the text with the marginal or interlinear gloss $\tau\omicron \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$. The failure of editors to adopt $\tau\omicron\nu\nu \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$ seems to be due to an undeserved transference of the disrespect felt for a poor epitome to its richer ancestor. The case for $\beta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$, i.e. *caet*, at XX. 4 is nearly as strong; the $\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$ of the fuller MSS. is almost certainly, as Sylburg saw, a correction of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta$. Again, at V. 2 the Herculanum Papyrus has the necessary $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ after $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\sigma}\iota$ (surely the Greeks could not say $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\sigma}\iota \mu\grave{\eta} \acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\acute{\epsilon}\nu\upsilon\iota$); and at XXII. 7 the families C' D have the necessary $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\tau\alpha \lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\alpha$. Why are these two words not admitted? Once more, at X. 3 all MSS. except A B and Ambrosian P (Bassi, *Rivista di Filol.* 26. p. 493) have the excellent reading $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$; the exceptions read the impossible $\delta \sigma\iota\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$; Dietrich, and after him Immisch, concluded that we should read $\delta\mu\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. Now Ambr. P, which, when they differ, sometimes favours A ($\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu \omicron\acute{\iota} \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, VI. 7) and sometimes B ($\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron$, IV. 14), has, only four words further on, $\delta\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ where all other MSS. have $\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$. It would seem that δ was a marginal correction in a common ancestor of A B and Ambr. P, an ancestor not accounted for in Immisch's Stemma of 1897; and the sense of the passage, which requires no article with the participle, but could do equally well with $\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ or $\delta\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, would seem to indicate that the corrector intended $\delta\pi\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ and not $\delta \sigma\iota\sigma\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. Ambr. P by an error, it seems, added the δ to both. We get a second glimpse of this common ancestor a few lines further on, where A B and Ambr. P insert the strange $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\iota$ after $\chi\acute{\iota}\tau\tau\alpha\rho$. Here, in

¹ I may be allowed to refer to *C.Q.*, 1910, p. 128, and *J.H.S.*, 1923, p. 91.

omitting the εἶναι, Dr. Immisch neglects the authority to which he defers in correcting (ὁ) συσσιτών to ὁμοσιτών. There is yet another instance of the power of the dead hand of Cobet, the hero of the intransigents. Though Dr. Immisch rightly prefers, at XXV. 2, C's κλυδωνίον to V's κλιδωνος, and at XXIII. 9, CD's ἐν μισθῷ τὴν οἰκίαν οἰκῶν to Vc's ἐν μισθωτῇ οἰκία οἰκῶν, he neglects CD where to me they are clearly right, at XXIII. 6. The Ἀλαζών, in a passage the first part of which is corrupt but whose drift is clear, is making a fictitious list—'to so-and-so so much'—of the contributions he made in the days of the famine τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν πολιτῶν. He adds up the total and makes it καὶ δέκα τάλαιτα (it was πλείω ἢ πέντε when his story began; hence καί here, though Immisch, after Casaubon, cuts it out). Then—καὶ τοῦτο φῆσαι (so Lycius, all MSS. φήσας) εἰσενηνοχέαι εἰς ἐράνους αὐτῶν, sc. of the people whose ὀνόματα he has put in his list. Only, I think, because V is V and Cobet Cobet can Immisch have preferred V's εἰσενηρέχθαι, involving as it does the change of αὐτῶν to αὐτῶ.

I note here a few small points:—V. 10, for τούτου I would read Τοῦτου: VII. 8, for Τατά, Τάτα (cf. Herodas' ταταλίζειν): XI. 7, for παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ταῦτά, παρακαλεῖν Ἐπὶ ταῦτα: XX. 5, for πανουργίων, ἱπανουργίων: XXI. 11, for εἰημέρει, εἰημερεῖ (for tense cf. νικᾷ and for meaning Ath. 584 d): XXV. 7, for Εἰπ', Εἰπ'; and XXX. 11, for Φειδωνεῖω, Φειδωνίῳ. Among several good suggestions in the text there is one which seems to me excellent:—at XVII. 7, ἀπέστης. At XXI. 9, μιῆμα ποιῆσαι καὶ στηλίδιον, ποιήσας ἐπυγράψαι Κλάδος Μελιταῖος (cf. ποιῆσαι ἀποδοῦναι, § 5) is ingenious but not so convincing.

Dr. Immisch must forgive me for devoting so much of my space to fault-finding. I can only say it is because it naturally takes more room than praise. But I hope he will look again into the relations of the *E* family before he launches his larger edition.

J. M. E.

Pagan Background of Early Christianity. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. xvi + 334. University Press of Liverpool, 1925. 12s. 6d. net.

Professor Halliday's touch in popular books is both sure and pleasant. The present volume, unpretentious as it is, has the merit of representing much hard thinking as well as good exposition. The general sketch of conditions in the first century of our era is accurate and stimulating: it covers the political, economic and religious aspects of life, and for the general reader will therefore be a safer guide than Wendland's famous *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*. It contains, moreover, observations for which students of this period in particular will be grateful, as, for instance, the remarks (p. 190₂) on the theatricality of temperament which appears both in the life and in the literature of the Silver Age (compare the remark which Lucan puts into the mouth of Vulteius, IV. 492 f.: *nos in conspicua sociis hostique carina constitutere dei; praebebunt aequora testes, praebebunt terrae, summis dabit insula saxis, spectabunt geminae diverso litore partes*), the illustration of the unity of thought between philosophy at one end of the scale and magic at the other (p. 210 ff.), the recognition of the fact that Mithraism was not the pre-eminent mystery religion of the Empire (p. 280 f.). In these chapters there is little to criticise. In a passage of Firmicus Maternus, quoted on p. 243, Prof. Halliday agrees with Hepding in thinking that *moriturus homo* contains a reference to a ritual death of the initiate; is not Clemens's view (*Rh. M.* lxxiii.) much more probable, namely, that it means *θηρὸς ἀνὴρ*, and is, for instance, parallel to Horace's *moriture Delli*? As Prof. Halliday pays me the compliment of quoting (p. 318₃) views expressed by me in *Cl. Rev.* 1924 about the underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore, it seems suitable to remark that I do not regard it as tenable that the brotherhood should have been specifically Orphic. There is no evidence for any such sodality so called at this time (A. Boulanger, *Orphée*, 60, quoting Cumont); we must probably recognise in the worshippers who used this chapel a sodality to which we cannot hope to give the name they would have used, with beliefs in immortality combining what was Orphic originally and what was Neopythagorean; on the whole, as the Neopythagoreans had a great interest in Orphic traditions, their name would be a more probable label to use than any other. In the last chapter on pagan and Christian ritual, the essential sameness of man's use of types of sacred action, as of types

of linguistic expression, is clearly stated: at the same time, one feels the need of a discussion of the amount of Christian liturgic use which may be regarded as existing before any substantial contact with paganism had occurred. The bibliography mentions a number of books of high value and a few of little; should they not be differentiated? One misses Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des neuen Testaments* (ed. 2: Bonn, 1924), the best handbook to recent research, K. Holl's very stimulating *Urchristentum und Religionsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1925), which asks and in a way answers the question, 'Why did Christianity conquer the Empire?' and E. Meyer's *Anfänge des Christentums*. In short, this book is to be recommended most heartily.

A. D. N.

Hermetica. The ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophic teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, edited with English translation and notes by WALTER SCOTT. Volume II. **Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum.** Pp. 482. Oxford: University Press, 1925. 25s. (subscription price for the four volumes, £4 4s.).

From this commentary, fortunately ready for press at the author's death, it is possible to learn his reasons for constituting the text as it stands in the first volume of the edition. Probably these reasons will not carry conviction to most readers as to the necessity of the extensive transpositions and bracketings there adopted, on which reviewers seem united in disapproval. Nevertheless, the notes are valuable as collecting explanatory material, and they are the first modern attempt to write a commentary on the *Corpus Hermeticum*.

A. D. N.

Papyri Osloensis. Fasc. I: Magical papyri edited by S. EITREM. Pp. 151, with thirteen plates. Published by Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. Oslo, on commission by Jacob Dybwad, 1925. 20 kroner.

Professor Eitrem, the well-known authority on Greek religion, has for some years been publishing valuable new readings or explanations of the known magical papyri of London, Paris, Leiden, and Berlin. He here illustrates fully a new and interesting papyrus he has bought for Oslo: like the large Paris papyrus, it is a collection of recipes. These he edits, translates, and explains in masterly fashion; no better introduction to the subject and at the same time nothing more instructive to those fairly familiar with it could well be imagined. We have Hopfner's *Griechisch-Egyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, we have Eitrem's contribution to the subject: when Preisendanz adds his long-promised *Corpus* we shall possess τὰ τρία of magic.

A. D. N.

Plotin, Ennéades III. Texte établi et traduit par ÉMILE BRÉHIER. Pp. 354. Paris: Société d'édition 'Les belles lettres,' 1925. 18 fr.

Of this book, as of the Plotinian universe, it may be said *ἄνιστοι μὲν οἱ φθόγγοι πάντες*, but not even the most strenuous application of Heracleitean principles will, we believe, succeed in establishing that its total utterance is, like that of the Cosmos, *τέλειος εἰς ἐκ πάντων* (*Enn.* III. ii. 17). The notices prefixed by M. Bréhier to the several tracts are most valuable. They show us clearly the themes, Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic or Gnostic, which form the starting-points of the discussions, and how far Plotinus agreed with them or why he controverted them. These introductions and the foot-notes appended to the translation give numerous and, we believe, fairly complete references to chapter and verse of the documents which Plotinus quotes. (At v. 1, l. 57 a reference should have been made to Plato, *Laus.* 837B). In all this M. Bréhier has most effectively used his wide knowledge of the whole history of ancient philosophy for the interpretation and illustration of Plotinus' teaching.

In the translation, however, there is much to criticise. M. Bréhier indeed is sometimes right where other translators are wrong, and the curious student, who wants to understand Plotinus' crabbed Greek, cannot afford to neglect him. But the translation, even in

comparatively straightforward passages, is often strangely blundering and suggests that M. Bréhier has been in too much of a hurry. Thus, to take a few examples from the two books on Providence, at ii. 4, l. 11 and ii. 7, l. 32, there are obvious errors from which a reference to Ficinus' version might have saved the author. At ii. 8, l. 48, τῶν ἐναντίων γιγνομένων is rendered by 'quand des ennemis surviennent,' but the context clearly requires 'if the opposite occurred,' *contrariis itaque factis*, as Ficinus has. At ii. 14, l. 9, τὰ αὐτά is neglected and the meaning of the passage therefore missed. At iii. 3, l. 2, ἀλλὰ αἰρέσει συντέτακται is paraphrased by 'mais ton choix se trouve dans l'ordre universel.' Here again Ficinus with his *in ipsa tamen electione cum universo nostra ordinantur* gives the right meaning and construction. At ii. 2, l. 8, M. Bréhier's rendering of φύσεως δευτέρας ἀνάγκη is at least doubtful. He turns by 'ce monde . . . résulte d'une nécessité inhérente à la nature de second rang,' and explains in a note 'c'est à dire de l'Intelligence ou Être, qui vient après le Premier.' But Plotinus immediately goes on to describe Intelligence as πρῶτον. This is natural enough, as the One or Absolute First tends to recede into the background in the later books, and its introduction here would have been irrelevant. The Greek, therefore, must mean 'through the necessity of a second nature (the world) existing.' When other helpers fail, Plotinus flies to the bosom of ἀνάγκη. A glance at the Greek of i. 5, l. 31 will show that there is something wrong with M. Bréhier's rendering 'l'opposition entre le tempérament physique et la nature des désirs,' but it is not till we find in a note a reference to the treatise *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* that 'entre' is seen to be an unfortunate misprint for 'contre.'

M. Bréhier's textual suggestions are not as a rule happy. At i. 5, l. 51 he reads εἰ γάρ for ἡ γάρ and brackets ἡ εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνα ποιεῖ. But the passage is sound, for τὰ πρότερα means not 'the parents,' but the configurations of the stars which are supposed to have determined the parents' fortunes. ii. 10, l. 2 is not a *locus desperatus*, requiring conjecture. There is no need to despair of the statement that 'if men are involuntarily evil one can neither blame wrongdoers, nor reproach sufferers with suffering through their own fault,' though there may be a lack of balance in the phrasing. At ii. 14, l. 4 the insertion of ἡ does not help. At iii. 4, l. 50, M. Bréhier's reason for supposing a lacuna is that he wrongly regards γενομένον and οὐκ ὄντος as co-ordinate, whereas οὐκ ὄντος really goes with ἡλάττωσεν, '(the mixture) does not detract from the being (of the higher).' The reader is further perplexed by a bad misprint, the mark of lacuna being wrongly placed in the following line after τὸ ἔλαττον. M. Bréhier's cure for viii. 5, l. 31 seems worse than the disease, unless indeed he can produce a parallel for διὰ τοῦδε in the sense of 'ici-bas,' while his proposal to read δῆλον ποῦ for δῆλόν που at viii. 7, l. 15 can only be due to his not seeing that δῆλόν που governs the first fifteen lines of the chapter. M. Bréhier does not always translate what he reads in his text. Thus at ii. 5, l. 7 he rightly gives σύμφορα but translates συμφορά; at ii. 7, l. 43 he prints ποιήματι but translates ποιήσαντι; at vi. 14, l. 26 ἐκεῖ is deleted but translated. Among misprints in the text may be noted vi. 10, l. 19, μὴν for μή; vii. 3, l. 9, λέγειν for λέγει, and ix. 1, l. 19, νοῦ for νοῖν.

To conclude on a less plaintive note, M. Bréhier deals judiciously with Heinemann's views on the spuriousness of parts of the Ἐπισκέψεις διάφοροι (III. ix) and rightly denies that he has made out his case. But is it not a little dangerous to assert that the summaries in III. i. 10 and III. vi. 3, just because Porphyry is known to have written summaries of Plotinus' arguments, should therefore be attributed to Porphyry? There is very little in the Plotinian Corpus to suggest that anything which Porphyry wrote has become mixed up with Plotinus' own work.

J. H. S.

Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos jours. Par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT et MICHEL LHÉRITIER. 3 vols. [1821-78.] Pp. liv + 1488. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925.

Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν λαῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ 1821 μέχρι 1921. Ὑπὸ Π. Καρολίδου. Τόμ. i-v. [1821-62.] Pp. 2, 713. Ἐν Ἀθήναις: Βιτζικοννάκης, 1922-26.

Both these learned works relate the history of modern Greece upon a scale never before attempted. But, while the two French historians devote themselves exclusively to the

external relations of Greece. Professor Karolides treats also of her political, social and especially ecclesiastical life, and in his fourth volume gives a summary of the history of her Balkan neighbours. The French writers have extracted a mass of new materials from the unpublished archives of various Foreign Offices, but they display a markedly anti-British bias and an ignorance of the British mentality which makes them misjudge the motives of our Philhellenic statesmen. Professor Karolides, who has played a part in political life, and, as an Asiatic Greek, sat in the 'new' Turkish parliament, possesses a great faculty for regarding Hellenic questions from the standpoint of the 'outside' Greeks, and especially, as an old student of the school in the Phanar (iv. 265, 325 *n.*), from that of the Œcumenical Patriarchate, whose action as opposed to that of Pharmakides and the autonomists of 1833 he warmly defends at enormous length. Indeed, especially in his fourth volume, his narrative becomes at times a diatribe, spiced with allusions to contemporary politics and University affairs. He is more favourable than foreign historians to the Phanariote *Hospodars* and Capo d'Istria, a Russian diplomatist rather than a Greek statesman, and is an impartial judge of Otho, whose strongly Hellenic patriotism failed to atone for his immersion in details, his indecision and his lack of an heir. This author's views on the September Revolution of 1843 are interesting: the country, as distinct from the town (where it was born), did not want a constitution; but parliamentary government was inevitable in Greece, where neither Bolshevism nor Fascism find a congenial soil in a national character largely tinged with *ἀτομισμός*. The recent restoration of a Second Chamber, not historically a native institution, lends practical importance to the account of the Othonian Senate. When he comes to describe, with rather superfluous translations of accessible French documents, the intrigues of the British, French and Russian Legations, Professor Karolides is on common ground with M. Driault, but his sketch of Kolettis, the leading politician—scarcely statesman—of Otho's reign, is superior. No British critic to-day would justify Palmerston's policy in the Don Pacifico affair, which earns him in this Greek history the perpetual epithet of 'firebrand.' In his fourth volume the author is, from his Orthodox leanings, rather lenient to the Tsar Nicholas at the time of the Crimean War. It may be noted (iv. 34*n.*) that there are now both Serbian and Roumanian Patriarchs, and the *Δόγμος Ἐρμῆς* was not 'the first Greek periodical' (iv. 180), but the fourth, for the first was issued at Vienna as early as 1793. The social and economic parts of this work are particularly good. Since he wrote v. 53*n.*, an Academy has been founded.

M. Driault is responsible for the two first volumes, and his collaborator for the third (from 1862 to 1878), of the diplomatic study. This work is least satisfactory in its account of the British rule over the Ionian Islands. It ignores the second, Radical constitution of 1849 and is largely based upon Lenormant's prejudiced statements. Ample material (which the present reviewer has inspected) has been arranged for the study of this period by Mr. Sp. M. Theotokes in the Old Palace at Corfu, besides Mr. Pearn's thesis on 'King Tom's' administration. Occasional topographical errors show little personal acquaintance with the neighbourhood of Nauplia (where so much of the diplomatic drama was played by 'the Residents'). Here the admirable biography of the Duchesse de Plaisance by M. Kampouroglous¹ would have helped. German and Italian designs are historically narrated: we discover in 1869 the germs of the Balkan League of 1912; and learn of an American plan of buying Melos in 1866 (like Beaconsfield's idea of purchasing Crete in 1877). The paternal bargaining which preceded George I's acceptance of the Greek throne is described at length, followed by a good sketch of the young king and his tactless adviser, Sponneck. Two lessons emerge from these two valuable books—both indispensable, though to be read with caution against racial and party feelings: first, that foreign diplomacy has done more harm than good to Greece; and second, that the Greek people must not be hastily judged by the crises and 'revolutions' of its modern history, but by its steady progress, too often ignored abroad, in spite of them. The expulsion of Otto was not the work of the people; British diplomacy was opposed to him, not to Greece.

W. M.

¹ *Μελέται καὶ Ἐρευναί* (Athens, 1925), pp. 191–200.

Olympia: its History and Remains. By E. NORMAN GARDINER. Pp. xviii + 316; 129 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 50s.

Dr. Gardiner remarks in his Preface that no book on Olympia has previously appeared in English. On this account and on many others his work should be cordially welcomed. It may be said at once that it will be found eminently satisfactory by the scholar and archaeologist. Whether it will appeal equally to the general reader interested in archaeology is perhaps a matter for some doubt, for, with the exception of the concluding chapter on the Olympic Festival, it appears to be rather too technical and argumentative to attract the attention of a wide circle of readers.

The work falls into two main divisions, the historical and topographical. A considerable space is devoted to prehistoric Olympia and its neighbourhood, and their geographical connexion with the West is emphasised. The character of the inhabitants of the N.W. Peloponnese is discussed at length, and the conclusion arrived at is that the main stock came from the Balkans. It is a section which will appeal specially to those interested in ethnology. A good deal of space is also devoted to the origins of the festival and the rival theories which have been propounded. The author argues for a secular, not religious, origin, arising from a pure love of sport, though not unconnected with military training, and points out that the period of the year into which the games fell was a time of agricultural leisure. All these conclusions are based on a thorough sifting of previous theories and will no doubt interest scholars, even though they may not always agree with them.

The changes which the character of the festival underwent in the course of centuries are well worked out with the aid of literary, epigraphical, numismatic and monumental evidence, and historians will find many suggestions of interest, *e.g.* that the appearance of the Hera head on coins of Elis between 420 and 323 indicates a revival of the cult of Hera which lasted far beyond the short-lived alliance between Elis and Argos.

One or two points interesting in the history of athletics may be mentioned. It is creditable to those responsible for the conduct of the games that during so long a period fines for bribery and misconduct were rare, and consequently it was only at infrequent intervals that the statues known as Zanes were erected from the proceeds. Another feature worth noting is the change from what may be termed the amateur status of the competitors in the times of Greek freedom to the professionalism of the Macedonian and Roman periods.

The later chapters on topography and buildings are, like those on the history, very thorough and based on personal observation, but may be felt by some to be more suited for reference than to continuous reading. Several suggestions are put forward as regards minor details of topography; for example, as to the positions of the altar of Zeus, the Hippodameion, and the Proedria, the last being identified with the S. Colonnade below the Council House. The new suggestions may be most readily observed by contrasting Gardiner's plan of Olympia with that of Dörpfeld as given in Frazer's edition of Pausanias. The sculptures are dealt with adequately, but here Dr. Gardiner naturally follows in the main the conclusions of the best specialists in this field.

The photographic illustrations are numerous and excellent, and will certainly fulfil the author's object of making the result of the excavations known to English readers.

In conclusion it may be said that no feature of Olympia and no problem of any consequence connected with it are left untouched in this very conscientious and scholarly work, and it is to be hoped that it will meet with the success which it merits.

Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger. Pp. xxxi + 578; 41 plates and numerous illustrations in the text. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1924.

It is impossible to do justice to this splendid and varied volume in a short notice. It may, however, be said at once that it is a worthy tribute to the great Byzantine scholar to whom it was offered on his eightieth birthday in October 1924.

The difficulty of noticing such a work will readily be realised when it is stated that there are no fewer than 55 articles by different American, Belgian, English, French, Italian, Roumanian and Russian scholars. The work is divided into four sections: (1) History

of the Later Roman Empire, Byzantine Empire, and the Latin Orient: (2) Byzantine Philology: (3) Numismatics and Sigillography: (4) Archaeology. Several of the articles, *e.g.* those on the archæology of France, lie outside the scope of the Hellenic Society, and many, though interesting in themselves, deal with comparatively slight subjects. All that can be done here is to mention some of the articles which appear to be of broader interest, though this is not to be interpreted as an opinion that the remainder are to be neglected.

In the historical section mention may be made of Zeiller's discussion of the Gothic settlements in Moesia in 350, especially in relation to Ulfilas; Iorga's article on the defence of the Danube frontier by means of settlements of barbarians and the aid of the Imperial fleet; Batiffol's account of an episode of the Council of Ephesus in 431, relating to the Nestorius-Cyril controversy, drawn from a Coptic source; Gay's interesting discussion of the causes of the frequency of Popes of Greek and Syrian origin between 678-715, which is explained as due to a desire to keep in touch with affairs in Constantinople owing to their knowledge of the Greek language; Fournier's discussion of Byzantine infiltrations into Western Canon Law, in which the influence of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, is emphasised; Diehl's contention that the title of *Πρόεδρος* was a simple title of dignity first conferred on Basil the *Παρακοιμώμενος* by Nicephorus Phocas; Th. Reinach's very interesting article on a Jewish marriage contract of 1022 originating at Mastoura in the Maeander valley, which contains numerous Greek words (some hitherto unknown to lexicographers) in Hebrew characters; Lauer's publication of an unedited letter of Henry I, Emperor of Constantinople, to the Italian prelates in 1213, which contains allusions to the victory over Lascaris and the injurious attitude of the Greeks towards the Latins.

In the philological section attention may be drawn to Delehay's account of the Martyrdom of St. Nicetas the younger under Andronicus II by the Turks, drawn from a Greek MS. in the Ambrosian Library of Milan; to Crispo's article on the survival of Greek terms in place-names in Calabria; and to Serbat's amusing description of the adventures of two unscrupulous Cypriot Greeks in France in 1665, who by the aid of forged certificates collected money for the ostensible object of restoring the Church of the Chrysopolitissa in Cyprus.

In the numismatic section there is an article by the late J. de Morgan on the imitation of Greek, Roman and Byzantine types by the peoples of the East and West, and on the revolution in type introduced by the Arabs; Millet discusses the earlier and later rôles of the Byzantine *κορμπεκκίριοι* as drawn from the evidence afforded by their seals.

Under Archaeology, Cumont points out that a lead patera of the third century found on the site of Doura-Europos has a relief bust of Atargatis, and is an imitation of Persian encrusted jewellery; Dussaud, in discussing the decoration on architrave fragments from Sidon of the third century, finds points of comparison with the Antioch chalice; Marquet de Vasselot draws attention to the interchange of artistic designs between China and the Byzantine Empire from the seventh century; Michon discusses the character of the Christian sarcophagi of the school of Aquitaine; Dalton and Orsi deal with Byzantine jewellery; Bréhier has an article on sculptured archivolts in the Athens Museum which illustrate the Greek Christmas hymn and probably served as frames for ikons: they seem to be of the fourteenth century, and are moderate work under Western influence; Ebersolt draws attention to the new arrangement of the sculptures of the Latin Orient in the Constantinople Museum and emphasises the influence of Byzantine art on that of the Latin intruders; Tafrali deals with frescoes on the exterior of churches in the Bukowina, which illustrate a siege of Constantinople apparently intended for that of 1453. They are really inspired by pictures of earlier sieges, and were executed between 1530 and 1536. Buckler publishes a monument of a lady called Maria of the house of Palæologus, discovered in a dealer's shop in Constantinople: it dates from 1275-1325, and the Greek inscription alludes to her life as a nun.

Besides the rich series of articles, to which such scanty justice has been done, the volume contains a chronological list of M. Schlumberger's publications, and a valuable catalogue of the illustrations to his *Nicephorus Phocas* and *L'Épopée Byzantine*, compiled by Mlle. Nersessian. There are also useful indexes to the volume as a whole.

Introduction à l'étude critique du nom propre grec. By C. AUTRAN.
Fascicules I, II, III. Pp. 1-240. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925.

When we say that these three fascicules give us only Chapter I, *Le paradoxe du nom propre grec*, and of Chapter II, *Coup d'œil préliminaire sur l'ensemble de l'onomastique géographique gréco-latine balkano-hellénique*, only from 'A to 'Hλεκτρίων of a comparative list in parallel columns of local names from Greece, Asia Minor, Italy and the rest of the ancient world, it is plain that we have here only the beginning of a very large work. But however the author may demonstrate out his thesis, what this thesis is he makes clear in the first chapter. He leads off with the name *Polyneikes* and its explanation as the *man of much strife*, as given by both Euripides and Aischylos. But we shall see presently that things are not always what they seem.

The key to the author's thought seems to be the idea of a 'feudal cosmopolitan' world of Asia Minor and the Ægean, with free inter-communications all over at least the eastern Mediterranean: from this world, from this *soubassement composite sur lequel repose la Grèce classique*, sprang the ancient Greek states, and in this mixed, barbarous in the sense of non-Greek, world, from about 2000 to 1200 B.C. the proper names of Greece were formed. Further, there are so many foreign words in Greek that the proper names too must be largely derived from Pelasgic idioms, and how far this non-Greek element goes we do not know. As far as proper names go, no more stress is to be laid on the Indo-European element than upon any other in Greek, and the comparatively unknown character of these other strains does not affect the certainty of their existence. Thus the writer, who throughout attributes great importance to Asia Minor, and is correspondingly fond of the words *asiano-égéen*, *asianique*, *asianisant*, finds himself constantly in opposition to *les indo-européanisants*, who would, to return to the key-name, explain *Polyneikes* as it was explained by Euripides and Aischylos, and see it in no different light from the tragedians and their audiences.

His consideration of these non-Greek elements in the pre-classical Ægean world leads him to the general conclusion that it is absolutely illegitimate to make a system of explaining Greek proper names from Greek; there must be Pelasgian survivals. So far this is nothing new; but M. Autran would refuse to explain from Greek not only names for which no Greek explanation is forthcoming, and for which, therefore, *faute de mieux*, we have to go further afield, but also such names as *Amphimakhos*, *Glaukos*, *Polymelos*: how, he asks, can we reasonably offer a translation of *Eurydike* when we have to leave *Orpheus* without one? At this point he tells us (p. 34) that *l'égalité Πολυνεικής = πολυνεικής est donc, sans aucun doute, une pure apparence dont nous devons, désormais, entièrement cesser d'être dupes*. Πολυ ν'α, certainement, rien de commun avec πολύ; -νεικής rien de commun avec -νεικής. We note that the author never accents his Greek proper names.

The establishment of this very remarkable position, in which it seems that Greek gets a good deal less than its rights, and that obvious explanations are for no very clear reason thrown aside to make room for others, which in no given case have anything positive in their favour, is the main thesis of Chapter I. The last word can, of course, only be said when all the lists have been published and scrutinised, but in the meanwhile, amongst much which is ingenious and much which seems to us questionable, a few points are worth mentioning. The very Greek appearance of many of the names which are now claimed for non-Greek is partly explained, we are told, by superficial changes in the older forms of these names made by the Greeks for the sake of comprehensibility, though this cuts against his plea against the obvious meaning of *Polyneikes*, namely, that no parents would give a child a name of such ill omen. He sees a parallel to these hellenisations in certain Latin names, which despite their Latin appearance he holds to be altered from Etruscan originals: on this point the opinion of experts on the Etruscan question would be welcome. It must be admitted that *Harpokrates*, *Harpocrater*, with their Greek form and Egyptian origin, give a point in the favour of his theory.

M. Autran's treatment of the names *Isaios*, *Isandros*, *Isagoras*, sheds much light on his manner of thought. These names, generally taken as Greek and separated from later names connected with *Isis*, he sees no reason at least in theory, to separate from the goddess, and admit as Greek. *Isis*, he tells us, is one of the many things which have come out of Asia Minor, and her name he regards (p. 49) not as Egyptian, but as *une simple forme*

*égyptianisée du thème importé ās-, dont dérivent (? dérive) ἡμαί (pour ἡσ-μαί; cf. *sser. ās-te, āvest, as-te, signifiant être établie, être assis* [cf. Θέ-μης= Γαῖα]).* Thus a Greek explanation of these names can be avoided. And this carries us yet further: he would put a connexion of Orion and Horus (Ὠρ-ίων and Ὠρος) on the same, or an even firmer, footing of 'theoretic possibility' than this of Isaïos, etc. and Isis. And on p. 55 he appears to suggest that if Isaïos, etc., contain the name of the goddess Isis, many other names, equally Greek in appearance, may, or rather we cannot exclude the probability that they do, contain the names of other non-Greek but, in their case, unknown gods.

As to the meanings of names, the author is not interested in them (p. 66): it is impossible to avoid the feeling that he adopts this line because the more the meaning comes to the fore the more indubitably Greek the names appear.

We have tried to give as fair an account as possible of this elaborate and learned work, but we cannot conceal our disagreement with most of the author's views and our failure to follow the line of his arguments. In particular his scent for non-Greek elements in Greece seems too keen: why should the Peloponnesian (we suppose Laconian) change of *σ* to *h* be even probably due to Carian influence?

R. M. D.

Les Saracatsans, une Tribu nomade grecque. I. Étude linguistique, précédée d'une notice ethnographique. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Copenhague par CARSTEN HØEG. Pp. xx + 312. Paris and Copenhagen, 1925.

The author of this book is a Danish scholar, who, already knowing Modern Greek, in the summer of 1922 spent two months with the Saracatsans in Epirus and then paid briefer visits to their encampments in Macedonia and Thessaly; the materials so gathered were supplemented by another visit in 1924, and now appear in this book, of which we have here the first volume. The second volume is in the press; from references to it in the text it appears that it will contain vocabularies, texts of tales in the dialect and lastly an Index Verborum. The description of the people, illustrated by photographs but no map, occupies the first 94 pages; the rest of the volume is occupied by an account of the dialect, systematically arranged under phonetics and morphology.

The description of the nomad and entirely pastoral life of these people is extremely interesting. This type of life seems to be preserved most fully in Epeirus; the Saracatsans of Thessaly are more modernised; those of Macedonia are taking to houses, or at least, as they frequent the same lands for pasture every year, construct permanent cabins instead of making fresh ones each year. Of the Saracatsans of Thrace the author has nothing to say, except that they have been exposed to strong Slav influence. The name seems to be derived from a Daco-Roumanian word *sîrac*, meaning *poor*, and itself of Slav origin: from this comes the Greek form Σαρακατσαναῖοι. This does not, however, say anything as to their origin, as to which there are two possibilities; either they are nomad Roumanians, Vlachs as the Greeks would say, who have changed their language and talk Greek instead of some Roumanian dialect, or they are really Greeks. The writer gives many reasons for believing that the latter is the case. As to their way of life, they have certainly been nomadic since the fifteenth century, and probably since ancient times. Thus we learn that it is incorrect to suppose that all the wandering shepherds of Greece are of Roumanian kin; most of them are, but in these Saracatsans we must recognise a nomad pastoral tribe of truly Greek stock.

The second part of the book deals with the dialect. As is natural, it belongs to the group of North Greek dialects, distinguished from Southern Greek by the treatment of the unaccented vowels. All the Saracatsans, in whatever part of North Greece they wander, speak very much the same, and this idiom common to all of them, whilst it has a certain affinity with those of Tsoumerka and of Aitolia and Acarnania, is not that of any sedentary community; the inference is that already alluded to; at least ever since the fifteenth century, the period when these North Greek dialects took shape, the Saracatsans have been nomads, and not identical with any fixed population, though in communication with so many of them. Of Roumanian the dialect shows no more trace than other North Greek idioms; that is to say, it has certain loan-words, but nothing more.

The whole book is extremely interesting; that the description of the people, especially as regards their customs and folk-lore, might have been fuller the author freely acknowledges. Nevertheless, what he has given us is of real value, and the treatment of the dialect leaves nothing to be desired. As an account of a North Greek dialect it ranks with the Boudonas' book on Velvento and with Kretschmer's more recent treatise on the dialects of Lesbos. We await the appearance of the second volume with interest. R. M. D.

Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit: Inaugural Dissertation. Herausgegeben von BROR OLSSON. Pp. xii + 240. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, A.-B., 1925.

An extremely useful collection of letters from the period 29 B.C. to A.D. 100, furnished with an introduction on the epistolary form, translations and notes in German, and full indices. The volume helps to fill the gap between Witkowski's collection of Ptolemaic letters and Ghedini's early Christian letters, and the editor has taken pains to verify his considerable improvements in the text.

Festschrift Paul Arndt. Pp. 147, with numerous illustrations in the text. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1925.

The nine essays which make up this *Festschrift* deal for the most part, as is appropriate, with sculpture. P. Wolters discusses Tarentine terracotta types; L. Curtius identifies on an Etruscan bronze relief scenes from the Amphiaros legend and on an Eleusinian relief a representation of the obscure deity Daeira; F. Rapp deals with a late intaglio which belonged to Goethe. J. Sieveking's important paper emphasises the independent Italian character ever present in the development of Roman relief; C. Weickert discusses a relief in the Villa Borghese. H. Bulle reconstructs the Samian triad of Myron with the Athena of Pergamon, the Boston Heracles, and the torso of Lucius Verus in the Vatican. W. Amelung makes new groupings around the sculptor of the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo; E. Schmidt illustrates some instances of the transference of types in painting to sculpture groups; and G. Lippold treats of the original of the type of Serapis, attributed to Bryaxis.

Greek Pottery. By CHARLES DUGAS; translated from the French by W. A. THORPE. Pp. viii + 148, with 88 text illustrations. London: A. and C. Black, 1926. 3s. 6d.

A slight popular introduction to the subject; the name of M. Dugas is guarantee of its general accuracy and reliability. The invention of the red-figure style should not be ascribed so unreservedly to Nikosthenes and Makron should be named as the painter for Hieron; in fact the whole red-figure section suggests a somewhat antiquated point of view, with its characterisations of the 'Big Five' terse and pointed as these are in themselves. The illustrations are well chosen but the reproductions in some cases are inadequate.

Some Questions of Musical Theory. By W. PERRETT. Pp. xiii + 30. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1926. 7s. 6d.

A little book, but containing much good fare for students of Greek music. The writer begins with the statement in Plutarch that Olympos, who flourished in Phrygia about the late seventh century B.C., was the originator of genuine 'Greek and beautiful music,' and concludes that his innovation was the discovery of the new diatonic scale described. The Pythagorean system is thought to have ruined the harmony of the earlier and better period.

Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean. By EDWARD BELL. Pp. xiii + 213, with 2 plates and 78 figures and maps. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1926. 8s. 6d.

One of a series on the origins of Architecture. The author modestly disclaims any pretension to originality, his object being to arrange in order material which has not yet been

incorporated in general histories of architecture. The arrangement has, however, been well done and the field has been exhaustively covered. The sections on Troy may be especially commended as a real help to the understanding of a complicated site. Crete, the Islands and the Mainland, are dealt with in turn: the latter section contains a good account of the somewhat abnormal remains at Gla, which the writer considers a purely military post. The plans and illustrations, drawn from the various publications, are on the whole adequate and the references to the literature are well chosen. Altogether the book should prove of much assistance to students of Aegean civilisation.

Die Griechischen Terracotten. By AUGUST KÖSTER. Pp. 97, with 6 illustrations and 104 plates. Berlin: H. Scholtz & Co., 1926. 20 M.

A book on Greek Terracottas can scarcely fail to have its charm for us, and it is a pleasure to turn over the fine plates in this volume, the subjects of which are mainly drawn from the Berlin Museum. The text gives us a brief but adequate account of the purpose of these figurines, of their manufacture and of the models whence the coroplasts derived their types; then in chronological order follow brief discussions of the styles and periods.

The Migration of Symbols. By DONALD A. MACKENZIE. Pp. xvi + 219, with 16 plates and 53 text illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1926. 12s. 6d.

This is a volume in the 'History of Civilisation' series. Its reception will depend upon the extent to which we are prepared to swallow the author's postulates. Mr. Mackenzie writes as a 'Diffusionist,' believing in the derivation of all culture from some common source: consequently the spiral, the swastika, etc., wherever they occur, 'were not, even to begin with, entirely meaningless.' This view, we are aware, will be acceptable to some; others will not be prejudiced in its favour by the carelessness in detail visible throughout the book; on p. 5 we find Cesnolla for Cesnola, Edmund for Edmond Pottier, Persee for Perse, and *Rech. Archéol.* meaning, we suppose, *Revue Archéologique*; on p. 7, Aryan is twice misspelt, and so on.

Nor will the main argument bring much conviction to sceptics. Mr. Mackenzie devotes pages to the cardinal points in folk-lore, but the connexion with the swastika is hard to see. The Trojan spindle-whorls on Pl. III. prove nothing; swastikas occur there in threes or fives, which is a fair proof that whatever they mean they do not relate to points of the compass; and if four does happen to be the most common number, surely the old theory of an instinct for symmetry in decoration remains a perfectly adequate and natural explanation. With the spiral he is in even worse case, for it remains still more doubtful how far the spiral was a symbol at all. Space forbids more, but we cannot refrain from quoting the 'star-spangled sky-pig' of Pl. IX. We agree that the quadruped looks like a pig and was turned up at Troy, but for the rest of Mr. Mackenzie's suppositions we see no ground whatever.

Sculptures Grecques Antiques. choisies et commentées par HENRI LECHAT. Pp. 207; Pl. 100. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1925.

There have been many works of this kind and they are all useful for the student. Their common defect is that they go so quickly out of date.

Prof. Lechat has accomplished his task admirably and selected for the instruction of the public a hundred plates in which some ninety-one pieces are shown, each with one or two pages of descriptive and critical matter. He has avoided the desire to exhibit extreme novelty but still gives us quite a reasonable number of less popular works, such as the Sunium relief or the Sicilian terracotta in the Ashmolean, or the so-called Theseus and Antiope from Eretria (which has only really been properly published in the last few years). His choice of an Ionic Kore might have been happier than the statue shown in Plate II., for it is badly broken and badly restored, nor can we feel the smallest enthusiasm for the

horrid statue of a poet in Plate XXXIV. In his titles Prof. Lechat suggests some happy innovations: 'Les deux Sœurs' for the Pharsalos relief is vastly better than the rather glucose 'L'Exaltation de la fleur,' and 'Le gagnant de la course' more descriptive than 'L'Aurige de Delphes.'

In his descriptions he errs perhaps on the side of omission of controversy. This is, in a work of this kind, pardonable, but he has in some cases omitted too much. Thus in dealing with the Victory of Paeonios (LXIV.) we are told nothing of Pomtow's most important discovery, that the original was at Delphi and a copy in stone at Olympia. Nor is there any suggestion that the Boston throne may not be of the same date or by the same hand as the Ludovisi throne. In No. XVI., a metope from Selinus, he does not call attention to the very evident defects of composition in this interesting work. His datings are mostly orthodox, but we are surprised to see the Esquiline Venus given so early an origin and that the Venus de Milo is put at the beginning of the fourth century! M. Lechat is happier with his earlier dates and certainly is right in placing the new Sunium relief at 470-460 B.C.

We are surprised at his acceptance of the Lemnia both as the Lemnia and as Pheidias, without any mention of the alternatives; he clings also to the hope that the Eubouleus head is an original of Praxiteles, a hope now mostly abandoned.

The author's pleasant style makes the text most readable and his fondness for coining a phrase is entertaining: 'statue xoanisée' is convenient. But his facile Gallic style is, at times, a little too conventional—as when we read (p. 18) about 'ce type de beauté frêle et douce, modeste et recueillie,' or (in discussing the girl-types of the stelae) (p. 150) 'Les champs Élyséens devaient être le plus aimable séjour, avec de telles habitantes.'

Prof. Lechat has been poorly served by his publisher. Many of the half-tone plates are quite useless for study (such as Nos. 31, 39, 55, 83, 86, 97), and the type used for the text is inartistic and tedious. The binding is so nominal that the volume collapsed into plates in the reviewer's lap after a very short time. That so many of the plates are made from photographs of casts seems most regrettable, more particularly since photographs of the originals are in every case easily obtainable. To such shifts are publishers driven by the exaction of copyright charges.

S. C.

Griechische Staatskunde, Vol. II. By G. BUSOLT and H. SWOBODA. Pp. 633—1590. Munich: Beck, 1926. 48 M. paper; 54 M. bound.

This book and its predecessors constitute 'Division IV., Part I., Vol. I.' of Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* in the revised edition by W. Otto. The previous volume, issued in 1920, gave a general survey of Greek politics; the present work provides a detailed account of the constitutions of Sparta, Athens and the principal federal states. Prof. Busolt, whose untimely death in 1920 prevented him from completing his task, was unfortunately handicapped by lack of access to recent publications outside of Germany; but Prof. Swoboda, who has prepared Busolt's MS. for publication, has filled in most of the gaps, and Ad. Wilhelm has contributed notes which embody the latest results of epigraphic research.

A special feature of the present volume consists in the long historical introductions, which precede and in some cases (e.g. the sections on the two Athenian confederacies) dwarf the constitutional analyses that follow. In general these greatly enhance the value of the book, for without them the mass of constitutional facts and data would be difficult to appreciate. Even so, this work makes rather laborious reading, for Busolt's style is not exactly exhilarating, but every page bears the mark of his patient research and reflection, and the notes are a model of sober controversy.

The following observations of detail may be of use.

Sparta.—Busolt adheres to the old and plainly correct view that helotage was the result of conquest, and that the Perioeci were mainly of the old 'Achaean' stock. He is more adventurous and less convincing in his account of the rise of the ephorate. This, together with the *συνοικισμός* and the institution of the five local tribes, he dates back to c. 750 B.C. and ascribes to Lycurgus. This date may not be too late for the *συνοικισμός*, but the absence of all references to the ephors in Tyrtaeus strongly suggests that they were

as yet of little importance in the seventh century; and if, as Busolt suggests, the sovereignty of the ephorate was the result of a democratic movement, their rise to power had better be synchronised with the growth of tyrannies in other Greek states, *i.e.* 650–550 B.C.

Athens.—This chapter contains some very useful calculations regarding the population and wealth of Attica. The citizen population, so Busolt concludes, declined from the time of the Persian wars, and the slave population rose to 100–150,000, a rather generous estimate; the wealth of the country he fixes by a cogent process of reasoning at c. 7,500 talents in 378–7 B.C. In his description of the administrative machinery the sections on the *βουλή*, the executive, and the financial control are particularly helpful. Busolt rightly combats Aristotle's statements that the *γένη* were official divisions of the entire citizen body, and that *πρόκρισις* for the archonship was introduced by Solon. But with less reason he accepts Aristotle's explanation of the *θεσμοθέται* as court registrars. Did it really require six annual magistrates to record the decisions of the three senior archons? And what did these registrars leave for Draco to do? He also follows accepted tradition in stating that Cleisthenes introduced an 'official year' at variance with the ordinary calendar. But this view, highly improbable in itself, has been gravely compromised by Prof. A. B. West's recent researches (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 1925, p. 3 ff.).

Federations.—A special word of praise is due to the accounts of the Delphic Amphictyony and of the Panhellenic League of 337 B.C. But we need not doubt Thucydides' statement that the first assessment of tribute in the Delian Confederacy amounted to 460 talents. The assessment list may well have included states not yet at that moment in the League (*cf.* the assessment of Melos in the list of 425–4 B.C.). Again, it is difficult to believe that the Achaean League had no regular *ἐκκλησία*. There must at least have been a regular meeting for the election of officials, as in the Aetolian and other Greek confederacies.

One further point for criticism. No index has been provided. But when all is said and done, this is the completest and on the whole the most trustworthy treatise on Greek constitutions.

La Préhistoire Orientale. Par JACQUES DE MORGAN: ouvrage posthume publié par LOTIS GERMAIN. Tome I. Généralités. Pp. xxxvi + 336; numerous illustrations. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925.

This is the first instalment of a projected work covering part of the same ground as *l'Humanité Préhistorique* (1921), but in greater detail and with more special discussions of current controversies. The lamented author regarded this as his masterpiece, and was able to make provision for its completion, when it became clear that he was not to finish it himself. It is intended to draw together all the many lines of work on which he had been engaged during over forty years of strenuous travel, research, and archaeological administration; to show their mutual bearings; and to formulate some general conclusions about the early history of man. 'Prehistory,' for de Morgan, 'is not a period in the life of mankind; it is a stage of intellectual and material development; and this stage has been passed at very different times and places by each human group.' The study of it has been scorned as a 'science des ignorants'; but in spite of lapses common in all branches of research, and quite a number of eccentricities peculiar to its own votaries, de Morgan felt that the time had come to restate its methods and review its principal discoveries. He was in a position which justifies a man in speaking plainly, and he has done so; on questions of method, on certain episodes in the history of discovery, on many problems of archaeology to which he had contributed during a long career. Naturally a good deal that he had written in earlier years comes up for revision now, with no less frankness than the work of other people. The earlier chapters are rather loosely connected with each other, as if the writer were still feeling his way in ill-explored country—as indeed we all are. The discussion of man's physical types rests on no special knowledge, and several preconceptions; but includes some 'conjectures, but not irrational' as their author modestly calls them, which deserve consideration. He regards, for example, the implements from the Trenton gravels as constituting a palaeolithic type peculiar to North America and of New World origin, and those from Lake Baikal as another independent type, of 'Mammoth' age, geologically, but only fortuitously resembling the Mousterian implements of Europe.

The sections dealing with the Ice Age, and the physical conditions of palaeolithic cultures, are more valuable, by reason of de Morgan's special knowledge of North Africa and the Near East, and his wide acquaintance with the principal authorities personally, as well as with their writings. It is instructive to see how his experience of the 'chapter-of-accidents' in the regime of subtropical desert inclined him to appreciate the element of truth in so bold a speculation as that of Rutot on the origin of certain late-glacial deposits through floods of Noachian intensity, and to extend it to explain the 'pluvial' gravels of Tunisia, Mesopotamia, and other southerly regions, and to serve as starting-point for a re-statement of Douvillé's explanation of the discontinuity of the principal areas of upper-palaeolithic culture; and a discussion of the widespread 'flood-myth' among ancient and modern peoples.

From the upper-palaeolithic periods (here called 'archaeolithic') onwards, it is possible to distinguish races, in the physical sense, and also to distinguish cultures, contemporary but different, and to face the problems of 'linguistic palaeontology.' Too often, these three aspects of what is (after all) a single question are studied each as if the other two did not exist. Perhaps de Morgan goes rather far here in the other direction; but at least he has the geographer's habit of mind, and the skill to present the various distributions which he has to discuss, as if he had them superimposed on the same outline map; and this gives unusual vividness to his arguments. To be able, for example, to discount this or that suggested 'home' of a linguistic 'family' on the ground that, as it was all ice (or all waterless) at the period proposed, nobody spoke anything there at all (p. 191), is an obvious simplification of the problem. Literary scholars will naturally read with interest the sympathetic criticism of the legends of various historical peoples about their own origins; for de Morgan regarded these not as myths to be explained away, but rather as traditions to be traced to some previous experience; for him, as for an increasing number of investigators, 'divine' dynasties in Egypt, Vedic gods and heroes, early Iranian geography, Greek 'invaders from the north,' await their turn to be fitted into a larger conception of 'pre-historic' times. Geographers, on the other side, will find the familiar notion of progressive climatic change since the glacial crisis worked out with fresh detail as a factor in the 'repeuplement' to which de Morgan rightly attributed so much importance.

The comparative method necessarily employed to interpret the very one-sided picture of primitive culture presented by the archaeological evidence is illustrated by a more detailed study of the Kamtchadales considered as modern counterpart of the Magdalenian inhabitants of sub-glacial Europe; using as text the little-known work of eighteenth-century Russian travellers, who found Kamtchatka still practically 'in the Stone Age,' but possessed of social institutions and immaterial culture of a fairly elaborate kind.

In another direction, the comparative study of the stone-working technique of different regions and periods leads de Morgan to similar conclusions as to the legitimate interpretation of this kind of evidence as a symptom of general culture; and so to the debatable ground between evolutionist and diffusionist theories, in regard, for example, to the pre-Columbian cultures of the New World. The case for independent origin of pottery, metal-working and other arts is stated with a wealth of detail which is in refreshing contrast with the generalities which are sometimes thought sufficient in such discussions.

De Morgan's last chapter deals with the limits within which it is permissible to apply mathematical and especially astronomical criteria to ancient systems of time-reckoning; and raises the general question as to the methods of time-reckoning which may reasonably be presumed to have been employed in early stages of civilisation. In particular he falls foul of modern German inferences as to the history of early Egypt from allusions to the Sothic festival, as restricting intolerably the time-limits for the growth of Egyptian culture.

It will be seen that this lively and suggestive book must be read, as its lamented author intended, as the preface to a far more extensive examination of the field which it covers so nimbly. It was designed mainly to clear the ground of certain misconceptions, and indicate the writer's own point of view in regard to current controversies. And in this design it has certainly succeeded, whatever doubts it may leave in the mind of the reader, in matters on which he happens himself to have used his own judgment as fearlessly.

L'Humanité Préhistorique; esquisse de préhistoire générale. Par JACQUES DE MORGAN. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité. II.] 8vo. Pp. xxii + 330, with numerous illustrations in the text. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1921. Fr. 15.

The series to which this volume belongs is the counterpart of an English series, 'The History of Civilisation,' in which de Morgan's contribution is translated under the title 'Prehistoric Man' (1924). It takes up the story at the point where man appears on the scene as a 'tool-using animal,' and traces the development of his material culture down to certain points at which documentary evidence for historic events becomes available. A preliminary chapter dealing with geographical and especially climatic considerations, limiting the scene of man's earlier experiences, is followed by a summary of the 'evolution of industries' in Europe and the Near East down to the Early Iron Age, which is a remarkable feat of lucid compression, illustrated by a large number of typical implements almost all from the author's own drawings. Its most valuable feature is the attempt to correlate periods and styles over so wide a region, in the light of de Morgan's own exceptionally varied experience, and special knowledge of early Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia: its weakest point is an ethnological background, oftener implied than described, in which terms such as 'Celts' and 'Ligures' are used in special senses which may not be familiar to foreign readers, or even acceptable to all French ones.

The second half of the book consists of more special studies: (1) of the manipulation of hard stones, an art which has an accidental prominence in prehistoric archaeology, and an exceptionally early elaboration in the Nile valley; (2) of primitive dwellings; (3) the arts of hunting, fishing, and domestications of animals and plants; (4) dress and ornament; (5) representative and decorative art; (6) religious beliefs, including funerary ritual; and (7) the *figuration de la pensée* by means of symbols and scripts. Finally, there is a discussion of the relations between prehistoric peoples, economic and political, which supplements the account of the various schools of art, and other regional distributions, by an attempt to show what avenues of intercourse were open, and the extent to which commodities such as amber and turquoise were transported. On this difficult topic de Morgan's conclusions are commendably cautious, especially in regard to some recent speculations as to early intercourse with the Far East. He has, however, some bold conjectures of his own in regard to the causes of the very wide distribution of some of the earliest techniques of implement-making; and even some assumptions as to the facts—for example, as to the general occurrence of palaeolithic techniques in North America—which are not admitted by everybody. It is, however, probably by accident that the map on p. 296 is upside-down. From a man of de Morgan's great experience and vigorous originality, even conjectures which he frankly presents as provisional have a suggestiveness of their own; and this summary of the matured outlook of such a mind is welcome.

J. L. M.

Das Asylwesen Aegyptens in der Ptolemaerzeit. By F. VON WOESS. Pp. xii + 282. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1923.

The main subject of this work is the right of asylum enjoyed by the Egyptian temples. The whole evidence relating to this subject which is afforded by the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, and also by inscriptions, is collected and analysed. It may be remarked that the formula occurring in some of the inscriptions, $\hat{\omega}\ \mu\eta\ \pi\acute{\rho}\gamma\mu\alpha\ \mu\eta\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, is the exact equivalent of our familiar modern formula 'No admittance except on business,' though used in a different connexion. It is shown that in the earlier part of the Ptolemaic period only a few of the most important temples had the right of asylum, but afterwards the number of temples possessing this privilege was enormously increased, so that there might even be several of them in one village. For the Roman period the evidence is scanty, but it would seem that the privileges which had been conceded to the temples under the weak government of the later Ptolemies were restricted by the Romans.

Some of the questions dealt with in v. Woess's book have since been further discussed by other writers. Wilcken in his *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* rightly rejects the theory of

v. Woess that the *κάτοχοι* of the Serapeum were refugees in asylum, a theory which represented a sort of half-way house between Wilcken's own view and that of Sethe. The *κάτοχοι* are found only in the temple of Serapis, whereas the right of asylum was shared by the temples of different divinities. Wilcken also attempts to prove that all persons described as *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* were the children of soldiers, in opposition to v. Woess's view that this designation was applied not only to the children of soldiers but even to their remote descendants. Angelo Segrè, in an article in *Aegyptus*, iii. 143 ff., disagrees with v. Woess's views about the *ἐπιγονή*, and propounds some theories of his own which have no appearance of probability.

The peculiar status of the *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* is discussed by F. Pringsheim in an article in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung*, xlv. Rom. 396-526. He regards v. Woess's explanation of the nature and origin of this peculiar status, namely, that the Persians on account of their profanation of the Egyptian temples were excluded from the right of asylum, as inadequate. The present writer in an article in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vii., 175 ff., has endeavoured to show that in the Roman period the designation *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* is a legal fiction. (This had already been suggested by P. M. Meyer, in an article which I have not seen, but which is quoted by Pringsheim.) Pringsheim leaves the question undecided. It is certain that in the Roman period persons are described as *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* only for the purpose of enforcing their liability to personal execution. Pringsheim says that the same rule applies in the Ptolemaic period. But in fact it does not apply at all to the earlier part of that period; in the later part of the Ptolemaic period there are only a few exceptions to it, in the Roman period there are no exceptions. We may distinguish the following stages: (1) At the time of the Macedonian conquest the Persians were clearly distinguished from both Greeks and Egyptians. (2) Under the early Ptolemies the Persians in Egypt adopted the language, customs, and religion of the Greeks, and gave their children Greek names. (3) The regiments in the Ptolemaic army, which had originally consisted of Persians, were afterwards recruited mainly from the native Egyptians, and thus there was formed a large class of Egyptian pseudo-Persians; but this involved the anomaly that the children of these pseudo-Persian soldiers, as *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, were in a worse position, as regards their liability to personal execution, than the other Egyptians. This may have led to the concession that the law should only be enforced when the 'Persian' had been expressly described as such in the contract; and in other circumstances it became usual for the designation *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* to be omitted as superfluous. (4) When once the principle had been established that *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* should be described as such only when it was desired to make them *ἀγώγιοι*, this would naturally lead to the practice of describing debtors in contracts as *Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* whether they really were so or not. (5) In the Roman period, when there were no longer any Persian soldiers, and it must have been in practice impossible to ascertain who were and who were not descended from the Persian soldiers of the Ptolemaic period, the designation *Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς* no longer had any meaning except for the purpose of the legal fiction. (6) About A.D. 161 the law regarding the peculiar status of the Persians appears to have been abrogated, since after that date there is no further mention of them in the documents.

J. G. T.

Artemis und Iphigenie; Marmorgruppe der Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek.

By FR. STUDNICZKA. Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. xxxvii, no. 5. Pp. viii — 160, with 4 plates and 102 figures in the text. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1926.

The subject of this monograph is the group in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek (No. 83 in the 1907 handbook) which Professor Studniczka has reconstituted from the fragments discovered in the Horti Sallustiorum during the excavations of 1886 and transported that same year to Copenhagen. The torsos of Artemis and Iphigeneia remained side by side until 1892, when Jacobsen identified them as belonging to one group. This statement was attacked by Furtwängler (*Meisterw.* p. 558, n. 4), who, while deriving the Artemis from the Praxitelean type of the Artemis of Antikyra, as illustrated by the Diane de Versailles,

alleged that the smaller torso was quite different and 'ganz pergamenisch' in style: he afterwards changed his mind and put the whole group in the late Hellenistic period, the Artemis then becoming a later variant of a Praxitelean original. This is also the view of Lippold (*Kopien u. Umbildungen*, p. 31). Professor Studniczka himself finds his judgment paralysed by the conflicting evidence of the innumerable parallels that his vast knowledge of the material has enabled him to adduce; in various connexions he finds analogies with the Mausoleum frieze, the Niobid group in Florence, the Subiaco youth (which, incidentally, Brizio connected with the Niobid Chiaramonti: see *Ausonia*, i. 1906, p. 21), the Scopaeic Maenad in Dresden, and for details of Artemis' dress and the head of the hind, with Apulian vases in London, Munich, and Naples. But if Professor Studniczka 'bescheidet sich künstlerisch mit vollem Nichtwissen und fürchtet, dass uns nur irgend ein Glücksfall heraushelfen kann,' we have nothing but gratitude for the wealth of material he has collected here in so attractive and convenient a form.

Le Terrecotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. By ALDA LEVI. Pp. 216. 14 plates and 150 cuts. Florence: Vallecchi, 1925.

The collection of terra-cottas in the Naples Museum includes examples from most of the ancient sites in Southern Italy, as well as a few from Sicily. Those best represented are: in Campania, Capua, Cumae, and of course Pompeii; in Apulia, Canosa, Egnazia, Locri, Ruvo, and Taranto. The catalogue therefore forms a very valuable survey of the products of this region in terra-cotta, and its contents may be profitably compared with those of the British Museum collection, for instance, which in some respects is a good deal richer than Naples. The Pompeian terra-cottas were for the most part already known from Von Rohden's fine publication; they and the large ornamental vases from Canosa are the most interesting features of the collection, but there are also some minor objects of interest, such as the archaic reliefs from Locri, or the 'Melian' relief illustrated on p. 81 (Fig. 68 = No. 336), which is interesting as having been found at Ruvo. There is one in the British Museum from the same mould (D 375, found at Alexandria). The Catalogue is carefully compiled and well illustrated, and will be heartily welcomed by all students of the subject.

Sardis. Vol. II. Architecture. Part I. The Temple of Artemis. By HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER. Pp. xiv + 146, with 3 plates and 135 illustrations. Also an Atlas of 19 plates. Leyden: late E. J. Brill. Ltd., 1925.

This text-volume and atlas of the publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis are the work of the late Howard Crosby Butler, though death unhappily prevented its revision in type by the author, and some additional details have been contributed by others.

The visible remains of the great temple of Artemis (such is now known to be its name) had been reduced before the beginning of the American excavations to two Ionic columns standing erect. The not distant Acropolis of Sardis is composed of hard clay, which is brought down into the plain by every winter's rain, and which had buried the temple to a depth of half the height of the shafts. In the seventeenth century six columns and two antae walls were still standing, but destruction was active above the surface level, especially, it would seem, in the first years of the nineteenth century.

Excavation, however, revealed that while at the west end the temple plan was indicated by little beyond foundations, at the east end the shafts were preserved to a height of some twenty-five feet, and the antae walls to nearly fifteen feet. An impressive building has been recovered, of the Ionic order and octastyle pseudo-dipteral in plan. That is to say, it has the flanking colonnades (each of twenty columns) placed at such a distance from the cella walls that there is space for non-existent second lines of columns.

Both in respect of architecture and history there is an interesting parallelism with the Artemision at Ephesus. In each there is an older building as a nucleus, and perhaps in both cases they date from the reign of Croesus. At Sardis this was probably destroyed in

the sack and burning of the city in 499 B.C. The later temple would seem to have been building during the second half of the fifth century, and in part also during the fourth, third and even second centuries. Some rebuilding was also undertaken during the first century of the Empire.

The external columns of the east end consist of unfluted drums. The flutings have been prepared for, but were never carried out. At the west end they would seem to have been finished. Two columns, centrally placed, immediately behind the two middle columns of the east part are completely fluted, and these are raised up on massive square piers. The bossy projecting stones were evidently intended to be sculptured, and must necessarily be taken into account in any further discussion of the Ephesian problem.

The stiff clay deposit served as an admirable preservative for decorative details, in which the temple is both rich and original. There is a remarkable series of carved torus mouldings from the column bases. In one example, by a rare exception in classical architecture, the leaves run horizontally, and are pointed; but they have been worked up with the use of a borer into crisply modelled oak leaves, on the faces of some of which are carved, not only acorns, but little animals of various sorts, lizards, scorpions, snails, slugs, etc., so deftly executed that one may look at the carving for some time without observing them.

The Ionic capitals are unique, with a decoration between the volutes of running acanthus scrolls, finely undercut.

All these details are worked out with scrupulous care, and the volume concludes with an important and original series of comparative diagrams of the development of the Ionic caps, bases and Lesbian leaf-mouldings.

A. H. S.

Catalogue of the Greek MSS. in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notices from other Libraries. By SPYRIDON of the Laura, Monk and Physician, and SOPHRONIOS EUSTRATIADIS, formerly Archbishop of Leontopolis. Harvard Theological Studies, xii. Cambridge, Mass.; Paris: Éd. Champion; London: H. Milford. 1925. Pp. 8' — 315. £5. 5s.

The task begun by Lambros is finished. Last year (Vol. xlv. p. 155) we noticed the Catalogue of Vatopedi; now comes the even greater Catalogue of the Laura, 2000 MSS., printed by the munificence of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. The general reflections it suggests are much the same, but on the whole the books are less interesting. Its genesis is quite romantic: Archbishop Sophronios, falling ill and being treated by Spyridon, the learned physician of the Laura, used his opportunities as a patient to whisper into his ear persuasions that he should make a catalogue of the monastery MSS. This catalogue, based on that prepared in the last generation by the monk Chrysostomos, was sent to him in France to be put into shape for publication. The procedure seems unsatisfactory, as, though many points were referred back to the compiler, they could not be settled with the same certainty as if Sophronios had had the MSS. under his expert eye. This is particularly true of the difficult matter of dating: the centuries assigned do not inspire confidence. The catalogue does not inform us whether a MS. is in uncials or minuscules: Nos. 86 and 92, for instance, are in uncials, necessarily, or they would not be put down to the eighth century, but Kondakov in his book on Athos (p. 282) ascribes 86 to the eleventh century, though he says it looks like tenth, and illustrates 92, which he calls tenth: so No. 97, here put down to the ninth century, is ascribed by him to the twelfth. This last had an interesting history, having been presented to the Laura by John Matthew Bakara, Voivode of Ungrovlachia, and his wife the Lady (Domna) Helen in 1643. No. 111, gospels of the eleventh century, is likewise interesting both for its donor, Irene Palaeologissa, and for its pictures and calligraphy, but on the whole the illuminated MSS. do not seem to amount to much, though of course a Western Library would be proud of almost any of them. Nor are the palimpsests important, though two are put down to the fifth century, No. 908 with hymns to the Trinity and No. 1269 (misprinted in the index 1969). Indeed I have noticed several misprints in the index, and one in the Introduction rather hurts the *amour propre* of our older Cambridge—the Lambros catalogue is given as printed *Cantuariae*. Happily the MSS. bear their own numbers as well as those assigned in the catalogue.

Besides the MSS. in the Library of the Laura, we have enumerated those ἐν τῷ καθολικῷ, and further MSS. in those of other monasteries, Iveron, Pantocrator and Stavronikita, passed over by Lambros: also full descriptions of two belonging to Archbishop Sophronios, one of which gives him occasion to print letters and a dialogue of Theophanes Medeias: so ὁ παχὺς πέπλος ὁ περιβάλλων τὴν προσωπικότητα αὐτοῦ . . . διαλύεται for such of us as have occasion to learn about him.

A second appendix consists of an alphabetical list of all the Church musical writers whose works are found in the MSS. of the Laura, Vatopedi, the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the Ambrosian at Milan and that of the monastery τῶν Βλατέων at Thessalonica. Some songs are in the popular language.

There are the usual indexes of authors, etc., writers, owners, donors of MSS., MSS. with miniatures, interesting additions or notes, palimpsest leaves, and dates, and of Hegumenoi of the Laura. About a quarter of the whole number of books have dates, five in the tenth century, ten in the eleventh, one in the twelfth and five in the thirteenth: nearly 50 in the fourteenth, over 60 in the next two, hundreds in the seventeenth and eighteenth (but Callinicos wrote eight books in five years), 65 in the nineteenth and two in the twentieth; the last is written in 1911, ἐπὶ καλλιγράφῳ Γερασίμῳ, who finishes up with three wonderful elegiac couplets asking for prayers. How interesting it would be if someone had timed him at work and established how long it took to write a page.

But I don't see one classical MS. of the slightest importance.

E. H. M.

The Byzantine Empire. By NORMAN H. BAYNES. Pp. 256. Home University Library. London: Williams & Norgate, 1925.

For years past we knew that Mr. Baynes was reading everything that appeared in every language upon Byzance, and contributing to learned journals learned articles on special points, now we know that he can bring all this information into wonderfully narrow compass and set it out so that anyone may understand. Here we have not a history of the Byzantine Empire but a view of it, or rather views of every department of its life taken at three different periods. There is a chronological summary, but it is hardly more than a table of Emperors: we should like a fuller one till we see it to mean cutting short some later chapter, and of these we can spare nothing. For anyone for whom the Byzantine Empire has been a great fact against which he is always coming up, but which he has never had opportunity to study for itself, a clear summary of the State theory, of the organisation of Church, economics, law, administration and war, is most illuminating. The chapter on Art is sadly bereft without illustrations; we will hope that it will send readers to Mr. Dalton's new book: but the chapter on relations with the Slavs touches things still of vital importance to Europe. There is an admirably selected bibliography. The book is not brought down later than the fatal fourth crusade.

E. H. M.

The Art of Greece. By E. A. GARDNER. Pp. viii — 54, with 56 plates. London: 'The Studio,' 1925. 10s. 6d.

A picture-book for the amateur, filled with beautiful things and interspersed with short essays on Greek architecture, sculpture, pottery and painting and the like. We all have our favourite pieces which we should like included in a collection of this kind, but there will be few to quarrel with Prof. Gardner's choice, which happily blends old and tried favourites with works possessing the charm of novelty, such as the fine new Praxitelean bust in the British Museum. The only point we would criticise is the restriction of the illustrations of Greek painting to vase paintings; a Cretan fresco or even a Pompeian wall painting would have filled a lacuna. Particularly pleasing are the four plates of coins and gems, well spaced and clearly reproduced, and the plates on architecture, with their hints of the Greek countryside.

Les Céréales dans L'Antiquité Grecque. I. La Production. By AUGUSTE JARDÉ. Pp. xvi + 237. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1925.

A detailed study of the production of cereals in ancient Greece. The importance of the corn-supply as a factor in shaping the external history of Greece has long been recognised, and the present work is designed as part of a larger study of the relations between politics and agriculture.

M. Jardé discusses at length crops and fertilisers, acreages and harvests. For such a study, as he frankly reminds us, statistics and figures are almost entirely wanting; and he confesses to a feeling of disappointment at the small measure of certainty attainable. Yet we lay the book down with a clear and no doubt a perfectly correct impression of 'an agriculture limited in its resources and still more limited in its results,' of broad lands lying fallow through ignorance of chemical fertilisers and lack of live-stock, a consequence of the deficiency of pasturage in Greece; and a complete absence of intensive culture, or of progress in scientific farming throughout the whole of antiquity. Specialised as the book is, it is full of homely sidelights on social and economic Greece; we shall await with eagerness the concluding part.

Die Kunst des Altertums. By A. VON SALIS. Pp. 128, with 5 plates and 188 text illustrations. Potsdam Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1926.

This is the first volume of a popular series entitled the Six Books of Art, the remaining volumes dealing respectively with Oriental, Mediaeval, Renaissance, Barocco and Modern Art. There is no attempt at historical treatment, but instead a comparative study of material or political conditions, national characteristics, etc., as reflected in the development of ancient art. The author's desire to cover so wide a field leads to a compression of style which presupposes almost specialist knowledge on the part of the reader. The illustrations, though chosen somewhat haphazardly, are not stinted.

Aegean Civilisations. Edited by Sir HENRY LUNN. Pp. 258. London: Ernest Benn, 1925.

A reprint of lectures delivered during the cruises of the Hellenic Travellers' Club in the years 1910-1912. Much water has passed under the bridge even during the few years since these lectures were delivered, but they will recall the old days to members of the cruises.

An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy, with an Adaptation of the Poetics and a Translation of the 'Tractatus Coislinianus.' By LANE COOPER, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Cornell University. Pp. xxi + 323. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1924.

This book, which, as we gather from the Preface, is intended primarily for the general student of literature and only incidentally for classical scholars, may be described as an attempt to recover and reconstruct Aristotle's views on Comedy, the reconstruction being based, firstly, upon everything relevant that the author 'could find in Aristotle, in his teacher Plato, or in his successors, that might aid us in reconstructing his views on comedy,' and, secondly, upon the so-called *Tractatus Coislinianus*, which Mr. Lane Cooper, without dogmatising about its provenience, considers himself justified in treating 'as a part of the Aristotelian tradition.'

The Introduction, pp. 1-165, divided into fifteen chapters of varying length, discusses in a pleasantly open-minded fashion a number of topics connected with ancient views, Greek and Roman, regarding Comedy and Laughter. In particular, Chapter II., 'A Lost Aristotelian Discussion of Comedy,' discusses the question whether Aristotle ever dealt

systematically with the subject of Comedy, in a Book II of the *Poetics* or elsewhere. In the existing *Poetics*, c. 6. 1449^b 2, *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἐξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς καὶ περὶ κωμωδίας ἕστερον ἐροῦμεν, περὶ δὲ τραγῳδίας λέγωμεν* seems to suggest that a discussion of Comedy formed the theme of a later portion of that treatise. Again, *Rhet.* I. c. 11. 29, we read *διώρισται δὲ περὶ γελοίων χωρὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς*. *Rhet.* III. 18. 7, *εἴρηται πόσα εἶδη γελοίων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς*. And while Diog. V. 26 has *Ποιητικὰ α'*, an anonymous Life gives *τέχνης ποιητικῆς β'*. The author's conclusion is that 'the *Poetics* once included an explicit inquiry into the sources of comic effect—something analogous to, or possibly in essentials identical with, the analysis of the sources of laughter in the *Tractatus Coislinianus*' (p. 8). Chapter III. deals with the *Tract. Coisl.*, first published by Cramer in 1839 (*Anecd. Par.* I. 403–6) from a manuscript of the tenth century in the De Coislin collection at Paris. In Mr. Lane Cooper's opinion, 'among the vestiges of a theory of comedy that have come down to us in the Greek tradition (aside from the *Poetics* of Aristotle and the *Philebus* of Plato) it is, not merely for historical purposes, but in itself, by far the most important' (p. 11). He thinks that when all concessions are made 'there remain certain elements in it that, we may contend, preserve, if not an original Aristotelian, at all events an early Peripatetic tradition' (p. 13). Chapter V. argues against the notion that Aristotle did not adequately appreciate the genius of Aristophanes. 'The Effect of Comedy' (Chap. IX.), 'Aristotle and Plato on Comedy' (Chap. X.) are among the other topics discussed.

The central portion of the book, pp. 166–223, is entitled 'The Poetics of Aristotle applied to Comedy,' and is described as 'A theory of comedy derived from what Aristotle says of this form of art, or inferred from what he says of other forms, in his *Poetics*; with additional comments, and illustrations from various sources.' The method of procedure is to give a free rendering or paraphrase, chapter by chapter, of the *Poetics*, substituting, wherever possible, the word 'comedy' for the word 'tragedy.' Direct references to comedy in the *Poetics* 'are printed in bold-face types'; and the reader's perplexities are still further complicated by explanatory additions and illustrations which are enclosed in square brackets.

Next, pp. 224–226, we have a translation of the Tractate, followed by a chapter, pp. 227–286, in which the Tractate is amplified and illustrated, the translation being here repeated 'with interlarded comment and illustration' (p. 227). Pp. 287–289 are occupied with a translation of (part of) John Tzetzes' treatise on Comedy. An Appendix discusses 'The Fifth Form of Discovery in the Poetics'—'Discovery' being the author's rendering of Aristotle's *ἀναγνώρισις*.

The book contains much that is interesting and, if it also contains a good deal that is debatable, it is singularly candid and free from dogmatism. The most valuable portion of the book is perhaps the amplified and illustrated version of the *Tractatus Coislinianus*. But as a whole the volume should be found very useful by the general student of literature who happens to be interested in theories of Comedy.

It should be added that the book is prefaced by an excellent Bibliography and concludes with a good Index.

A. W. M.

The Poets of the Greek Anthology. Translated by F. A. WRIGHT. With Biographical and Critical Prefaces. Pp. v + 260. Broadway Translations. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1924.

Mr. Wright, who is already well and favourably known for his work in connexion with the later phases of Greek literature, has in this charming and attractive volume done a real service to students of Greek poetry. We are only too apt to think of the Greek Anthology as a unity; we little heed whether the title of an epigram is *Λεωνίδα Ταπαιτίου* or *Ἀντιπάτρου Σιδωνίου*: and seldom indeed do we trouble to inquire what manner of men or how circumstanced were the writers of particular epigrams. At the best, it must be confessed, the poets and poetesses of the Anthology are a somewhat ghostly company. Mr. Wright has done all that could be done to make the shadowy figures real.

He has done it, too, with admirable taste and temper, and no one will read his pages without a livelier and more intelligent interest in the Greek Anthology.

Mr. Wright's book falls into the following divisions: 1. The Alexandrians—Asclepiades of Samos, Leonidas of Tarentum, Callimachus. 2. The Women Poets. 3. The Syrians—Antipater, Meleager, Philodemus the Epicurean. 4. Greeks of the Empire—Crinagoras, Marcus Argentarius, etc. 5. The Byzantines—Palladas of Alexandria, Paul the Silentiary, Agathias and the *Cycle*. There is a short but useful Bibliography.

The work of the various contributors to the Anthology is copiously illustrated by renderings in English verse. In this most difficult art Mr. Wright has attained a large measure of success, especially in view of the range and number of his translations. For even to render a single selected epigram in a manner to satisfy at once the demands of accurate scholarship and the taste of the general reader is a well-nigh impossible task. It is a dictum of Mr. Wright (p. 173) that 'every man deserves to be judged upon his best, not upon his worst.' It would be hazardous and invidious for a reviewer to make a nice discrimination of excellence, but perhaps a fair average specimen would be the rendering of A.P. vii. 173:

At night the cattle homeward came
Untended through the driving snow
In eager haste to leave the hill
And reach the byre below.
But ah! their herdsman came not home;
Asleep beneath the oak he lay,
A lightning-bolt from heaven fell
And stole his life away.

This example illustrates one difficulty which constantly confronts the translator of Greek or Latin poetry into English verse. Whatever metre one may adopt, the translator is sure to find that the Greek will not square exactly with the English, and that either he must add something or omit something, or, if he does neither, his rendering is apt to suggest too obviously the handiwork of Procrustes. In the Epigram in question the Greek has 4 lines, 27 words; the English has 8 lines, 47 words. This suggests that the proper length for the English would have been 6 lines, but the metre chosen made it almost inevitable that the English should run to 8 lines. Hence Mr. Wright is driven to insert 'in eager haste.' Curiously enough, another verse rendering which lies before me, for exactly similar reasons, inserts the words 'wandering slow.' It might have been better to have sacrificed something to brevity, and we suggest something like this:

Home from the hill the cattle came at even
Unherded through the snowfall drifting deep:
Under a thunder-smitten oak their herdsman
Sleeps the unending sleep.

But these are debatable matters. It is high praise to say that Mr. Wright's renderings, whether from the point of view of accuracy or considered as independent verses, will be read always without serious offence and often with admiration.

A. W. M.

Sophocles, Tome ii. Texte établi et traduit par PAUL MASQUERAY, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. Pp. 250 = 500. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924.

The plays contained in this second part of M. Paul Masqueray's *Sophocles* are the *Trachiniae*, *Philoctetes*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, and the *Ichneutae*. With regard to the first three of these, so much has been written and the problems presented by them have been so fully discussed by previous scholars that it was hardly to be expected that the volume should contain anything startlingly original or new either in regard to the constitution of the text or in the way of interpretation. Nor, indeed, is it the primary function of such a series as the Budé to provide a field for the display of the novel or adventurous.

The text appears to us a sound one, and, very properly, it is conservative in tendency—perhaps more so than either Jebb or Pearson (hereinafter referred to as I. and P. respectively). The translation for the most part is, as we should expect from M. Masqueray, correct and scholarly.

Taking the plays in order we note a few points which may be of interest. *Trachiniae* (dated by M. Masqueray after the *H.F.* of Euripides, between 420—410 B.C.). v. 84 M. omits: I. and P. bracket. vv. 88—9 M. retains (with *εἶα*), as does I.: P. brackets. 123 M. reads *αἰδοῖα* with I. and P. We dislike *αἰδοῖα* and think *ἀδεῖα* (nom. sing.) defensible. 132 ff. M. renders: 'La Nuit constellée ne reste pas immuable pour les mortels, ni les Destins (M. *Κῆρες*: *κῆρες* I. and P.) ennemis, ni la richesse, au contraire la joie, la pauvreté s'en va, revient.' This needlessly perverts, or at any rate obscures, the sense, which is rightly explained by I. 143, *μήτ' ἐκμάθοις παθοῖσα*. *ἴν δ' ἄπειρος εἶ*—M. with I. and P. But surely *ἴν δ'* (for *ἴν τ'*) is merely impossible. 220, *ὑποστρέφων* M. and I., rightly: *ἐπιστρέφων* (from his own conjecture) P. What sense *ἐπιστρέφων* could bear here we do not know, nor is any illumination to be derived from the reference to v. 1182. 323, *δοῖσει* M.: *δοῖσει* (after Wakefield) I. and P. It is by no means clear that the emendation is an improvement. 331, *λάβου* M. and P., rightly: *λάβῃ* (after Blaydes) I. 362, M. with I. keeps the text *τὴν ταίτης—πατέρα*, and this is confirmed by P. Oxyr. 1805, second century (*Oecyrrh. Pap.*, Vol. xv. 1922). 422, *παρών* M. and P., rightly: *πάρῃ* (after Bothe) I. 554, *λύπημα* M. (rendering 'comment il peut être remédié à mon malheur, mes amies, c'est ce que je vais vous dire'): *λώφημα* conj. I., read also by P. 660 ff., *πανίμερος . . . συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ πραφάσει* (*sic*) *θηρός* M.: *πανίμερος . . . συγκραθεῖς ἐπὶ προφάσει φάρους* I.: *πανάμερος . . . συντακεῖς θηρός ὑπο παραφάσει* P. 675, M. keeps MSS., putting comma after *ὀργήτ'*. 904, *γένουτ' ἐρήμη* (with MSS.) M. and P.: *γένουτ' ἔρημοι* I. (after Nauck). 911, *καὶ τὰς ἀπαιδὰς ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν οὐσίας* MSS. is kept by M., who renders: 'se désolant hautement sur sa propre destinée et sur celle de sa maison désormais privée d'enfants légitimes.' We do not think that there is any valid objection to the MSS. reading. I.'s *καὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν οὐσίας* is ingenious but improbable, while *τὰς ἀπαιδὰς . . . οὐκίας* (read by P.) is impossible in any pertinent sense. 1062, *γυνὴ δέ, θῆλυς οὔσα κοῖκ ἄνδρὸς φύσιν* M. with MSS.: *φύσα . . . φύσιν* I.: *οὔσα . . . φύσιν* P. It is difficult to believe that any of the three is the true text. Is it too bold to suggest *θῆλυς οὔσα κῶναιδρος φύσιν*? 1160, *τῶν ἐμπνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὑπο* M. and I. for MSS. *πρὸς τῶν πνεύντων* (which we believe to be quite sound): *πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων . . . ποτέ* P.

Philoctetes. v. 23, *χωρὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε γ'* M.: *χωρὸν τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδ' ἔτ'* I. P. seems clearly right in keeping the MSS. *πρὸς αὐτὸν*. 66, M. keeps MSS. 186, *βαρεῖ· ἃ δ' ἀθρόοστομος* M. 190, *οἰμωγᾶς ἐπὶ οὐκείται* M. with MSS., which seems preferable to *οἰμωγαῖς ὑπακούει* I. (after Auratus) or *οἰμωγᾶς ὑπο χεῖται* P. (after Erfurdt). 220, M. reads *ναυτίλῳ πλάτῃ* with *ποίας ἂν ἡμᾶς πατρίδος* in 222. 228, *καλούμενον* M. (with MSS.), taking it as middle: 'ayez pitié d'un être malheureux, seul, abandonné comme vous voyez, sans soutien; il vous en prie, partez-lui, si c'est en amis,' etc. 272, *πέτρω* M. 324, *θυμὸν γένοιτο χειρὶ* M. with I. and P., which seems a needless alteration of the MSS. *θυμῷ γένοιτο χεῖρα*, which gives a perfectly good sense if *πληρώσαι* is taken as = equip (as e.g. Eur. *H.F.* 373). 426, *οἶμοι, δὲ αὐτὸν τῷδ' ἐξέδειξας* M. The MSS. variants seem to point to *δὲ αὐτὸν δεινὸν ἔλεξας*. 1360 f., *κακοῖς* M. with I. and P. M. renders: 'Ceux dont l'intelligence se met une fois à enfanter des crimes ne tardent pas à devenir en tout des criminels,' and in a note he explains: 'Entendez que l'avenir, à cause du passé, reste menaçant pour lui et que ceux qui l'ont une fois trompé pourront le tromper encore.'

Oedipus Coloneus. 563, *χρὸς τις* M., rendering: 'et qu'autant que personne j'ai lutté sur une terre étrangère.' 637, *ἐμπαλιν* M. retains and translates: 'Au contraire, je lui assurerai un asile dans la contrée.' 1227, *κεῖθεν ὅθεν* M. and I., rightly: *κεῖσ' ὅπόθεν* P. 1230, M. keeps *τίς πλάγχθη πολίμοχθος ἔξω*; rendering 'Quand on a dépassé la jeunesse . . . qui parvient jamais, courbé sous l'affliction, à s'en délivrer?' which seems frankly impossible.

Special interest attaches to the *Ichneutae*, which is treated with the caution which its mutilated condition requires. We can notice only a few points. 157, *κ[ι]εδέξατο*. M. renders: 'cet or que Phoitos vous a promis, qu'il a fait miroiter devant vous.' This

seems to be meant as a translation not of ἀνεδέξατο but of ἀνεδείξατο. 162, κλαίοιτες αὐτῇ δειλία ψοφίσετε. M. renders: 'votre couardise vous fera verser des larmes bruyantes,' which quite misses the idiomatic significance of αὐτῇ δειλία. 168, ἀλλ' εἴ ἀφίστω M. We prefer ἐφίστω. 219, ἱμῖν ὅς αἰεὶ νεβρίῃ καθημμένος. M. renders: 'qui portait toujours, attachée par vous à son épaule, la peau d'un faon.' But ἱμῖν is not 'par vous.' 272 [ἄπαν]στος M. (after Pearson). We suggest ἀπληστος. 360, [ο]ὐκ ἐκ θεῶν τὰ μῶρα καὶ γέλοια χρῆ| [χ]ανόντα κλαίειν ἰστέρω; ἐγὼ λέγω. M. renders: 'Ne sais-tu pas que le sot qui s'amuse aujourd'hui aux railleries et aux farces, les dieux le feront pleurer demain? C'est moi qui te le dis.' Obviously there should be no point of interrogation after ἰστέρω. Moreover, we should prefer to take ἐκ θεῶν = 'at the expense of the gods' and not with κλαίειν.

Altogether the volume is a worthy addition to the attractive series to which it belongs, and deserves a welcome from all scholars who have the interests of Greek literature at heart.

A. W. M.

Die Meister des Grossen Frieses von Pergamon. VON W. H. SCHUCHARDT.
Pp. 74. Plates 34, and 21 illustrations in the text. Berlin and Leipzig, 1925.

The frieze of the great altar at Pergamon was perhaps planned in the spirit of Aeschylean tragedy. But its artists lacked the restraint which would enable them to carry out their high purpose, and their most profound achievements border upon either bathos or megalomania. And yet the whole composition is profoundly interesting. Well-known types half emerge from the riot of figures; styles and mannerisms such as we see in the works of Damophon and other of the mainland sculptors of the later days show themselves in the rush and turmoil of this mighty struggle. What strange inspired band of artists achieved this un-Greek masterpiece of baroque art whose un-Greek qualities hold no element of any known barbaric style? who were these men Theorretos, Orestes, and the others who combined in style to produce this triumph of hag-ridden imagination?

Dr. Schuchardt finds little consolation in the one complete and three fragmentary artists' signatures. Other epigraphical remains enable him to postulate in all some twelve artists, which he declares to be a minimum. But these men sink their personality into one level of uninspired but painstaking achievement. Nor, the author thinks, is there one predominant master-mind among the artists—the position given by some to (Menekr)ates. He prefers rather to think that the work was achieved from a model under the rather incompetent direction of a leader, perhaps the architect, who did not select artists of equal merit. These artists strove, one with another, to create the greatest effect as though competing in the presence of the monarch who employed them. There is something of the strain and nervous tension of the race-course in the way in which they strive together both against each other and for a common goal.

Dr. Schuchardt's principle of analysis is naturally stylistic. He isolates groups and themes and finds the guiding hand in each. His method is of necessity subjective, but in the best sense of the term. His judgments convince. The gradual differentiation of artists who worked upon the sculptures is achieved without strain, and his conclusions are of great importance. But there still remains the unsolved problem of the original inspiration, of the artist who created the model or of the mind that planned the whole composition. Of this only a further study of contemporary sculpture will give any further account.

S. C.

Euripide, Tome iii. Texte établi et traduit par LÉON PARMENTIER, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, et HENRI GRÉGOIRE, Professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles.
Pp. iv + 247 = 494. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1923.

The plays contained in this volume of the Budé Euripides—*Hercules Furens*, *Suppliants*, *Ion*—form a particularly interesting group, and the translators—M. Parmentier being responsible for the *Hercules*, M. Grégoire for the other two plays—have succeeded in presenting them in a scholarly and attractive form.

The translation is considerably freer in style than we in this country are accustomed to expect. The result is that in a difficult passage we are sometimes left in the dark as to the precise manner in which the authors mean the passage to be construed. A few examples taken at random will illustrate their method. *H.F.* 395 f. is rendered: 'Il arriva jusqu'au jardin où chantent les vierges Hespérides (reading ἐσπέριον ἐς αὐλάν); là pendaient à des rameaux d'or les pommes que sa main devait cueillir.' *ibid.*, 728 f.: ὦ γέροντες, ἐς καλὸν | στεῖχει, βρόχουσι δ' ἀρκύων γενήσεται | ξιφηφόρουσι becomes: 'Vieillards, c'est à merveille: il entre, il va se prendre aux mailles du filet que tissera, devant lui la pointe agile de l'épée.' *ibid.* 1021 f.: τάλανι διογενεῖ κόρῳ | μοιότεκνον Πρόκιης φόνον ἔχω λέξαι | θνόμενον Μοῦσαις. The lyric compactness of the Greek wholly disappears in the French: 'Le noble et malheureux fils de Procné fut égorgé par sa mère, mais elle n'avait qu'un enfant et je puis appeler son crime un sacrifice aux Muses.' *ibid.*, 1184 f.: ΘΗ. εὔφημα φώνει. ΑΜ. βουλομένοισιν ἐπαγγέλλῃ: Th. 'Retire ce blasphème! Am. Je voudrais pouvoir t'obéir!'

We note a few points in detail. *H.F.* 80: πέδον σωτηρίας is retained: 'quel lieu de salut.' 104: ἐξίσταται γὰρ πάντ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέχα. 'Tout dans le monde est sujet à des changements et à des retours.' It is not clear how M. Parmentier takes δέχα, which we suppose to mean 'in two ways,' i.e. from *a* to *b* and from *b* to *a*. 121-3: M. Parmentier in a footnote proposes to read ζυγηφόρον ἀνιέντες πῶλον ὡς βίρος φέροι τροχηλαίτοιον πηλοῦ, the idea being that 'le corps misérable, qui pèse lourdement sur les jambes des vieillards, serait comparé à l'argile qu'un cheval transporte sur les roues d'un char': which seems to us a singularly unhappy attempt at emendation! 134: οἷδ' ἀποίχεται χάρις: 'mais ils gardent toujours le charme de leur âge.' The words 'de leur âge' appear to us an unwarranted insertion. 845 f. are printed thus: τιμὰς τ' ἔχω τάσδ' οὐκ ἀγασθῆναι φίλοις | οὐδ' ἡδομαι φοιτῶσ' ἀνθρώπων φίλους. Doubtless what was intended was ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων φίλους. But the rendering, 'Les fonctions que je remplis me font honorer par des amis dont je ne suis pas fière, et je ne trouve nul plaisir à rendre des visites aux hommes qui me sont chers.' is certainly not to be discovered in the Greek. 931: Valckenaer's weak οὐκέθ' αὐτὸς ἦν is adopted for the MSS. οὐκέτ' αὐτός, which seems on all grounds preferable. 965: τίς ὁ τρόπος ξενώσεως; is curiously translated by: 'Que signifie cette façon de voyager?' 977 f.: ὁ δ' ἐξελίσσων παῖδα κίονος κίκλῳ | τόννευμα δεινὸν ποδύς, ἐναντίον σταθείς: 'Lui cependant cherche à voir à découvert l'enfant qui tourne autour de la colonne; par une volte terrible, il arrive à lui faire face,' etc. This can hardly be called illuminating. 980: a note on ὀρθοστάτας is 'Il s'agit des dalles de pierre qui bordent la partie inférieure du mur du palais.' But cf. λαίνοις . . . κίοισιν, 1037 f. 1241: καὶ θείνει is M. Parmentier's conjecture for καθανείν. 1288: γλώσσης πικροῖς κέντροισι κληδουχοῦμενοι: 'pour y vivre comme sous les verrous afin d'échapper aux piqûres des langues méchantes.' This again is difficult to square with the Greek.

Supplices. 249, αὐτὸς πιέζειν τὴν τύχην, ἡμᾶς δ' ἑάν: 'accuse ta fortune, Adraste, et laissez-moi.' This rendering quite mistakes the sense of πιέζω, which here and elsewhere is a metaphorical extension of the use in *Hom. II. XVI.* 510. 530, ἡ δίκη διοίχεται: 'justice est faite!' But if δίκη means justice, the sense could only be 'justice has perished.' ἡ δίκη is 'the suit,' 'the quarrel,' and the sense is 'the case is ended.' 566: βούλῃ συνάψω μῖθον ἐν βραχεὶ σέθεν; is not translated by 'Veux-tu que je te dise une brève parole?' 595-6: by a typographical error νίκην σέβεται . . . δίκην δίδωσιν is printed for δίκην σέβοντας . . . νίκην δίδωσι, which is translated. 680: Φόρβας ὅς μοι αἰπὺν ἀνάξ' ἦν τοῖς Ἐρεχθεΐδαισιν is rather violently rendered: 'Phorbas l'hipparque attique.' 784 f.: 'Pour moi, revoir le corps de mes enfants est un spectacle amer et beau, puisqu'en voyant ce jour inespéré j'aperçois la douleur la plus grande de toutes.' But surely ἰδοῖσα πάντων μέγιστον ἄλγος is *contrasted*, not identical, with ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀεὶ λπτον ἄμεραν.

Ion. 101: ἰδίας is very rightly retained. But we do not understand the translation: 'Veuillez que quiconque attend de l'oracle une voix favorable fasse entendre lui-même une langue propice.' 185: διδόμεναι προσώπων is taken to refer to the Hermae-busts, which seems right.

The admirable 'Notices' prefixed to the individual plays contain interesting discussions of the dates to be assigned to them. The conclusions reached by the translators may be

briefly summarised. The *Hercules Furens* M. Parmentier proposes to assign to 424 B.C. The reference to the songs and dances of the Delians in v. 687 ff. has been supposed to allude to the restoration of the Delian festival in 425 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 104). M. Parmentier is disposed to connect the play with the foundation of Heracleia in Trachis by the Lacedaemonians in 426 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 92; Diodor. xii. 59), which alarmed the Athenians, who supposed that the new colony threatened Euboea (Thuc. iii. 93). The play would be a sort of counterblast in which Euripides ignores the legend of Oeta and claims Heracles for Athens: it is in Athens that Heracles finds his last asylum, and there are erected his ancient sanctuaries, 'les véritables Heracleia.' If this date is accepted, then in the *Clouds* (423 B.C.) 1048 f., καί μοι φράσον, τῶν τοῦ Διὸς παίδων τίν' ἀνδρ' ἄριστον ψυχὴν νομίζεις compared with *H.F.* 183 f., ἐροῦ τίν' ἀνδρ' ἄριστον ἐγκρίνειαν ἂν | ἣ οὐ παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν—M. Parmentier thinks the coincidence cannot be accidental—Aristophanes will have been the borrower.

The *Suppliants* is placed by M. Grégoire in 422 B.C. It was written, he thinks, under the sentiments evoked by the battle of Delium (424 B.C.). It has been supposed that the end of the *Suppliants* implies the imminence not of the treaty of peace with Sparta, but of the treaty of alliance with Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, which Alcibiades succeeded in concluding in July 420 B.C. Against this is the contemptuous fashion in which Adrastus and Argos are spoken of. It is more probable that the play dates from a moment when the spectacle of the prosperity of Argos, maintained by a profitable neutrality, irritated the Athenians, who were exhausted by the war. Such was the situation in 422 B.C. This date, in M. Grégoire's opinion, gives point to some other political allusions in the play: e.g. vv. 412–416 and v. 726 f. are taken to refer to the situation when the armistice expired in April 422 (14 Elaphebolion). The election of *strategi* took place about the same time. The moderates feared the election of Cleon, who was in fact chosen and shortly afterwards engineered the expedition which ended so disastrously at Amphipolis.

The *Ion* is assigned by M. Grégoire to 418 B.C. Such confidence in her allies, such continental ambitions, were only possible for Athens between the Peace of Nicias and the disaster in Sicily. To the Sicilian expedition—alluded to so clearly in the *Electra* (413 B.C.) and the *Helena* (412 B.C.)—there is no reference. The manner in which the Peloponnesus is alluded to brings us back to a period before the battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.). It was only from 420–418 that, thanks to the alliance concluded by Alcibiades with Argos, Athens appeared to exercise a real protectorate over the Peloponnesus. M. Grégoire finds in *Ion* 1591 ff., κατ' αἶαν Πελοπιάν δ' ὁ δέύτερος | Ἀχαιοί, ὃς γῆς παραλίᾳ ῥίον πέλας | τύραννος ἔσται, a means to date the play more precisely. Boeckh found in this a reference to the victory of Phormio in 429 B.C. M. Grégoire, on the other hand, thinks the allusion is to the activities of Alcibiades in Achaëa in the summer of 419 B.C., when he contemplated the fortification of Rhion (Thuc. v. 52). He believes that the play was written under the influence of these events in the latter part of 419 B.C. and was produced in the spring of 418 B.C.

The volume appears to us in every point of view deserving of a warm welcome.

A. W. M.

Coptica, consilio et impensis Instituti Rask-Oerstediani edita. II. *Pistis Sophia* neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort- und Namenregister von D. Dr. CARL SCHMIDT. Pp. xxxix + 456. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925.

This will no doubt take rank as the standard edition of this important text. Readers of the *Journal* will do well to take note also of Dr. Schmidt's new translation, accompanied with full Prolegomena and indices (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925). The accuracy and excellence of the version are sufficiently vouched for by F. C. Burkitt's praise, *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, xxvi. 393 ff.; and the introductory essays, discussing the general character of the work and putting it into relation with Graeco-Egyptian magic, are of considerable general interest to students of the beliefs of the Empire.

A. D. N.

THE FIRST SYRIAN WAR

EXISTING accounts of this war only know what now appears to have been its second phase;¹ but the material now available should enable us partially to reconstruct the first phase, and recover for the history of Asia something of two lost years, 276 and 275. The starting point is Mr. Sidney Smith's new readings and translation of the fragment of the Babylonian chronicle concerning Antiochus I,² with which the decree of Ilium, *O.G.I.* 219, works in and out; overlapping them come the letter of Ptolemy II to Miletus and the Milesian decree in reply.³

The Babylonian chronicle shews that in spring 276 the army of Ptolemy II invaded Seleucid Syria, and some time later in 276 Antiochus defeated it and drove it out; while heretofore it has been supposed that it was Ptolemy who defeated Antiochus some time in 274-3. On the face of it, then, Ptolemy was the original aggressor in the long series of wars between the two kingdoms. But can the war be traced back before spring 276? There had been bond enough between Ptolemy I and Seleucus I to prevent actual war so long as either lived; but once Seleucus was dead (280), Ptolemy II immediately threw down the gauntlet by recognising Keraunos as king of Macedonia, which Antiochus I claimed; while next year he damaged Antiochus considerably, for Miletus, Seleucid in 280/79, became Egyptian some time in 279/8.⁴ It does not follow there was fighting; but Ptolemy restored to Miletus a long-lost piece of territory, which must have become King's Land; and if he took King's Land from Antiochus it was an act of war. By 278 he was in possession of Halicarnassus and Myndus also;⁵ but these, like Samos, he might have acquired when Lysimachus fell. Antiochus, however, was in no position to resent the loss even of Miletus. In 280 he was at war with Antigonos and the Northern League; and though in summer or autumn 279 he freed his hands somewhat by a permanent treaty of peace with Antigonos,⁶ he remained at

¹ J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², vol. iv.(1), 1925, will shew how the matter stands. See also Ernst Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten des Kleinasiens*, 1925.

² *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924. Mr. Smith very kindly helped me over the meaning of this document; but the responsibility for the use here made of it is my own.

³ A. Rehm, No. 139 of the Delphinion inscriptions, in Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, iii. 1. See note 13 *post*.

⁴ *I. Delphinion*, 123 = *Syll.*³ 322. I cannot follow G. Corradi, *L'Asia Minore e le isole dell' Egeo sotto i primi Seleucidi*, *Riv. di fil.* 48, 1920, p. 161, who believes Miletus was still Seleucid.

⁵ *S.E.G.* 1, 363.

⁶ Niese's dates here were substantially right; but the date of this treaty now depends on the fragment of Philodemus published by A. Mayer in 1912 (*Philol.* 71, p. 226), on which see the writer in *J.H.S.*, 1920, p. 148. The date is independent of the Athenian archon-list and its troubles.

war with the Northern League, and in 278 Nicomedes brought the Gauls across as a weapon to aid the League against him.⁷ When the revolt in the Syrian Seleucis started cannot be said; it may even have been going on since 280, for it seems that all this time Antiochus had to leave Asia Minor to Patrocles. By 277 Ptolemy was in possession of Lissa and other places in Lycia;⁸ Lycia apparently had never been Seleucid, but it may illustrate his activity. Was he then in spring 276 trying to join hands with the rebels in the Seleucis? The Ilian decree will answer that question.

In spite of Dittenberger's opinion to the contrary, it seems clear that, in this decree, *τοὺς ἀποστάντας τῶν πραγμάτων* of l. 5, the rebels in Seleucis, are different people from *τοὺς ἐπιθεμένους τοῖς πράγμασιν* of l. 7; *ἐπὶ* is not *ἀπὸ*, and one set are trying to break *away* from the kingdom, the other set to get *into* it. The latter represent an external enemy, *i.e.* Ptolemy, as Droysen rightly guessed; and l. 7 refers to, and confirms the Chronicle's account of, Antiochus' defeat of Ptolemy in 276. This being so, the decree shows that the revolt in the Seleucis was over before Ptolemy's invasion. Here the Chronicle comes in again. Antiochus, his court, and his son and co-regent Seleucus were at Sardes in winter 277/6; he had then put down the revolt in 277—not earlier, as will appear. Ptolemy then presumably invaded Seleucid Syria in 276 and took Damascus because, perhaps for the first time, Antiochus was not south of Taurus.

Antiochus in 277 was badly needed in Asia Minor, which was being harried by the Gauls; this was the year of Cyzicus' war with the Trocmi⁹ and of the great raid on Ionia by the Tolistoagii. No more is heard of the Northern League. Probably Antiochus made peace with the League, for by 276 (see *post*), or earlier, he had been able to bring his fleet south from the Dardanelles, where it had been in 279.¹⁰ The cities in the League were in any case only concerned to defend themselves against him. Nicomedes and Mithridates might be more aggressive; but, assuming that they made peace, it would not help Antiochus much; they had let loose a force they could not control, and though the Gauls kept their covenant with Nicomedes to the extent of sparing his friends and attacking only Seleucid Asia, they were not going to be bound by any peace their employers might make with Antiochus. During the whole of this period Antiochus was between two fires; and it was because of the Gauls that, when he crossed the Taurus in 276 to meet Ptolemy, he left Seleucus (who should have been at Babylon) at Sardes 'to keep a strong guard.' But by 275, after defeating Ptolemy and retaking Damascus in 276, he had got matters settled in Syria; the Ilian decree says of this that the gods had favoured his attempt to regain what his father had held, and that he had restored his kingdom to its former condition, *ἀρχαία διάθεσις*. This dates the Ilian

⁷ *Memnon*, 19 gives Nicomedes' treaty with the Gauls.

⁸ *O.G.I.* 57 gives the date; see Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 46. That the Lycian possessions were acquired by Ptolemy I in 295, though possible enough, is pure guesswork.

⁹ *O.G.I.* 748. As the treaty between Antiochus and Antigonos is 279 (note 6), Dittenberger's dates here are all one year too late.

¹⁰ *Memnon*, 18.

decree; for, as Ptolemy was to end the war in possession of much of the south coast of Asia Minor, the decree must have been passed before the Egyptian counterstroke in 274 (see *post*); there was no ἀρχαία διάθεσις after that. The decree, then, was passed in 275.

Antiochus must have been occupied in Syria throughout 276, for the Chronicle rather suggests that the defeat of Ptolemy's army, which must have preceded the retaking of Damascus, fell late in the year; Antiochus was wounded in 'the battle' (*O.G.I.* 220). The Chronicle also shews that he wintered in Syria, and the Ilian decree, which suggests (l. 12) that he did not cross the Taurus till 275, confirms this. In Adar (February–March) 275 supplies from the east reached him in Syria, sent by the general of Accad (the Babylonian satrapy), and troops from Babylon came to him in Syria a month later; he cannot therefore have crossed the Taurus before the end of April. With the supplies in Adar there also came 20 elephants, forwarded by the general of the Bactrian satrapy, who had presumably obtained them from the Mauryan emperor, Antiochus' friend Vindusara; and they enable another date to be fixed.

For if Antiochus, supposed to be lord of many elephants, wanted twenty more, then, when he ordered them, Apamea and the elephants there must have been in the hands of the Syrian rebels; and as two years should suffice to get twenty elephants from India, it shews that the rebellion in the Seleucis was not put down *before* 277, and also that in 277 Antiochus badly needed even a few elephants. Now it was sixteen of these twenty elephants—doubtless all that were battle-worthy—that won the 'elephant victory' over the Gauls,¹¹ a victory once celebrated in song;¹² and though Lucian's details are worthless rhetoric, what happened seems now clear. Elephants were deady the *first* time, against men who had never met them before; and in the Gallic terror of 277 Antiochus, deprived of the elephants of Ipsus, ordered fresh ones on account of the Gauls. What meanwhile had happened to the elephants of Ipsus at Apamea is unknown; they are, I think, nowhere alluded to again; and as, when Antiochus crossed the Taurus in or after April 275, he took with him only the twenty new elephants (or 16 of them) and no more, possibly the elephants at Apamea had ceased to exist. Now, as Antiochus had gone to the trouble of bringing these twenty from India, and as his orders were so urgent that they had come on from Babylonia with the supplies and in advance of the troops, he would naturally use them promptly, even if four were still footsore. They justified his prescience, and thoroughly defeated a Gallic army; the 'elephant victory' then certainly falls in the campaigning season of 275, and marked the end of the Gauls' first great raid. The Ilian decree, l. 12, celebrates the event: *now* (in 275) Antiochus has recrossed the Taurus (after defeating Ptolemy) and has given peace to the cities and brought his kingdom into an even more glorious condition (than after 276). The Ilians

¹¹ Lucian, *Zeuxis* II. The Myrina terracotta of an elephant trampling on a Gaul, *B.C.H.*, 1885, p. 485, may refer to this

victory.

¹² Suidas s.v. Σιμωνίδης Μάγνης Σιπύλου.

thereon honour him as Soter; for he had saved the cities from the Gauls. The year 275 was then Antiochus' year; and when the decree was passed (late in 275, after his victory), he seemed in fairly smooth water.

This is the framework into which fits Ptolemy's letter to Miletus. It is unfortunate that Rehm should have dated this important document to about 262-260, and that so many have followed this,¹³ though the reasoning is based only on vague combinations, while all the time inscriptions existed which rendered so late a date impossible. It is necessary to take the document afresh and see what it says.

Ptolemy, before he wrote, had received letters from his people in Miletus, who are described as 'the son, Callicrates, and the other Friends.' Callicrates then ranks between Ptolemy's son and his Friends, used in the broad sense; and everyone agrees that he was Callicrates son of Boiscos of Samos, nauarch of Egypt; no doubt seems possible. Now Callicrates' date is epigraphically fixed within definite limits; several inscriptions connect him with Arsinoe, and none with anyone else; he succeeded Philocles, who is last heard of *circa* 278,¹⁴ in the office of nauarch at some time after 278 but well before Arsinoe's death in 270—he was nauarch in her lifetime—and he was still nauarch for a time after 270, but had ceased to hold the office in 266, when his successor Patroclus appears; as he is not heard of again, he was presumably dead. His dedications show that, as was natural enough in a Samian, he was Arsinoe's man. I collected all the evidence in 1911,¹⁵ and need not go over the ground again; the only new fact since¹⁶ is *S.E.G.* 1, 363 (see note 14), which takes Philocles down some two years later than was previously known (*Syll.*³ 390). The comparison I gave in 1911 of the very extensive powers exercised by Philocles and Patroclus respectively proves (if anyone ever doubted it) that there was only one nauarch of Egypt at a time—a thing which has nothing to do with the number of fleets at sea; and there was, in fact, a similar office under the Seleucids, though naturally their nauarchs were not Viceroys of the sea, like the Egyptian: see Polybius 5, 43, 1, where Diognetus is 'the nauarch,' though actually engaged in escorting the bride of Antiochus III overland from Pontus

¹³ See especially G. de Sanctis in *Atti Acc. Torino*, 1913, p. 1220; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *G.G.A.* 1914, p. 65; W. Kolbe in *G.G.A.* 1916, p. 433. Many others have copied. It has always been obvious that Rehm's dating could not stand, as I pointed out in *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 146 n. 29; and in fact A. Rostagni, *Poeti Alessandrini*, p. 374, had already stated in 1916 that the date must fall in Callicrates' nauarchate as established by me (note 16 *post*). Rostagni's dating has apparently attracted no attention, and I regret that I did not know of it myself till this article was practically complete; but I gladly acknowledge his priority. Of course it was not possible to see the exact placing of Ptolemy's letter till a correct translation of the Antio-

chus chronicle was available.

¹⁴ *S.E.G.* 1, 363. At the date of this inscription, Miletus, Myndus, and Halicarnassus were all Ptolemaic; it cannot therefore, on account of Miletus, be earlier than 278 (or very late in 279); and as it must be a peace year, it cannot well be later than 277.

¹⁵ *Nauarch and Nesiarch*, *J.H.S.* 1911, 251. Callicrates, formerly omitted from Pauly-Wissowa, has at last appeared in the 1924 Supplement volume, where P. Schoch is much puzzled to work in the accepted dating of Ptolemy's letter with the Callicrates inscriptions.

¹⁶ *S.E.G.* 1, 370 (Callicrates) and 2, 512 (Patroclus) add nothing for this purpose.

to Zeugma. Ptolemy's letter, then, must fall in one of the years of Callicrates' nauarchate, which renders any date after 267 impossible; and as both letter and decree clearly envisage a war, and Egypt was not engaged in any war between the first Syrian and the Chremonidean (266), both documents must belong to the first Syrian war.

To come now to details. The Milesian decree says that Ptolemy had restored the *χώρα* to the Milesians (this was in 279/8) and was trying to give them peace (*παρασκευάζων*, present tense), but now they were involved in war. Obviously there had been no other war between 279/8 and the one in question, and no long time had elapsed, for Ptolemy had not succeeded in giving peace; again the first Syrian war is indicated. The war in which Miletus was involved was one by land and sea, and the enemy had sailed against the city. As Miletus had been Antiochus' one great loss during his reign, he would attempt to recover it as soon as he could. Looking back over the course of events as here given, the earliest date for such an attempt, made by Seleucus or some general, would be the latter part of 276; it could not well be later than the year of success, 275. Now in 276 Antiochus' fleet probably had an open sea, since there was an obvious reason for the Egyptian fleet being elsewhere; it had probably accompanied Ptolemy's invasion of Syria, and very likely his retreat also.¹⁷ This is confirmed by the fact that that autumn or winter Antiochus sent his sister Phila to Pella for her marriage; she could not have gone overland from Sardes during the Gallic terror. Probably, then, the naval attack on Miletus was late 276 (or early 275); and if Ptolemy's fleet in 276 was tied to Syria, 275 is the probable date for the relief of Miletus by sea: it will appear that Ptolemaeus' movements afford some confirmation of this. By sea Antiochus naturally failed; his fleet was probably no match for the Egyptian, and once Callicrates arrived it had to retire, or was defeated; for Callicrates' presence at Miletus in war-time imports that of his fleet. In the Miletus documents the sea appears as being perfectly safe for Egypt; the 'son' and Callicrates had written their reports to Ptolemy, Hegestratus had brought Ptolemy's letter to Miletus, and the Milesians propose to send as of course the usual envoys to take their decree to Ptolemy, all these documents coming and going by sea. But on land the position is very different; Ptolemy can only exhort the Milesians to keep true to him, and say he will *try* to defend them (*πειρασόμεθα ἀρύνεσθαι τὸν δῆμον*); that is, he has not yet recovered from his defeat in Syria in 276, and the letter therefore is before 274, the year his successes began, when Callicrates was elsewhere. One more indication. In 276/5 and 275/4 Apollo was eponymous magistrate of Miletus,¹⁸ always a sign of trouble, as it means that no citizen would take the office, which at Miletus involved considerable expenditure. The letter then belongs somewhere in 275, and at its date Antiochus' troops from the land side had reduced the city to some straits. Whether he ultimately failed to take it, or whether he took it and lost it again in the war of Eumenes, when he lost Ephesus, cannot

¹⁷ Invasions in either direction along the Syrian highway were often accompanied by a fleet, e.g. Perdiccas in 321, Antigonus in

306, Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV in 219.

¹⁸ *I. Delphinion*, 123.

be said; as Apollo was eponymous magistrate of Miletus from 266/5 to 263/2 the latter alternative is at least possible.

Before going further, one phrase in the Miletus decree must be noticed. I have mentioned that the decree says Miletus was involved in war. It is really 'wars,'—καὶ νῦν πολέμων καταλαβόντων πολλῶ[ν] καὶ μεγάλων ἡμᾶς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. This has been explained merely as meaning an attack by land and sea. But there were in fact *two* wars; beside Antiochus' attack in (say) late 276, Miletus was also attacked by the Gauls in the great raid which began in 277.¹⁹ As the Gauls raided in bands, more than one band may have visited the city's territory; hence πολλῶν.

Now as to Antiochus' fleet.²⁰ There is contemporary evidence for its participation in this war in the stele from Sais in the Louvre,²¹ relating to the deification of Arsinoe at Sais as Isis Arsinoe Philadelphos, and dated 266/5; the inscription mentions that Ptolemy had been victorious in a great war in Asia, though the enemy, beside land forces, came in 'numerous boats and innumerable ships'; the war, from the date, can only be the first Syrian, and the reference was appropriate to the occasion, as in its second phase this war was Arsinoe's war. In a Greek inscription the distinction of boats and ships might mean that Antiochus had followed the common practice of reinforcing his navy by hiring pirates;²² but perhaps one cannot press an Egyptian priestly document so far. Unfortunately Rehm missed this document also,²³ and, after saying that it was 'schwer glaublich' that either Antiochus I or II could have attacked Miletus by sea, for which he gave no reason, decided that the attacking fleet must have been that of Antigonus Gonatas after Cos; and Cos in 262–260 has been an article of faith in Germany ever since, in spite of the fact that the Miletus documents shew that Egypt was absolutely free to do as she pleased at sea. But I am not going to inflict Cos on my readers; as Ptolemy's letter cannot be after 275 it has nothing to do with that elusive battle.

One more indication about the war can be drawn from the 'son' of Ptolemy's letter. The Milesian decree names him before Ptolemy II; he was therefore governor of Miletus. But in 275 the future Ptolemy III was a child, and Ptolemy II, who was born in spring 308, could not have had an illegitimate son old enough to govern Miletus in war-time. The 'son,' therefore, can only be the much-discussed Ptolemaeus, son of King Lysimachus and Arsinoe II, and the hypothesis that Ptolemy II adopted him is correct. (This ought to settle who the man was who revolted and was killed at Ephesus in 259; Ptolemaeus governed for Ptolemy II in Ionia throughout, and the 'Seleucizers' of Ephesus, who all but killed his mother in 281, had better luck with the son

¹⁹ Anyte in *Anth. Pal.* 7, 492.

²⁰ Beside *Memnon*, 18, it may be referred to in *Syll.*³ 410; see G. de Sanctis, *Contributi alla storia dell' impero Seleucideo*, *Atti Acc. Torino*, 1911/12, p. 793.

²¹ A. Wiedemann in *Rh. Mus.* 1883, p. 391; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lagides*, I, p. 175.

²² As Demetrius against Rhodes and

Cassander, Gonatas against Cassandreia, Ptolemy II. against Antiochus I. and Gonatas, Antiochus III. against Rome.

²³ As I am pointing out the defects in Rehm's dating of one document, I should like also to say how much I have learnt from his great publication of the Delphinion inscriptions.

in 259²⁴.) Arsinoë II, then, had married her brother before the date of the letter in 275, as her son had already been adopted. How long before? If the letter means, as it seems to mean, that the 'son' had only arrived at Miletus with Callicrates' fleet, then her marriage was quite recent, not earlier than winter 276/5; for the point of Ptolemy adopting her son was to make use of his hereditary influence in Ionia, and he would be sent there promptly. This date for Arsinoë's marriage—winter 276/5—is also suggested by another line of reasoning. During the 'anarchy' in Macedonia, in 278 and 277, Ptolemaeus was in that country as one of the pretenders to the crown.²⁵ Antigonus became king late in 277 or early in 276, spent 276 in clearing out the pretenders, and was master of the kingdom by the end of the year. Though the fate of Ptolemaeus is not actually recorded, the probability is great that he remained in Macedonia till 276 and was driven out that year, as Antipater Etesias was; if so, Arsinoë's marriage and his adoption by Ptolemy would probably not fall before winter 276/5, and incidentally the date of 275 for the relief of Miletus by sea is confirmed. This date for Arsinoë's marriage is a probability only, but a rather strongly founded one; and the attraction of it is that it would provide the real solution of that difficult problem, the sister-marriage, which certainly had nothing to do with Egyptian custom: Ptolemy married her after his defeat in Syria because things were going badly for him, and he needed her strength and brains to manage the war which he was going to lose, as he lost the second Syrian war when she was not there to help him. But of course it is not impossible for the marriage to have been as early as 277.

The first phase of the war then—276 and 275—had on the whole been successful for Antiochus. For the second phase, Egypt's victory, there are no new documents. Antiochus was expected to invade Egypt to help Magas; as there seems no reason for delaying his preparations, the expected year must have been 274, and that year must therefore have seen Magas' abortive invasion and the Egyptian counterstroke against Antiochus; to place these operations in 273 would merely leave 274 a blank. Antiochus was held off by the Egyptian fleet, doubtless (as that of Ptolemy I in 306) accompanied by transports full of mercenaries, which attacked his key-province of Cilicia and forced him to fight for the road from Antioch to Sardes, while pirates were hired to ravage

²⁴ He was therefore not the Telmessian 'Ptolemy son of Lysimachus' of *O.G.I.* 55 = *Tit. Asiae Min.* II., No. 1. I gave my own reasons long ago (*J.H.S.* 1910, p. 215) for not accepting M. Holleaux' conjecture, ἐπὶ[ovo]ν, which would import that he was; (I doubt it being possible as Greek;) E. Kalinka in *Tit. As. Min.* now reads ἐπὶ π[δοι]ν. All we know of the Telmessian is that he claimed descent from King Lysimachus of Thrace (for this coin see G. F. Hill in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 211), and must, from the fact that he accepted the rule of one small city, have been a man who was not in high politics. Obviously there were men of royal blood who had dropped out of

the race, from choice or otherwise; for example, Demetrius' son by Deidameia, Alexander, lived quietly in Egypt (E. W. Webster in *Class. Phil.*, 1922, 357), as did Cassander's nephew Antipater Etesias after his expulsion from Macedonia in 216 (*Zeno Pap.*, Cairo, No. 70). Guesses are easy and worthless; if one be wanted, suppose the Telmessian's father Lysimachus to have been one of the children of King Lysimachus' son Agathocles (these children are lost to sight after 282), married to an illegitimate daughter of Ptolemy II. The generations would fit; for the Telmessian was still alive in 189.

²⁵ Diod. 22, 4; Euseb. 1, 236.

all his coasts.²⁶ The only question is if the Egyptian conquests²⁷ demand one campaign or two. The Pithom stele shows that Ptolemy and Arsinoe were at Heroöpolis in January 273, which might mean that the war was over, or nearly so; but it is difficult to place much reliance upon such indications when one remembers that throughout the second Syrian war, while Egypt was losing her possessions in Asia Minor and the sea-command, the Zeno papyri exhibit a country which might never have heard of battles, with its finance minister seemingly anxious only about his new apple trees. It cannot really be said if the war lasted through 273 or not. Callicrates' share in the successes of 274 must be guessed at from the statue of him erected by the Island League and from the circumstance that someone honoured him at Samos jointly with Ptolemy and Arsinoe, a thing seemingly quite unique for a subject.²⁸ The unique honours conferred upon Arsinoe, who had turned defeat into victory, need not be collected here.

W. W. TARN.

²⁶ Paus. 1, 7, 3.

²⁷ For their extent see Meyer, *op. cit.*

²⁸ *O.G.I.* 29, with *Add.* vol. 2, p. 539.

The use of *ὑπέρ* shews that Arsinoe was still alive.

THE PRIMITIVE SCULPTURE OF CYPRUS

[PLATES VI.-VII.]

THE chronology of early Cypriote sculpture ¹ has only once been treated in detail, when Professor J. L. Myres, in his *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, attempted to distinguish styles and arrange them in an intelligible sequence. His conclusions cannot be neglected by the student of ancient art, for if they are correct some of the most ambitious statues date from the first half of the seventh century B.C., which means that sculpture is at least a century older in Cyprus than in other Greek lands. (It must be remembered that the island was as Greek then as it ever was; an Assyrian inscription records the names of ten Greek kings reigning in it at this time.²) The object of this paper is to examine how far his distinctions are accurate and to put forward an alternative arrangement.

Foreign influence is evident in a large number of statues in native limestone, and Myres' view ³ is that one influence is Assyrian and contemporary with Assyrian domination, which began in 709 B.C., and the next Egyptian. It was Amasis, 570-526 B.C., who actually effected the annexation, but Myres ascribes the earliest imitations of Egyptian art to the end of the seventh century, thereby making the duration of the two periods more alike. The Persian conquest, which is not later than the time of Darius, results in a decline of pure Egyptian style and the rise of an eclectic art based on Egyptian and older traditions that passes insensibly into a variety of late archaic Greek. In the next few pages I shall endeavour to show that he has been too definite in describing the Oriental influence as mainly *Assyrian*, and so there is no proof that it is as old as the seventh century, and that he has grouped as Oriental certain sculptures which are early archaic Greek.

Myres bases his theory of Assyrian (and incidentally North Syrian) influence on the style as well as the costume, beard, weapons, etc.⁴ Now, to take his illustrations in order, the pose of Cesnola Coll. Nos. 1002, 1004, 1006, is reminiscent of the British Museum statuette of Ashurnasirpal,⁵ but he has his left arm on his breast and the right lying by his side, whilst in Cyprus the position

¹ My sincerest thanks are due to Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. Sidney Smith, without whose help and advice this paper would not have been written and who contributed most of the information on Asiatic matters.

² Called *Ionians* by Esarhaddon. For latest discussion see Olmstead, *History of*

Assyria, p. 369. Cf. Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, p. 86, on the predominantly Greek character of Cyprus.

³ *Handbook*, pp. xxxv-ix, 132-7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-4, 141, 194-6.

⁵ B.M. *Sculptures of Ashurnasirpal*, Pl. I.

of the arms is reversed. The dress of these figures is obviously not Assyrian, or Egyptian, or Hittite, or Greek, or Persian, neither is it Phoenician, to judge by the later stelae such as those Renan collected for the Louvre,⁶ and only a vague similarity to the Aramaean reliefs from Senjirli can be established. Stylistically the salient point of these figures is that the heads are modelled with some regard to nature and the bodies are left as pillars on which lines are incised to show the edges of the drapery, and from which the arms project. The same convention of modelled heads and plain bodies occurs in the anthropoid sarcophagi of Phoenicia,⁷ and in one of those in Constantinople⁸ the hands emerge from the vague mass of the draped body to hold a staff.

Figurines representing hooded carts and other forms of vehicles are commonly found both in Cyprus and the neighbouring parts of Asia, and it seems unnecessary to postulate a first-hand knowledge of the Assyrian chariot to account for No. 1017. Ohnefalsch-Richter⁹ has remarked on the Greek date of some other Cypriote chariot-groups, and



FIG. 1.—EGYPTIAN FLUTE-PLAYER: BRITISH MUSEUM.

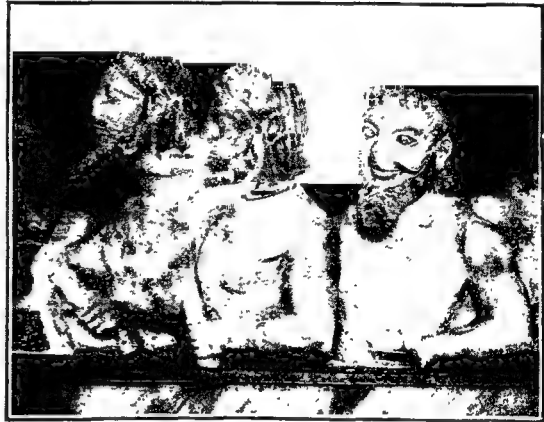


FIG. 2.—"BLUEBEARD": ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS.

no valid reason has been adduced for separating the Cesnola specimens from the rest. No. 1017 closely corresponds in style with a Louvre terracotta from Phoenicia,¹⁰ a fact that indicates which part of the mainland was responsible for the Oriental influence here in evidence.

No one would assert that the figure holding snakes, No. 1022, is Assyrian, and it belongs to the same class of art as No. 1002; the flute-player, No. 1027,

⁶ *Mission, passim*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire*, iii. Fig. 305, from Tyre; cf. a stela in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Ant. Kunstvaerker*, No. 837, ill. on *Billedtavler*, lxxii), which Clermont-Ganneau states to be of the second century B.C. (*Rev. Arch.* 3, xl, 1902, i. p. 200, Pls. IX.-XI.)

⁷ *E.g.* at Constantinople, Mendel, *Cat.*,

I., Nos. 78-87, 93-96.

⁸ No. 96.

⁹ *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, text to Pl. CXCVI.; No. 4 on this plate is now in the Barracco Museum, *Jahrb.*, xxii. 1907, p. 187, Fig. 32.

¹⁰ Perrot et Chipiez, iii. Fig. 145; Heuzey, *Cat. des Figurines de t.c.* (Louvre), Pl. V. I.

is not Assyrian but pure Egyptian, as is shown by comparison with numerous Egyptian glazed statuettes such as one in the British Museum (Fig. 1);¹¹ the masked figures Nos. 1029, 1030, 1031 are in the columnar style which may be Phoenician and cannot be Assyrian.

We then come to the head No. 1257. It appears to be wearing a soft cap (perhaps of leather) shaped like a bag, the end of which flops over the back of the head; this does not resemble the crested 'Carian' helmet or the stiff-pointed bronze cap, the two types supplied to the Assyrian army,¹² but it does resemble the headdress of the Aramaean state of Sam'al: the stele here reproduced (Pl. VI. 2)¹³ represents its king Barrekub who came to the throne about 730, but there are other undated examples of the cap (*e.g.* Pl. VI. 3), and it was no doubt in use for a lengthy period. It belongs to the Anatolian family of hats, the representative of which at the present day is the fez, and the fez unstiffened as it is worn in the Greek Islands is like King Barrekub's hat in cut and tassel. The absence of the Assyrian long moustache¹⁴ makes one unwilling to believe that the Cypriote beard is of Assyrian origin; as a matter of fact the beard is commonly rendered by rows of corkscrew curls in Asia Minor as well as in Mesopotamia, whilst the radiating petals of 1257 are peculiar to Cyprus.¹⁵ If the features of this head be compared for the style with the Barrekub relief (Pl. VI. 2) and the other Sam'al relief (Pl. VI. 3), with the heads (Pl. VI. 4) from slabs of Sargon¹⁶ (the king who in 709 set up at Kition a monument of his conquest of Cyprus, and according to Myres introduced Assyrian art), and with the relief from Carchemish (Pl. VI. 1),¹⁷ which can be approximately dated by its style to the reign of Ashurbanipal, it will be seen that the Cypriotes were, if anything, indebted to the neighbouring part of the mainland rather than to the more cultured but distant Mesopotamia; if the "Bluebeard" of the Acropolis Museum (Fig. 2)¹⁸ be compared, it will be seen that the work is far more Greek than Oriental. The mere fact that early Cypriote sculpture is nearly always in the round connects it with Greece rather than with Assyria, which specialises in reliefs for wall decoration, and the details which Myres enumerates as characteristic of the Cypriote 'Assyrian style' are present in the 'Bluebeard': he says,¹⁹ 'The eyes are large and prominent and upturned outwards. The eyebrows are rather arched, the cheekbones high, the lips vigorously rendered, and the whole expression is aggressive and brutal.' On the other hand, the face

¹¹ Fifth Egyptian Room, wall case 227, No. 2365; ht. $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. I am enabled to publish it through the courtesy of Dr. H. R. Hall.

¹² Both shown on B.M. *Bronze Reliefs of Shalmaneser*, Pl. XLII.

¹³ Copied by kind permission of Dr. Otto Weber and the Berlin Museum from *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iv, Pl. LX; Fig. 3 copied from Pl. LIV.

¹⁴ Absence of hair on an Assyrian face generally denotes a eunuch, or male attendant.

¹⁵ A head precisely like No. 1257 is reported to have come from Jebel (Byblos); it is in the Phoenician room of the British Museum.

¹⁶ British Museum, Assyrian Transept, Slabs 824 and 825.

¹⁷ *Wonders of the Past*, ii. p. 645. Sir F. G. Kenyon has kindly allowed the use of a British Museum negative.

¹⁸ Dickins, *Cat.*, i. p. 78, 86; *Ant. Denkm.*, XXX; Brunn-Br. 456a, 472b; Collignon, *Sculp. gr.*, i. Pl. II.

¹⁹ *Handbook*, p. 194.

of a genuine Assyrian sculpture is calm and practically expressionless, without relation to the context, and the treatment of the lips and nose (on which, too, he lays stress ²⁰) is not an indication of character but of fleshiness. Then, the sharp unbroken tidemark that separates the beard from the face is more or less similar to Oriental conventions but is identical with the archaic Greek practice.

The head 1258 has also been placed in the 'Assyrian' class. It is plainly more advanced than 1257, and in fact they represent two stages of the line of development that continues with 1281 and the later 1284, which has strongly Hellenic features of early fifth-century type. It is hard to admit that a lengthy period of Egyptian influence came between the production of 1258 and 1281,



FIG. 3.—BRONZE STATUETTE
IN BOSTON.

and if the belief in Assyrian influence is abandoned we can re-arrange the dating of the series: the earliest, No. 1257, belongs to the middle of the sixth century, as a contemporary of the 'Blue-beard'; the next, 1258, is of slightly later type than the Rampin head in the Louvre ²¹ and earlier than the east pediment of Aegina ²² or the Peloponnesian bronze in Boston (Fig. 3), ²³ and thus is placed two or three decades further on; then follow 1281 and, early in the next century, 1284. It is noteworthy that the long pointed beard of 1257 (and of black-figured vases) changes in course of time in accordance with the fashions of Greece proper.

The statuette No. 1262 (Pl. VII. 2) shows a woman of mature age variously described as 'Astarte sur le pavois,' as Venus, and as a lady in Assyrian dress. The truth of the latter description at least can be tested, with the help of the accompanying illustrations of Ashurbanipal's wife (Fig. 4) and of a group of women (Pl. VII. 8). ²⁴ No other type of Assyrian female dress is known, and the statuette in question obviously does not conform to these patterns. If, however, the dress is not Assyrian there is no reason to ascribe the figure to the early seventh century, and in fact the probable explanation lies in its being a crude imitation of a Greek Kore of c. 500, and I should be inclined to identify the garments as the Ionic himation and chiton worn by most of the Acropolis korai (Pl. VII. 3). ²⁵ There are difficulties in this view, but the dress is inexplicable otherwise;

²⁰ *Handbook*, p. 141.

²¹ *Mon. Piot*, vii. 1900, Pl. XIV.

²² *Brunn-Br.*, 26-28, 121.

²³ Bulle, *Schöne Mensch*,² Pl. 38; photo by kind permission of Dr. L. D. Caskey.

²⁴ Assyrian goddesses, such as the Ishtar of Ashurnasirpal in the British Museum (*Sculptures of A.-n.-pal*, Pl. XLI),

wear the same dress as the women of the Barracco slab (Barracco et Helbig, *La Coll. Barr.*, Pl. XVI), although the latter are presumably captives. The illustration is by courtesy of Messrs. F. Bruckmann, Munich.

²⁵ Dickins, p. 44.

it cannot be native to Cyprus, since it does not occur again (except when it is definitely intended to be Ionic, *e.g.* a torso published by Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. xlix. 1). A long tunic-skirt, a necklace and a bracelet indubitably form part of it, and there seems to be a shawl and possibly something else above. It has been stated that 'Astarte' is lifting the bottom of the shawl, but it appears from the side view (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 157) that it is the skirt; moreover, the absence here of the ornamental border which runs so conspicuously down the front of the figure is good evidence in favour



FIG. 4.—ASSYRIAN RELIEF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

of its being the skirt. It looks at first sight as though there was a sort of arrowcase below the right arm suspended by a bandoleer hung over the left shoulder, but from the side view it is plain that this object is identical with a shawl which hangs vertically from both shoulders. The 'bandoleer' is in reality the overfall at the top of the shawl; at Athens it is usually given a zigzag border, but Acrop. Mus. Nos. 669 and 686 (Fig. 5) have simple stripes as here. In Greece the shawl is usually fastened on the right shoulder, but instances to the contrary do occur, *e.g.* Acrop. Mus. No. 672 and one of the pair of figures from Cyrene.²⁶ I know of no example from Greece in which

²⁶ Ghislanzoni, *Notizie arch. sulla Cirenaica* (printed separately and in *Notiziario arch.*, i.), p. 121, Figs. 59a, b.

the two side wings of the shawl do not unite below the overfall, but in some cases the junction is a very short distance below, and I do not see that the point is of importance. It must be remembered that Athenian men often made mistakes when they had to reproduce this Ionic female dress,²⁷ and there would be every likelihood that a Cypriote would do the same, especially a Cypriote who carved like this one. The eyes seem to imitate the half-closed smiling effect of the Island school and like the rest of the figure have no parallels in Assyrian or Oriental sculptures.

There remains the male statue No. 1352, also stated to be in Assyrian dress. The outer garment in Assyria was wound round the body, leaving a fringe visible (Pl. VI. 4); this is certainly not the case with the statue, and its double-



FIG. 5.—KORE, FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

breasted robe can only be said to bear a general resemblance to Asiatic forms of clothing.²⁸ The erect carriage with the hands down by the thighs is familiar, being a common Egyptian pose, and the stiffness of the drapery is an imitation of Egyptian mannerisms. The head probably does not belong, for it is of developed Greek type;²⁹ the body is a prototype of the Greek figure, No. 1351, and is as likely to have been made by a Greek as by a Phoenician.

This has, I hope, disposed of the 'Assyrian school,' and the small group which Myres inclines to consider Pre-Assyrian can now be dealt with. The head No. 1251 is a member of it, and the rest resemble it in that they are beardless and wear rosetted diadems. One of them (Cesnola, *Atlas*, I, 1885, pl. xi) is joined to a body like an archaic 'Apollo,' and the theory of their very early date seems to have been tacitly abandoned by Professor Myres himself, for

he repeatedly classes them with 'Apollo'-like figures, Nos. 1040-5, which he says 'all seem to belong to the seventh or early sixth century.' In one place only does he make any distinction in date between 1040-5 and the rest of the group. He quotes a similarity between these heads and a class of terracottas, of which Nos. 1451, 1452 are specimens, and to these he ascribes great antiquity. But a head with similar feathered eyebrows was found with a torso of Egyptian type and seems to belong to it,³⁰ and there appears to be no evidence for placing them earlier than the sixth century. My belief is that

²⁷ Dickens, p. 43.

²⁸ For which see Speleers, *Costume Oriental Ancien*.

²⁹ A similar figure in terracotta has a head with feathered eyebrows, B.M. *Cat. Terracottas*, A. 106; *J.H.S.*, ix, 1891, Pl. 9.

³⁰ Cesnola, *Atlas*, i, Pl. III. A terracotta head with feathered eyebrows and a long beard has features like the bearded head 1257 (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Pl. XIV. 3, 4; same plate in *Ancient Places of Worship*, *Ant. Cultusstätten*).

1251 and 1040-5 belong to the same class of athletic statues as the 'Apollos,' with which they are contemporary; their beardlessness should be taken as an indication of the youth of the subjects and not as proof that Assyria introduced the beard at a subsequent period. The diadem is a normal mark of the athlete, and the rosettes, for which Myres quotes Oriental analogies, can be compared with those inlaid in silver on the diadem of a Polyclitan bronze head in Oxford.³¹ The 'prominent nose and pointed chin' of 1254 (an early member of the group, as Myres implies) are familiar from black-figured vases and contemporary sculpture; a head reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez³² is of strongly Hellenic type; while No. 1251 betrays Ionic influence in the almond eyes and has lost the quaint archaic smile without acquiring the new expression of quiet pleasure, which is the condition of some of the local-made korai on the Acropolis (*e.g.* No. 671) and of the well-known Laconian stele in Berlin.³³

An examination of the works of Egyptian type leads to the conclusion that some have an admixture of Greek of approximately the third quarter of the sixth century, others are intended to reproduce the Egyptian style alone. These are certainly the earlier, they are also the worse, for they lack modelling and expression in both body and face, and to all appearance these are the first sculptures made by Cypriotes (Sargon's stele was, of course, the work of his own sculptor). The following is a list of all the representatives of the Egyptian class illustrated by Myres;³⁴ the comments are inserted to show how the modelling improves under Greek influence.

No. 1027, purely Egyptian in style, cf. p. 164 above.

Nos. 1264, 1265, pure Egyptian, bodies without modelling.

No. 1266, body modelled, face with the Ionic smile which is also borrowed in later Saite work (Hall, *Cambridge Anc. History*, iii, p. 322).

No. 1267, face of Ionic period, pose not Egyptian but Greek, body poor.

No. 1268, Egyptian deity of an early date, body plain.

No. 1352, see p. 168 above; early, slight modelling in accordance with Egyptian conventions.

No. 1356, cf. 'Apollos' of the Greek mainland of mid-sixth century, although it is more Egyptian than they are; body modelled.

(No. 1357, is not Egyptian but like an Island 'Apollo'; body not built on Egyptian lines.)

No. 1360, mixture of early Greek and Egyptian; body plain.

No. 1361, pure Egyptian, but an inscription which probably belongs to it gives the name of a Greek written in the syllabic script; body not much modelled.

No. 1363, of the same date as the Attic Rampin head in the Louvre; conjectured to represent Amasis; body modelled.

I have endeavoured to show that there is no justification for seeing Assyrian influence in Cypriote Art and that of the mass of sculptures in the Egyptian

³¹ *J.H.S.*, xxxix, 1919, pp. 62, 232, Pl. I.

³² *Hist.*, iii, Fig. 363.

³³ Late sixth century, Brunn-Br., 227a; heads, *Ath. Mitth.*, ii, 1877, Pl. XXI.

³⁴ Note also an unusual work of this class recently added to the Leyden Mus. (Brants, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen, Nieuwe Reeks*, vi, 1925, p. lxxvii, Fig. 1).

manner there are only a few which are not also partly Greek. This implies that the Egyptians did not come there long before the Greek art-centres had developed sufficiently to guide their compatriots in the island : it was towards 560 B.C. when Amasis annexed it, and that is a suitable date for the introduction of Egyptian art. So far as can be seen, sculpture did not exist there before ; it began about 560 under Egyptian inspiration, but Greek influence is apparent from 550, and by 525 has completely superseded the Egyptian. In most of its manifestations the early archaic school of Cyprus is no more different from its Greek contemporaries than is the Boeotian, but at the beginning of the fifth century the Cypriotes express themselves in their own individual way, in such figures as the magnificent colossus No. 1351.³⁵ Myres has suggested that this is the result of Persian domination and consequent isolation from Greece, and it may be that some of the credit should also be given to Persian art. The Hellenic elements in Achaemenian art from the reign of Darius are so marked that Greeks must have had a share in its evolution ; Cyprus as well as Ionia may have contributed, and returning sculptors may have infused somewhat of Asiatic ideals into their work.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

³⁵ Brunn-Br., 206.

TWO NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS

I. SOLON'S CURRENCY REFORM

πρὸ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ποιήσας . . . τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὐξήσιν. ἐπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ μέτρα μείζω τῶν φειδωνείων, καὶ ἡ μνᾶ πρότερον ἔχουσα σταθμὸν ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν.

THE repetition of the article in τὴν . . . αὐξήσιν without another substantive may on linguistic grounds be suspected. Some time ago Mr. Hill was tempted to suggest τὴν τε τ. μ. κ. σ. αὐξήσιν κ. τ. τ. ν. <μείωσιν> (*Num. Chron.* 1896-7, p. 285), but resisted the temptation to 'such audacity' because he held (very oddly) that Solon increased, not decreased, the weight and value of the drachma. Now that Mr. Seltman in his *Athens: Its History and Coinage* has made it clear that Solon reduced the drachma, and has pointed out that the reduction in the coinage and the raising of the market weights and measures went hand in hand (they were 'part and parcel of the same emergency legislation. A man got more in weight for a lesser sum of money,' p. 17 n. 1), we should adopt Hill's emendation, which is no very startling alteration of the MS. We thereby get a gain in lucidity, which we are justified in taking because the text as it stands is suspicious.¹ Note that not only does Androtion's theory of Solon's reform (*Plut. Sol.* 15) support the view that the drachma was reduced and show that this view must have been known to Aristotle, but that Plutarch's language also suggests the emendation: τὴν ἄμα τούτῳ γενομένην τῶν τε μέτρων (<καὶ σταθμῶν>?) ἐπαύξήσιν καὶ τοῦ νομίσματος τιμὴν (though τιμὴν itself is not the word one expects and is, I am sure, corrupt). τὸ νόμισμα is, of course, 'the standard coin,' in this case the didrachm.

As to the sentence καὶ ἡ μνᾶ . . . ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν, it is in the first place clear, surely, that Aristotle is borrowing from, abridging, and thereby obscuring, the narrative of another, and that a narrative which he probably did not himself understand.² He had primarily to say: the new

¹ Mr. Harrison, however, writes that he is not sure that there is linguistic objection: 'the second τὴν may mark the fact that the first genitive is double, the second single; and it avoids ambiguity.' Such duplication of the article does of course occur, but rarely.

² It is quite beyond my understanding that Adcock (*Klio*, xii. p. 5) can suggest that this chapter may be 'the result of research by Aristotle'; still more that Seltman (p. 15, 4) can call him 'probably the first

scientific numismatist.' Here, if anywhere, 'er hat weder sich selbst noch seinen Lesern ein Bild jener Verfassung zu entwerfen versucht, sondern sich begnügt eine sehr kurze und ungleichförmig gearbeitete Skizze fast ausschliesslich auf Grund der Darstellungen zu liefern, die er bei den Atthidographen fand' (Wilamowitz, i. 55). Indeed, this is the only justification for one who is not a numismatist discussing the chapter, that Aristotle was not one either. (Mr.

drachma was 70% of the old in weight. He is so obscure that some have supposed him to mean that the new drachma was larger, others that it was smaller than the old. And what of *ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν*? Certainly not 'was raised to the full number of 100 dr.' (Sandys), if the old mina, as Sandys supposed, also had 100 dr. Contrast the account of Androtion in the language of Plutarch: *ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν πρότερον ἐβδόμηκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν, ὥστ' ἀριθμῶ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἑλαττον ἀποδιδόντων, κτλ.* This is not scientifically exact, for the old mina did not consist of 73 dr. (and some such sentence may well have misled Aristotle); but it is clear what is meant. But there must be some explanation of *ἀνεπληρώθη* (which has no parallel in Plutarch), whether Aristotle borrowed the word from his authority or used it on his own. What was the gap to be filled? Hitherto we have been generally told that all Greek minae, of whatever standard, contained 100 drachmae.³ But Seltman now argues that the Pheidonian mina contained 60 only (like the 'Babylonian'). If this is correct (it is not for me to say, one way or the other), then one might say that there was, in a sense, a gap to be filled. The Pheidonian drachma weighed 6.03 g., the mina (according to Seltman) 365 g.; the Attic drachma 4.25 g., the mina 425 g. The new drachma was smaller, but the new mina larger than the Pheidonian. There was thus a gap which was filled by making the new mina contain 100 instead of 60 drachmae. This Aristotle abridged into the obscure phrase *ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν*.

Or, possibly, *ἀνεπληρώθη* means 'was restored to its original state,' as *ἀνεπληρώθη ὁ ἥλιος* after an eclipse. Aristotle's authority may have known that the Pheidonian mina contained only 60 dr., and have regarded this as an eccentricity, so that Solon restored the mina to its former state by making it consist of 100 dr. We should then have in this passage a very abridged version of the whole reform. It is also possible that Aristotle misunderstood the whole thing, thought that the mina before Solon did contain only 70 dr.,⁴ and that Solon restored it to its proper size (the drachma remaining unchanged).

Seltman writes to me: 'My point would be, Aristotle was quite a good numismatist (in the same degree as he was a good marine biologist), but a bad popular-handbook-writer. Perhaps he had the facts of the Solonian reform clear in his own head, and perhaps he thought he had put those facts down with admirable clarity, the while his phrasing was distinctly esoteric.' But I am not convinced.)

³ Th. Reinach and Beloch are exceptions: see below.

⁴ Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* i. 2. 335 ff.) holds not only that Aristotle thought this, but that it is true and that this is the meaning of *πρότερον ἔχουσα σταθμ' ἐβδόμηκοντα δραχμάς*. On the value of his documentary evidence in support of this, I am not qualified to speak (see Th. Reinach, *B.C.H.* 1896, pp. 251-6, 385, and 1904, p. 18:

Reinach's former explanation seems on the face of it the more probable). But Beloch goes on to argue that there is no divergence between Aristotle and Androtion: in the last sentence in c. 10 the former says the talent weighed 63 minae—that is, says Beloch, the new talent weighed 63 old minae, each of which had 70 dr.; $63 \times 70 = 4410$ old dr. to the new talent; whereas Androtion says the old mina weighed 73 dr.—therefore $60 \times 73 = 4380$ old dr. to the new talent. The only difference then is that Aristotle makes the relation of the old dr. to the new $73\frac{1}{2}\%$, Androtion 73%, and the loss of the fraction in the latter is very likely due to Plutarch. But this argument is doubly false: *ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὰ πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας* refers, as everyone has seen, to a change in the trade-talent (expressed in

The curious dative in ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν can, I think, be justified if the meaning is 'the gap was filled by the 100-dr. reform,' that is by the reform which made the mina contain 100 dr. (the orthodox number; hence the article). If the meaning is to be 'was raised, or restored, to the full number of 100 dr.,' then we must emend with Herwerden to τότε εἰς ἑκατόν, or rather, as Mr. Harrison suggests to me, τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἑκατόν.

II. THE DATES OF PEISISTRATUS

Professor Adcock's theory to explain the dates given in our text of the *Constitution* (C.Q. 1924, 174 ff.) is certainly the most ingenious which has yet appeared, but I doubt if it is the most convincing; and it is worth while giving some arguments against it, even if no new solution can be offered. He argues, it will be remembered, (1) that Herschensohn's view is correct, that 'the thirty-six years of Peisistratid rule in Hdt. v. 65 are not a sum of separate periods, but represent the continuous term of power from the restoration after the battle of Pallene to the expulsion of Hippias—that is to say, Herodotus sets the final return of Peisistratus c. 546 B.C., the thirty-six years being from c. 546 B.C. to 511–10 B.C.'; (2) that Aristotle—originally at least—and the Atthis followed Herodotus in this as in the whole account of Peisistratus; (3) that the figures given in the *Constitution* for the first and second periods of rule and first and second exiles were not in Aristotle's first edition of his work, but are an addition, like the Dracontic constitution, and in this case a muddled addition from a marginal note (see further below). He gives as probable approximate dates: 561–0 Peisistratus becomes tyrant (authority, archon list); c. 560 driven out (Hdt.); 560 or 559 returns (Hdt.); c. 556 driven out (Hdt.); c. 546 Pallene (Hdt.); 528–7 dies (archon list).

The objections to this view are:

(1) The first expulsion οὐπω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρριζωμένης ἕκτω ἔτει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην⁵ κατύστασιν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἀρχοντος: this, says Adcock, cannot be right, for 'as Pomtow pertinently observes: "if a tyranny was not rooted in five and a half years, how long did a tyranny need to become rooted?"' But, as Mr. Harrison has pointed out to me, Caesar did not 'root' his tyranny in five years, nor did Euphron; and it would be rash to say that Dionysius or Augustus rooted his in six. Further, even if οὐπω τ. ἁ. ἐ. is carelessly expressed, what of that? In 16.9 Aristotle has ὅτ' ἐκπέσοι πάλιν ἀνελάμβανε ραδίως, which is inconsistent with any system of dating which will fit either Herodotus' or his own narrative.⁶ Careless statements of this kind are only too common in the *Constitution*, as almost any section of it will show. This particular one,

terms of the coinage-mina), not in the coinage; and if πιδίε, ο' εἰσοσα σταθμὸν ἐβδουήκοντα δραχμάς in Aristotle means that the old mina had 70 dr., πρότε, ον ἐβδουήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὐσαν in Androtion must mean that the old mina had 73 dr., more particularly if, as Beloch supposes, Aristotle is only copying Androtion without understanding him.

⁵ Adcock does not notice that in the use of πρώτην here, which is not necessary to the narrative as it stands, there is some slight support for his view that this is the date of the second expulsion.

⁶ It is also, of course, inconsistent, and in a different way, with the theory that Peisistratus was only exiled once.

moreover, is only borrowed, from Herodotus, who has no date and may, perhaps, have intended by his *μετὰ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον* an interval of less than five years.

(2) The date of Pallene, 546 both for Herodotus and the Atthis: but Hegesistratus, son of Peisistratus and Timonassa, brought over the Argive troops which took part in that battle; *γῆμαι δὲ φασι τὴν Ἀργεῖαν οἱ μὲν ἐκπεσόντα τὸ πρῶτον, οἱ δὲ κατέχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν* (17.4). 'These statements do not come from Herodotus, and so presumably they are derived from the Atthis.' I agree: or at least one of the two views must be from the Atthis. But how could any writer who put Pallene in 546 think that Peisistratus and Timonassa were married either in 560 or in 559, if their son brought over troops in 546 when he was at most twelve or thirteen years old? I do not, however, know how much weight should be allowed to this objection, for there is a difficulty anyhow. Pallene cannot be much later than 539, and the theory that Timonassa's marriage took place during the first exile becomes difficult if that exile began in 556; for still Hegesistratus could not have been more than 15 or so. But at least the other view may have been argued, that the marriage took place while Peisistratus was in power. However, Aristotle may have made a mistake here: perhaps not Hegesistratus, but someone else, say Gorgilus, brought the Argive allies, δι' *Ἡγησίστρατον*.⁷

(3) Adcock's figures do not fit. Pallene should be 547-6 (nineteen years before 528-7), and therefore the second exile 557-6, not 556-5; and between 547-6 and 561-0 there are only 14, not 16 years as demanded by his theory.

(4) But there is a further difficulty, of a more general character, and more important than any of these. 'What we have,' says Adcock, 'is two alternative pairs of dates placed in succession. . . . I would suggest that the two alternative series of five and eleven years and six and ten years are reached by dividing the period 561 to 546 into the years of the second exile (ten or eleven) and the years preceding it (six or five). . . . That they come to be in the text is not then due to some perverse design of Aristotle's or to a conflict between the Atthis and Herodotus, but to carelessness or accident. What should have appeared was no more than general indications of time for the first expulsion and return . . ., and then for the second expulsion the sixth

⁷ In explaining Aristotle we should not lay any stress on the fact that Hdt. i. 61 and Plut. *Cat. mai.* 24 say that Hippias and Hipparchus were grown up when Peisistratus married Megacles' daughter (Hdt.) and when he married Timonassa (Plut.). With Adcock's dates this would mean that they were both over 18 in 560, and Hippias therefore 90 or more at the battle of Marathon. (It would be better on Adcock's own theory to alter his first dates: say 560-59 first expulsion, 557 first return. This would more easily explain the doubts as to the date of this marriage, and at the same time suits better the story of Megacles' daughter.)

Incidentally, it is time we ceased arguing,

as Sandys for example does, that Peisistratus' marriage with 'the Argive woman' more probably took place during his exile than during his first rule, 'when her presence in the palace would not have ingratiated him . . . with his wedded wife.' ἡ Ἀργεῖα no more means 'the Argive woman' (as opposed to 'wife' or 'lady') than ὁ Ἀργεῖος means 'the Argive fellow'; and the Athenians were not polygamists. Peisistratus' first wife was dead or divorced, when he married Timonassa. At a later time, when there was a more cogent distinction between marriage with an Athenian and with a foreigner, Pericles divorced his wife before marrying Aspasia.

or seventh year after his last date (Comeas 561-0), and for the second return the twelfth or eleventh year after the expulsion. Instead, a chronological note, sixth and twelfth *or* seventh and eleventh, has crept into the text (probably from the margin) in the form sixth and twelfth *and* seventh and eleventh, and the four dates appear in the four places where dates could appear. Whether this intrusion took place in Aristotle's lifetime or after his death, whether it was a careless philosopher or an over-zealous literary executor, we have no means of judging.'

Impossible to judge, yes; but possible, and necessary, to distinguish between two very different processes and to get, or try to get, a clear idea of each. It is legitimate (perhaps) to speak of words 'creeping into the text,' of 'intrusion,' when you mean that a copyist (not an editor), finding in his original a note interlinear or marginal, supposes it to belong to the text and inserts it in his own, automatically, not consciously correcting the text but thinking that he is only writing more neatly what his predecessor had had before him. Adcock supposes Aristotle's original text to have contained ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει for the second return and also ἑκτῷ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἄρχοντος for the second exile. If so, we should expect in the margin only such notes as: ἄλλοι φασὶ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει and ἦτοι ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα. These might get out of place, but their 'intrusion' would not produce anything like the text that we have. Or if Aristotle originally had no dates, or only ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει, and there was a more elaborate note, as for example: ἐξέπεσε τὸ δεύτερον ὁ Π. ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν ἐπὶ Ἡ. ἄρχοντος καὶ κατήλθεν ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει μετὰ ταῦτα. ἄλλως· ἑκτῷ ἔτει ἐξέπεσε καὶ δωδεκάτῳ κατήλθεν—and had such a note in a corrupt form (*and for or*) 'crept into the text,' we should again have had nothing like what in fact we have.

If, on the other hand, the interpolation was a conscious effort to add dates to a dateless text, that is a very different matter. Whether it was the work of Aristotle himself or of an editor, I for my part cannot imagine it being done without some attempt to reconcile the figures with the rest of the narrative. Adcock compares these notes of time with c. iv. of the *Constitution* which is certainly an interpolation in the sense that it was 'put in after the narrative in the *Ath. Pol.* was written,' whether by Aristotle or another, and is independent of it. But in the case of c. iv. attempts were made to correct the rest of the narrative accordingly: three of them, in 3.1, 7.3,⁸ and 41.2. Here there is none, though the inconsistency is so much more obvious, the error so patent, so manifestly absurd. What moreover of the statement in 17.1 that of the thirty-three years between Comeas and his death Peisistratus was on the

⁸ One should note also 8. 4 τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τὸ νομοφυλακεῖν, ὥσπερ ὑπῆρχεν καὶ πρότερον ἐπίσκοπος οὕσα τῆς πολιτείας, and observe that this 'correction' points back not only to the Draconic constitution, 4.4, but also to the pre-Draconic, 3.6. Incidentally, not all of c. iv may be 'interpolated': we cannot help

noticing how admirably §§ 4-5 ἡ δὲ βουλή ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φύλαξ ἦν τῶν νόμων κτλ. would suit § 1 Δράκων τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἔθηκεν, had some account of the θεσμοὶ or of their publication and its effect (or of the ἐφέται and the φυλοβασιλεῖς—Wil. i. 94) followed these words, instead of ἡ δὲ τάξις αὕτη κτλ.

throne for 19 and *in exile the rest*?⁹ Did that too creep into the text? Adcock says no; but how could Aristotle have written that if he was accepting the general tradition (which the Atthis got from Herodotus) that the number 19 referred to the years of continuous rule after the battle of Pallene?

We can only balance probabilities. There is an error, and which is the least improbable correction? We have three kinds to choose from: (1) the mistake is due to a copyist who inserted a comment in the text; (2) we have an 'interpolation' by Aristotle or by an editor; (3) the old theory that one or more of the figures are corrupt: *ἔκτωρ ἔτει* does well enough for the first expulsion;¹⁰ and the alteration of *δωδεκάτω* to *τετάρτω* as (explained by Sandys) and of *ἔτει μάλιστα ἐβδόμῳ* to *μηνὶ μ. ἑ.*¹¹ gives a fairly satisfactory result, rids the text of the two figures which are in themselves the most improbable, and is not wildly extravagant. This seems to me a solution, not indeed agreeable in itself, but less improbable than the other two. (I am not of course wedded to this particular emendation. All I mean is that we need not assume that more than these two dates are corrupt, and that these corrections of them are palaeographically possible.)¹²

There is another possible solution (which is nearer to Professor Adcock's): namely that *ἔτει δωδεκάτω* is corrupt (a copyist's error) and Aristotle had no date (as Herodotus had none) for the second return, but that *ἔκτωρ ἔτει . . . ἐφ' Ἡγησίου ἀρχοντος* and *μηνὶ μάλιστα ἐβδόμῳ*, as well as *ἐνδεκάτω πάλιν ἔτει*, are correct. Aristotle gives no archon-names for these three dates, and this suggests that he did not know them (though this is not certain—he gives no archon for the murder of Hipparchus). But it is only necessary to suppose

⁹ Not to mention the slightly divergent account in the *Politics*, which is clearly not from Herodotus, for the figures are different. This in itself is sufficient to show that the whole story of Peisistratus' reign in the Atthis was not dependent on Herodotus.

¹⁰ It should however be noted that in giving Hegesias as the archon for this year, Aristotle is at variance with *Marm. Par.*, which names Euthydemus as fifth after Comeas; as has been pointed out by Pomtow (*Rh. Mus.* 1896, pp. 570 ff.).

¹¹ I do not see why Adcock should object, 'How is it likely that Aristotle or any other Athenian authority at his disposal should know how many months Peisistratus ruled . . . And why, if Aristotle did know this chronology so exactly, did he qualify the phrase *ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ* by a tentative and modest *μάλιστα*?' It is quite easy to suppose a tradition 'that Peisistratus quarrelled with Megacles after 'about six months.' Thucydides gives very few dates in the *Pentecostæta*, but he can tell us that Oenophyta was fought 61 days after Tanagra, and that the Corinthians turned out again to face

the Athenians *ἡμέραις δώδεκα μάλιστα* after the previous battle. Aristotle knew, or thought he knew, that the Cypselid tyranny lasted 73 years and 6 months (*Pol.* v. 12. 22).

¹² Pomtow—*l.c.*: see Adcock, p. 175—should not have argued that the ordinal numbers in the *Ath. Pol.* deserve special respect as they are not liable to the confusion of figures, being written in full: in 54. 7 we have *ἑ* for *πέμπτῃ*, in 32. 1 *δ* for *τετράδι*, *θ* for *ἐνάτης* 47. 4, and in 63. 2 the false reading *τριακοστοῦ* as an interpretation of *λ*. He also says, as we should all like to say, that it is arbitrary to take this or that figure and declare it corrupt. Yet some figures in the *Ath. Pol.* are certainly corrupt—*πέμπτῳ* in 22. 2 (unless there is a big lacuna before), *τετάρτῳ* 22. 8 (unless this is a slip on Aristotle's part), and *ἐπτακοσίους* 24. 3; and this last case does not make all the other figures in the context suspect. Certainly Pomtow's own suggestion that *μηνὶ* has twice been corrupted into *ἔτει* within 15 lines (which still leaves him with an impossible *δωδεκάτω* on his hands) is just as arbitrary.

that the length of one period in Peisistratus' life was unknown. Aristotle may have known, and given, the duration of the second rule and the second exile; but if the duration of the first exile was unknown, no archons could be given for the second exile and for Pallene. One would like to suggest ἔτι δὲ καί as a correction of ἔτει δὲ δωδεκάτῳ; but it has not the required sense.

I am here only concerned with the narrative of Aristotle. It may be that Herodotus meant by 36 years of Peisistratid rule years of continuous rule, and by μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον a shorter time than 5 years for the first period; and that he was correct in this. But in that case Aristotle must have misinterpreted or disagreed with him. All one can say is that one would naturally think twice before preferring Herodotus to Aristotle as an authority on chronology.

With regard to the terminal dates of Peisistratid rule we can draw some useful conclusions. We have certain data in Aristotle: 33 years for Peisistratus from accession to death, about 17 for Hippias, 49 for the two together; and the three archon-years Comeas, Philoneos, Harpactides. Now in the case of a later king like Alexander the Great, we find statements such as that in *Chron. Oxyrh.* (*Ox. Pap.* i. 25 ff.), that he succeeded Philip in Ol. 111. 1 and died in Ol. 114. 1, having reigned thirteen years. This does not surprise us, for it was well known that he succeeded early in 336-5 and died late in 324-3, and reigned in fact 12 years and 8 months;¹³ the data for his chronology were *independently* recorded. No one will suppose that there existed this fullness of data for the Peisistratids; everyone will agree that either the figures are inferred (by the Atthis) from the archon-names or the archons from the figures; and that of these two the latter is far the more probable. Further, since 33 + 17 does not equal 49, none of these figures can be an inference from the others, but all must have been *independently* recorded. The chronologer then who is Aristotle's authority will have argued in one of the two following ways: Harpactides being fixed for the expulsion of Hippias (and, being three years after a greater Panathenaea, this is for us 511-0), then either (1) 17 years for Hippias fixes the death of Peisistratus in Philoneos' year (which will thus be 528-7); and 33 years for Peisistratus points to Comeas (who will thus be 561-0). The 49 years for the whole period (*independently* recorded) will then imply that the tyranny began late under Comeas and ended early under Harpactides. Or (2) 49 years for the whole points to Comeas (who will then be for us 560-59); 33 for Peisistratus to Philoneos (527-6); from Philoneos to Harpactides (511-0, already fixed) will then be only 'about 17'; in which case the tyranny began early under Comeas, and Peisistratus died early under Philoneos, while Hippias will have been expelled late under Harpactides: the expression 'about 17' being purposely used because the number 17 was recorded for Hippias, while the archons' names allowed only 16. In no circumstances can Philoneos be dated (for Aristotle) 529-8, as Jacoby wishes (*Marm. Par.*, p. 169). As far as I can see, the only

¹³ Characteristically chronologers like years' reign, reckoning by the dates only Eratosthenes and Eusebius give him 12 (Jacoby, *Marm. Par.*, p. 195).

reason for preferring the former of these two alternatives is that, Solon being fixed in 594-3 for Aristotle (see Schröder, *Philol.* 53, p. 720 f.), the figure δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ in *Ath. Pol.* 14.1 will then have to be altered to τετάρτῳ καὶ τρ., whereas for the second alternative we must read πέμπτῳ; and of these the former correction is palaeographically better.¹⁴

A. W. GOMME.

¹⁴ Cf. however Jacoby's ingenious emendation of Dem. xxi. 154—ΔΔΔΠ for ΔΔΔΠΙ (*Apollodors Chronik*, 57).

THE *TRIDACNA SQUAMOSA* SHELLS IN ASIA

IN his interesting study of these engraved shells, in *Lindiaka* ii.,¹ Professor Blinkenberg has compiled a list of these objects so far published or mentioned. In regard to the first section of that list, which deals with Asia, the failure to observe the late Professor L. W. King's observations on this subject² have led to some errors in the list which may cause loss of time and labour to future students. The following notes, based upon the numbers in Blinkenberg's list, are intended to be of use in avoiding further confusion.



FIG. 1.—SHELL FOUND AT BETHLEHEM.

Nos. 1 and 2, Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 563, below and above, are respectively the inside and outside of the same fragment, although Layard speaks of 'fragments.' Registration no. 51-1-1, 176; no. 117997. Layard's woodcuts are unsatisfactory, since the right-hand side of the lower one attributes to the design on the inside part of the outside design which completes the upper edge of the top woodcut. Found by Sir W. K. Loftus at Warka (Erech).

No. 4. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, p. 68, Abb. 70; there stated to be from Nimrūd (Calah), while Blinkenberg gives Nineveh

¹ *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, xi. 4.

² *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, i. pp. 238-9, Pl. XXXVI.

(Quyunjiq) as the provenance. Registration no. A.O.C.2; no. 118013. Found by Rassam (?) in the palace of Sennacherib at Quyunjiq.

No. 5. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 68, Abb. 69. This is the outside design; the inside is also engraved. Registration no. S. 2274; no. 117998. Provenance given by Poulsen, Nimrūd; by Blinkenberg, Nineveh; actually found by George Smith at Quyunjiq, see King, *loc. cit.*, 239³. Probably part of B (see below).

No. 6. Poulsen, *op. cit.*, p. 69, Abb. 71 (outside and inside). Registration no. 82-9-18, 14352; no. 117999. Provenance given by Poulsen, Nimrūd; by Blinkenberg, Nineveh; actually found at Abu Habbah (Sippar) by Rassam, see King, *loc. cit.*, 238⁶.

No. 7. Complete specimen, face badly damaged. Not published. Provenance, Bethlehem; it was found 'in a grave near Rachel's Tomb' and obtained through the Rev. Dr. Joseph Barclay, minister of the English Church at Jerusalem. Registration no. 65-8-3, 1; no. E. 48287. See Fig. 1.

To this list there should be added the following examples:

A. Small fragment with human-headed sphinx, lotus, etc. on both inside and outside. Registration no. 80-7-19, 221; no. 118000. May belong to the same shell as B. Not published. Provenance, Quyunjiq.

B. Large fragment, published by King, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI. Registration no. Ki. 1904-10-9, 425; no. 99392. Found at Quyunjiq by King. See also No. 5, A and C.

C. Very small fragment. Not published. Registration no. Th. 1905-4-9, 460; no. 98954. May be part of same shell as B; see King, *loc. cit.*, 239³. Found at Quyunjiq by Dr. Campbell Thompson.

D. A large fragment, not yet published, was found on the desert surface at Al 'Ubaid during the excavations at Ur in 1922-3 under the direction of C. L. Woolley. This object is now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

SIDNEY SMITH.

THE EVIDENCE OF AENEAS TACTICUS ON THE ΒΑΛΑΝΟΣ AND ΒΑΛΑΝΑΓΓΡΑ

IN preparing for the press an edition of Aeneas Tacticus, which was left in manuscript form by the late Mr. L. W. Hunter, I have had to consider a good deal the details of the fastening of the Greek city gate. The general principles are familiar to everyone: a gate with two wings (*σανίδες*) opening inwards only, with a wooden bar (*μοχλός*) placed horizontally across it on the inside, secured by a metal bolt (*βάλανος*) which passed through a vertical hole bored in the *μοχλός* and into a socket (*βαλανοδόκη*) in the stone beneath, the top of the *βάλανος*, when pushed home, being well below the top of the *μοχλός*. The *βάλανος* must have been a heavy iron pin, thick enough to stand a big strain, since if anyone tried to force the gate everything depended on the resistance of the *βάλανος*: I imagine it something like twelve inches long and two to three inches thick. It will be remembered that at Plataea in 431 B.C. a soldier fastened one of the gates *στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἄντι βάλανου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν* (Thuc. ii. 4. 3).

To get the *βάλανος* out of the *βαλανοδόκη* when it was once pushed home, and so release the *μοχλός*, a key (*βαλανάγγρα* or *καρκίνος*) was required which, when inserted from above through the hole bored in the *μοχλός*, could be made to grip the *βάλανος* and draw it out. What I intend to consider in this article is the way in which the *βαλανάγγρα* and *βάλανος* can have been made—

- (i) so that a firm hold of the latter could be got at once with the former;
- (ii) so that it would be very difficult to get a firm hold *with anything else*, or in other words very difficult for unauthorized persons to manufacture a *βαλανάγγρα* that would fit.

There is, so far as I know, no direct evidence about this in ancient writers. We have to go on—

- (i) the intrinsic probabilities of the case;
- (ii) *argumenta ex silentio*;
- (iii) the indirect evidence of the various devices known to have been employed by enemies or traitors to withdraw the *βάλανος* without the proper *βαλανάγγρα*, a number of which are described in Chap. XVIII. of Aeneas.

H. Köchly and W. Rüstow, in their excursus on the questions raised by this chapter,¹ suggest the following possibilities for the shape of the *βαλανάγγρα* and the upper part of the *βάλανος* ('der Kopf des Schliessbolzens') :—

- (i) the *βάλανος* ends in a hook, the *βαλανάγγρα* in a ring; or *vice versa*;
- (ii) the *βάλανος* ends in a screw, the *βαλανάγγρα* in a pipe with a female screw inside it; or *vice versa*.

¹ *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller*, Vol. I., pp. 164–167.

The hook-and-ring seems to me altogether too obvious and elementary a device: any hook will take hold of any ring if it is even approximately the right size, and any ring of any hook. No one would have needed to go to much trouble to extract a bolt fitted with a ring or hook: a thin strip of iron with the end bent round would have been enough to do it. On the other hand, the screw is too complicated. There does not seem to be any evidence for the use of screws until a late period, and at any rate it cannot reasonably be supposed that the ordinary city *χαλκεύς* was capable of manufacturing an accurately fitting male and female screw such as would be required for this purpose. Probability, therefore, is against this method; and there is the *argumentum ex silentio*: if the device had been such a distinctive one as a screw, we must surely have heard something of it.

Let us now look at the evidence of Aeneas (Chap. XVIII).

(a) In § 6 we have:—

ἔτι δὲ καὶ θερμασίῳ λεπτῷ ἐξηρέθη· χρή δὲ τοῦ θερμαστίου τὸ μὲν ἐν μέρος εἶναι οἶον σωλήνα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πλατὺ, ὥστε τῷ μὲν σωληνοειδεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν βάλανον, τῷ δὲ ἐπιλαμβάνειν.

‘Again, it (*sc.* the bolt) has also been taken out with a small pair of pincers: one nipper of the pincers must be hollowed like a channel, the other flat, so that you can receive the bolt with the channelled nipper and get a hold upon it with the other.’

One nipper of the *θερμασίον* has on the inside a channel-like hollow running vertically, the other an ordinary flat grip. What sort of *βάλανος* could be grasped by such an instrument? Surely one which was mainly cylindrical, but had one side flattened. (See Fig. 1 for section.) The *σωληνοειδὲς μέρος* ‘under-receives’ (*ὑπολαμβάνειν*) the cylindrical surface *abc*, while the *πλατὺ μέρος* ‘takes-hold-upon’ (*ἐπιλαμβάνειν*) the flat surface *de*. For a *βάλανος* of such a shape this is the ideal sort of *θερμασίον*: one that had both nippers flat would not get a good hold on the cylindrical surface, and

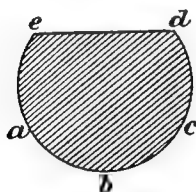


FIG. 1.

one that had both nippers hollowed would fit properly only if it was made exactly the right size; the one described in the text would allow much more latitude in the fit and still get a good hold.

(b) In §§ 9–11 we have an account of some traitors in a city of Achaea who, after getting possession of the *βάλανος* for long enough to take its measurements—

ἔπειτα πρὸς μέτρα οὕτω τῆς βαλάνου βαλανάγραν ἐποίησαντο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἔχαλκεύσαντο σίφωνά τε καὶ φορμορραφίδα. ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν σίφων ἐργασθεὶς καθάπερ εἶωθε γίνεσθαι· τῆς δὲ φορμορραφίδος τὸ μὲν ὅξυ καὶ πολὺ μέρος εἵργαστο καθάπερ ταῖς ἄλλαις φορμορραφίσιν, ἡ δὲ λαβὴ ἦν κοίλη ὥσπερ στυρακίου ἢ στελεὰ <ἢ στελεόν> ἐμβάλλεται. καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῷ χαλκεῖ ἐνεβλήθη στελεόν, ἀπενεχθέντος δὲ ἐξηρέθη, ὥστε πρὸς τὴν βάλανον προσαχθεῖσαν ἀρμόσαι.

‘ Their next step was to get a key made to these measurements, which they did as follows. They had a tube and a rush-mat needle forged: the tube was of the usual pattern, as was the greater part of the needle, including the sharp end; but its handle was made hollow, like the hole in a spike where the shaft is inserted. A shaft was put in at the smithy, but taken out when they carried it home, so that the needle could be driven against the bolt and made to fit.’

A σίφων and a φορμορραφίς—probably an instrument somewhat like a screwdriver: how could these be used to extract a bolt shaped as I have suggested? Surely by placing the σίφων round the βάλανος, where it would take the place of the σωληνοειδές μέρος of the θερμαστήιον, and then driving the φορμορραφίς down inside it, point downwards, against the flat side of the βάλανος until it jambed, thereby getting a grip just like the πλατὺ μέρος of the θερμαστήιον. The whole thing could then be lifted, raising the βάλανος along with it. The point of having the handle of the φορμορραφίς made detachable was probably simply to get it of such a length and thickness that it could be conveniently driven down into the σίφων: the ordinary φορμορραφίς was apparently made all in one piece and of such a size and shape that it would have been difficult to use it in this way. Once again the cylinder flattened on one side is precisely the sort of thing that could be taken hold of by the implements described.

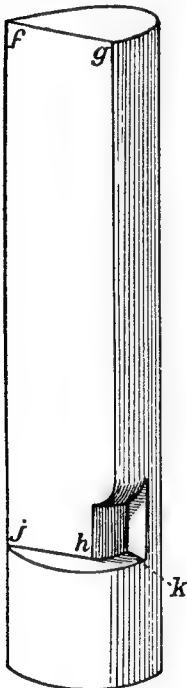


FIG. 2.

Given a βάλανος of this shape, how did the proper βαλανάγγα lay hold of it? I suggest that it was done by some such device as is indicated in Fig. 2. *f g h j* is the flattened face of the βάλανος, *k* is a slot starting from one edge of the flat surface and running a short way round the cylindrical part;

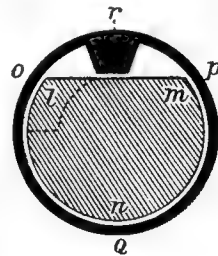


FIG. 3.

the upper edge of this slot was probably rounded so that a simple hook could not grasp it. The βαλανάγγα would then consist of a completely cylindrical tube of metal made so as to fit exactly round the βάλανος, with a stud on its *inside* surface of such a size as not to prevent the tube from passing down the βάλανος so long as the stud was opposite the flattened surface of the latter. (See Fig. 3 for a section of the βάλανος, *l m n*, with the βαλανάγγα, *o p q*, round it, the stud, *r*, being opposite the flat surface, *l m*, of the βάλανος.) The stud must be so placed that the βαλανάγγα can be passed down the βάλανος far enough to bring the stud to the point from which the slot starts: the stud is then slipped into the slot by a slight turn to the right or left as the case may be. There it will be locked so far as an upward pull is concerned, and the

βάλανος can then be extracted simply by lifting the *βαλανάγρα*. It is obvious that this device would give plenty of scope for variety of pattern: the size, shape and position of the stud could all be varied, corresponding alterations being made in the length and breadth of the flat side of the *βάλανος*, and in the size, shape and position of the slot.

S. A. HANDFORD.

AN EASTERN PATRIARCH'S EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

IN *The Times* of January 28th, 1925, appeared the interesting announcement that 'Mar Shimun XXI, the Patriarch of the Nestorian or Assyrian Christians, who is only sixteen years of age, arrived in England yesterday, and proceeded to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, where he is to be educated.'

This is not the first occasion on which a Patriarch of an Eastern Church has received his education in England, and it may be instructive to follow the career of the Orthodox predecessor of the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Shimun XXI, especially as we possess a good deal of information about him, which is, I believe, practically unknown in England. The Greek in question was Metrophanes Critopoulos, who subsequently became Patriarch of Alexandria. He arrived in London about the middle of the year 1617.

The whole story of this mission of Critopoulos is extremely interesting, for it is closely bound up with the struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in the Thirty Years' War, and with the aspirations of Cyril Loucaris, that Patriarch of Constantinople who was in close touch with Western ideas, was accused of being a Calvinist, and was duly anathematised therefor by the Council of Constantinople in 1638. He is probably best known in this country for his present of the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus to King Charles I in 1628.

It is not my intention to describe the career of Cyril Loucaris, except in so far as it touches upon the story of Critopoulos; it has been presented at length by Neale, as has also the episode of Metrophanes Critopoulos as far as the information about him was then available.¹

Since Neale wrote, very important new sources of information about Critopoulos have come to light, and more particularly an Album kept by him during his wanderings in Western countries. This Album was discovered in Egypt, and passed into the hands of Mr. Markos Rhenieres, who has embodied the most important information contained in it, as well as new information from other sources, in the monograph mentioned below.² It is this information I am anxious to make known to English readers, and more particularly the part of it which relates to Critopoulos' sojourn in this country, for it shows

¹ *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Alexandria*, vol. ii. p. 356 ff.

² Markos Rhenieres, *Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος* (Παράρτημα Β' τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος), Athens, 1893. I wish here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to this work, an indebtedness

indeed so great that a large part of this article may be described as a summary of Rhenieres, and on this account I do not as a rule give specific references to his work. I have to thank the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece for kind permission to make free use of this publication.

in a remarkable way into what close contact he was brought with many of the leading men of the time. Nevertheless, in order to make clear the circumstances of the mission, it will be necessary to refer to other sources, and in particular to the very interesting series of letters written to or by Sir Thomas Roe, who was our Ambassador at Constantinople during part of the period in question.³



FIG. 1.—PORTRAIT OF METROPHANES CRITOPOULOS AT THE AGE OF 38, FROM AN ENGRAVING MADE AT SIRASBOURG IN 1627.

(After Demetrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον*, Frontispiece.)

On March 1st, 1616, Cyril Loucaris, then Patriarch of Alexandria, wrote from Egypt to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, saying, 'We received the greatest comfort from the reply of your Blessedness, by which, acting under the command of your King, you advised us to send some of our countrymen to study Theology amongst you with diligence. Here then is a Greek, by rank a Presbyter, possessing a good knowledge of Greek literature, a child

³ *The Negotiations of Sir T. Roe* (edited by S. Richardson), London, 1740. Henceforward cited as Richardson.

of our Alexandrian Church, of noble birth and talents, prepared to receive deeper learning.' ⁴

Authorities are divided as to the date of Critopoulos' birth, which is assigned either to 1589 or 1599. On the whole, considering the evidence of his maturity at the time of his arrival in England, the former date is to be preferred. He was born at Berrhoea in Macedonia, and at the early age of twelve years was appointed *Protopostolarios* by the Metropolitan of that city. Subsequently he was sent to Athos, where he received a training to fit him for his destined calling of priest. It was there he first became acquainted with Cyril Loucaris, who had in 1615 gone to the Holy Mountain to escape persecution at the hands of the Oecumenical Patriarch Timotheos. Cyril subsequently took Critopoulos with him to Egypt, and there chose him as the most suitable person to send on the mission to England.

Critopoulos, as we have seen, probably arrived in London about the middle of 1617. In a letter from Abbot to Cyril, dated November 17th, 1617, we find the following passage : ⁵

'I congratulate you on having obtained the entire friendship of such a King, who, on the perusal of the letters of your Holiness to myself, salutes your Blessedness, and speaks of you in a most flattering manner. And to give you proof of his good will, he has commanded me to receive your Metrophanes in a kind and friendly manner. I will cherish him as a pledge and surety of your love to me; and will gladly supply him with whatever is necessary or may be convenient. I have already planted this generous young shoot of a Grecian school in a pleasant garden, where he may flourish amongst us, and in good time bring forth fruit; it is in the University of Oxford, where there is a most excellent library, and seventeen colleges, and where a numerous race of learned men are supported at the public expense, as in a Prytaneum. Your Metrophanes is already entered on the books; and, when he has come to maturity, and brought forth fruit, then, as shall seem best to your prudence, and be most for the advantage of your Church, he shall either take deep root amongst us, or be sent back to his native soil, and there again planted.'

Despite this letter of Abbot's, it appears from the Album (or *Φιλοθήκη*) that Critopoulos was not at the time it was written actually 'planted in the pleasant garden of Oxford.' The Album was apparently started in 1622, when the time of Critopoulos' departure from Oxford was drawing near. Among the autographs collected in this book is that of Henry Briggs,* the famous mathematician and collaborator with Napier in the drawing up of Logarithmic Tables. Briggs was for some time Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London, and was in 1619 transferred to the newly founded Savilian Chair of Geometry at Oxford. He continued to hold the Gresham Professorship till July 25th, 1620. From his entry in the Album it is clear

⁴ Neale, p. 385 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 388 f.

* Signifies throughout that the person is
J.H.S.—VOL. XLVI.

included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

that Critopoulos, previous to his enrolment at Balliol College, Oxford, was a student at Gresham College.⁶

That Critopoulos spent his time well and profitably at Oxford may be concluded from the letter written by Abbot to Roe which will presently be cited. We have, however, apart from this testimony, abundant evidence in the Album to show that he won the respect of many of the most distinguished men of the day during his residence at the University. I give some account of those who signed in the text, and quote the longer entries in the footnotes.

JOHN PRIDEAUX,* for thirty years Rector of Exeter College, since 1615 Professor of Theology, and subsequently Bishop of Worcester, bears witness to Critopoulos' pious and exemplary bearing.⁷ From the entry of another distinguished theologian, DANIEL FEATLEY* or FAIRCLOUGH, we learn that Cyril, who in November 1621 had been appointed Oecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople, had nominated Critopoulos Πρωτοσύγγελλος, an office which Featley translates by *Cancellarius*. Featley, who had a thorough knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, had held the post of Chaplain to the English Embassy in France, and had there sturdily upheld Anglican tenets against the leading Catholic theologians. On his return to England he was appointed Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, a post in which he made himself famous for his skill in dialectic. The testimony of such a man to the piety, modesty and culture of Critopoulos is of peculiar value in the light of the subsequent attitude of the Archbishop.⁸

Another Savilian Professor at Oxford and former Professor at Gresham College, London, added his autograph to Critopoulos' collection. This is the distinguished astronomer and physician, JOHN BAINBRIDGE,* who was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His work on the comet which appeared in 1618 so impressed Savile that he founded a Savilian Chair of Astronomy at Oxford and appointed Bainbridge to it. His testimony to the

⁶ *Debemus Christo nos nostraque.*
Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Rite beatum, rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui *Jehovae*
Muneribus sapienter uti
Duramque callet pauperiem pati
Peiusque leto flagitium timet.

Haec scripsi ad amoris et benevolentiae memoriam perpetuo conservandam, quae mihi cum eruditissimo amatissimoque viro Metrophane Critopulo primum inita fuit Londini in Collegio Greshamensi quinquennium abhinc, hic autem per biennium continuata et aucta quamque integram inter nos servandam spero. ix. cal. Nov. 1622. HENRICUS BRIGGS publicus Geometriae professor Savillianus in celeberrimâ academiâ Oxoniensi.

⁷ Οὐκ ἐνι Ἰουδαίος οὐδὲ Ἕλληγν' πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἑστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Gal. 3. 28.

Hanc in Jesu Christo unionem testor et voveo, doctissimo Possessori D^{no} Metrophani Critopulo Graeco qui quinquennium pie iuste et sobrie apud nos transegit.

JOHANNES PRIDEAUX S. Theolog. Professor Regius et Collegii Exoniensis Rector. Oxon. Anglorum. Oct. 21. 1622.

⁸ *Lumen ab Oriente.*

Metrophani Critopulo, beatissimi Cyrilli Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Cancellario, omnium Graecorum qui huc appulerunt flori delibato, et suadae Atticae μελῶ, pietatis, modestiae, humanitatis, et, ut verbo dicam, πᾶσαν ἀρετῶν κορυφᾶς δρέποντι, hoc immortalis amicitiae et suavissimae cum eo per integrum annum necessitudinis σύμβολον et ἀνημέρουν dico dedico.

DANIEL FEATLEY SS. Theol. Prof. Archiepiscop. Cantabr. a sacris.

'learning-loving and much-learned Critopoulos' is in a mixture of Greek, Latin and English.⁹

Nothing strikes one more than the variety of the pursuits of those who gave the Greek priest their autographs. One of the great names in English literature appears there in the person of ROBERT BURTON,* the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, who in inscribing his farewell to his dear Critopoulos under date 23rd October, 1622, styles himself 'Sacr. Theol. bacc. in aed. Christi Oxoniae.' At the time he was Vicar of St. Thomas in the west suburbs, and the *Anatomy of Melancholy* had appeared the year before.

Two theologian-poets of distinction figure in the Album. The first is RICHARD CORBET,* Dean of Christ Church, and subsequently Bishop of Oxford, from which see he was in 1632 translated to Norwich. His entry is dated 22nd October, 1622.¹⁰ The second is THOMAS GOFFE* of the same College, who on October 21st recorded his appreciation of the *humanitas* of Critopoulos.¹¹

Another interesting person with whom Critopoulos formed friendly relations was the son of the great scholar Isaac Casaubon, MERIC CASAUBON,* a student of Christ Church, who himself gained distinction by his theological and philosophical writings. In view of the frequent testimony paid to Critopoulos' modesty, we may acquit Casaubon of veiling a reproof under a verse of Scripture.¹²

Casaubon was not the only foreigner of distinction with whom Critopoulos made friends at Oxford. The German LUCAS HOLSTENIUS † was there at the time, having come over from Hamburg in order to gather materials for an edition of the Greek geographical writers. His ardour in this field had been inspired by the great geographer Philip Cluvier, with whom he

* Αὐτοφύες ἔχει φίλτρον πᾶσα συνήθης χώρα.
Ut tua, Metrophanes, dicatur Graecia verax
Oxonii nostri sis memor usque, vale.
Make this word true, Metrophanes, indeed—
Remember Oxford still, and so God speed.

φιλομαθεῖ καὶ πολυμαθεῖ ἀνδρὶ
Μητροφάνει τῷ Κριτοπούλῳ
Ἑλληνι Βερροιαίῳ τοῦτο φιλίας
Μνημόσυνον ἔθηκεν,
Ἔτει ξρλ᾿ ἡλίου τὴν δωδεκάτην μοῖραν ἀνατρέ-
χοντος

ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ Ο ΒΑΙΝΒΡΙΓΓΙΟΣ ἱατρὸς καὶ
ἀστρονομίας
ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ ἐν Ὁξωνίᾳ διδάσκαλος.
I leave the explanation of Bainbridge's
date, which presumably = 1622, to some
astronomer.

¹⁰ Judaei signa petunt et Graeci sapien-
tiam, nos autem praedicamus Christum
crucifixum. 1 Cor. ver. 22.
Hanc sapientiam crucis studiis suis,
moribus et doctrinā didicit, docuit, firmavit
vir probus, pius, Graecus Metrophanes
Critopulus in Academiā Oxoniensi.

Ita testatur RICH. CORBET aedis Christi
decanus.

¹¹ Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον
ἔγνω.

In peregrinatione vitam agentibus hoc
evenit ut multa habeant hospitium, nullas
amicitias. Tibi, venerande Metrophanes,
aliter contingit, qui et hospitium benigna et
amicitias veras (quas humanitas tua bene
meruit) invenisti et nunc licet coelum certe
amicos non mutabis.

Dia ambitio venerabilis Critopuli has
mihi dictavit literas, quod me in albō
suorum annumerari dignatus est. Octobr.
21, 1622.

THO. GOFF artium magister ex aede
Christi.

¹² Μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ
φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. Rom. 12. 3.

Doctissimo et humanissimo viro Metro-
phani Critopulo, amico coniunctissimo,
Mericus Casaubonus Is. F. scripsit in
diuturnae conversationis et aeterni amoris
testimonium.

Μαρτ. 3, 1623.

† See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*
(under *Holste*).

had travelled in Italy and Sicily. Holstenius at a later date embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and became Librarian to the Vatican.¹³

Amongst numerous other entries of teachers and fellow-students at Oxford that of JOHN ROUS,* Bodley's Librarian, may be noted, an entry which shows that Critopoulos made frequent use of the Bodleian Library.¹⁴

On leaving Oxford, Critopoulos travelled to London in company with DR. THOMAS JACKSON,* apparently the subsequent President of Corpus Christi College. He prevailed on him to make an entry in his Album, the uncertain Latin quantities of which may perhaps be excused as due to the distractions of the road.¹⁵

With the departure of Critopoulos from Oxford we are approaching the time when there came about a strange change of attitude on the part of Abbot towards his protégé, a change which will occupy us later on. For the moment the Archbishop was still well-disposed towards him, for there is an undated entry in the Album from Abbot's * hand, which must belong to this period.¹⁶ The same favourable impression still remained in the Archbishop's mind when he wrote to Sir Thomas Roe a letter dated Lambeth, November 22nd, 1622. Though the substance of Abbot's correspondence with Roe, as far as it relates to Critopoulos, has been given by Neale,¹⁷ I think it well to quote a good deal of it here, partly for the sake of elucidating the general situation, and partly because I have studied the full correspondence as given in S. Richardson's edition of *Sir Thomas Roe's Negotiations with the Grand Signor*, which Neale does not appear to have used.

On the 29th April, 1622, Sir T. Roe wrote to the Archbishop as follows :¹⁸

'The patriarch of the Greeke Church here is a man of more learning and witt then hath possessed that place in many years, and in religion a direct Calvinist; yett he dares not shewe yt : but it were an easy worke, upon any alteration here, to settle that church in a right way.'

In his reply dated Lambeth, November 20th, 1622, the Archbishop wrote :¹⁹

'And now having fitt opportunity to returne you some what, I do first

¹³ Holstenius' entry is :

Μή μοι γενοιθ' ἂ βούλομαι ἄλλ' ἂ ξυμφέρει.
Μένανδρ.

Im stillschweigen und hoffen.

Τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ
Μητροφάνει τῷ Κριτοπούλλῳ φίλῳ φιλάτῳ
ἐνεκα ἔγραψεν ἐν τῇ τῆς Ὁξωνίας Ἀκαδημίας
Λουκᾶς ὁ Ὀλστέϊνιος Σάξων.

ἔτει τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας ,αχκβ. Ὀκτω-
βρίου ιθ.

¹⁴ Ἀμεινόν ἐστι φίλον ἔχειν ἄξιον ἢ πολλοὺς
μηθενὸς ἀξί. υς.

In haec verba Critopulum suum doctum,
probum et modestum valere jubet et
Augustissimae Bodleianae, quam olim
frequentavit, memorem esse

Jo. Rous, Bibliothecarius

Oxon.

¹⁵ Dum vadis in patriam ventosa per
aequora, amice,
Clementes caelos et astra benigna
precabor.

Ἐλπίς ἄγκυρα ψυχῆς.

Sit tibi et mihi, clarissime Critopule, qui
Deus est tuus, Deus est meus, utrisque
semper benignus adsit.

Comes itineris Oxoniā Londinum.

THOMAS JACKSON, S.T.D.

¹⁶ I pede fausto.

Libens hoc posuit GEORGIUS ABBOTT, in
gratiam Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου viri πάση τῇ
ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέροντος.

¹⁷ p. 413 ff.

¹⁸ Richardson, p. 36.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

recommend unto you this bearer Critopulus Metrophanes, a Greeke borne in Byrraea, and sent unto me five or six yeeres since by Cyrill, then patriarke of Alexandria, and now of Constantinople: he hath remained all his time in Oxford, where I have taken care that he hath been well and sufficiently maintained, and thereby hath attained unto some reasonable knowledge of the English tongue, not neglecting his studies otherwise. Hee is a learned man, and hath lived in that university with good report, whereof he is able to shew letters testimoniall to the good contentment, I hope, of that reverend man from whom hee was sent.

'As for the patriarke himselfe, I do not doubt that in opinion of religion hee is, as wee terme him, a pure Calvinist, and so the Jesuits in these parts do brand him. I have heeretofore received from him diverse letters written in the old Greeke, by which I do perceive that there breatheth in him a soule, as on the one side, full of piety and devotion; so, on the other side, full of prudence and discretion. I had published his letters to the worlde, but that peradventure it might have caused him some blame, for some free but true speeches, touching the place wherein you live. I do now write unto him, and do desire that by you all good correspondence between him and me may be continued.'

I have quoted rather more of these letters than relates strictly to Critopoulos, because they are of interest as showing the general opinion entertained of the theological leanings of Cyril at this time. But the letter of the Archbishop makes it certain that in the November of 1622 Abbot still had a high opinion of the character of Critopoulos.

Roe's letters of 8/18 March and 2/12 May, 1623,²⁰ give an interesting account of a Jesuit plot against Cyril, who had the ardent support of our ambassador. Though Cyril excommunicated the Greek Bishop put up against him by the Jesuits (with the connivance of the French Ambassador), yet by the aid of bribery and slander—to the effect that Cyril was scheming to make over one of the islands of the Archipelago to the Florentines—the Vizier was induced to depose and imprison him. Roe concludes his account of Cyril's deposition by saying: 'It is happy for the Greeke your grace hath bred in Oxford, that he came not in this time: yet I would have received him, though I believe he would have beene a sadd guest to see his church and her government bought and sold.'

As far as Abbot's wishes were concerned Critopoulos would have been that 'sadd guest' in Constantinople. But in the interval between November 1622 and August 1623 the relations between him and the Archbishop had undergone a change for the worse. As for the reasons which caused this breach, we are largely left to conjecture. Abbot's indignation is based mainly upon the fact that, contrary to his wishes, his protégé would not proceed to Constantinople direct by sea (apparently shortly after November 1622), but insisted on visiting the Universities of Germany on his way back. The Archbishop also complained that Critopoulos fell into bad company, and that he procured an audience with James I, which he used for improper objects. It

²⁰ Richardson, pp. 134 and 146.

would be unfair to attribute mean motives to the Archbishop on the evidence before us (though his jealousy of Critopoulos' influence with the King is a little suspicious), but, on the other hand, it would be even more unfair to accept, as Roe did, his censures of Critopoulos as fully justified.

I think that Rhenieres establishes a complete vindication of the conduct of Critopoulos. There are two very strong arguments in his favour. The one is that he retained the unshaken confidence of Cyril, who after all was the person chiefly concerned; the other is that both in England and in Germany he obtained the highest testimonials to his character from persons of the greatest eminence who had ample opportunity for forming an accurate estimate of him. It seems perfectly natural that Cyril should have wished his emissary to gain a first-hand knowledge of the Universities of Germany and become intimate with the leading theologians there, for this would be an essential part of his scheme for an alliance between the Reformed Churches of the West and the Orthodox Eastern Church against the Pope and the Jesuits. But the facts must speak for themselves and the reader must draw his own conclusions from the evidence about to be presented.

The letter intimating Abbot's high displeasure with Critopoulos is addressed to Sir Thomas Roe and is dated Croydon, August 12th, 1623.²¹ Here again I quote rather more of it than relates to Critopoulos, for the letter is important for the attitude of James I towards Cyril.

'I have acquainted his majesty with the oppression and violence which is offered to that patriarke, and how the Jesuits have been the boutefeux in that business. His majesty willed mee to write unto you, and that you should give him such assistance as in your power; and I will hope, that if his life bee preserved, there may come another turne, although it be to the ruine of that viseer, and the diminution of that reputation which the Jesuits aspire unto both there and elsewhere. If you see the patriarke, commend my love unto him, and let him know how affectionate and compassionate I am in his sufferings; wishing, with all my hart, that I were able any way to releev him and comfort him.

'The Grecian, Critopylos Metrophanes, hath taken his journey very lately into France and Holland, pretending from thence to go by land to Constantinople. I bred him full five yeeres in Oxford, with good allowance for diett, cloaths, bookes, chamber, and other necessities; so that his expence, since his comeing into England, doth amount almost to three hundred pounds. Whiles hee was in that university, hee carried himselfe well; and at Michaelmas last I sent for him to Lambeth, taking care that in a very good shippe hee might bee conveyed to that port, with accomodation of all things by the way. But by the ill counsell of some body, hee desired to go to the court at Newmarket that hee might see the Kinge before his departure. His majesty used him well; but there hee was put into a conceite, that hee might gett some thinge to buy him bookes to carry home to the patriarke. The meanes that hee gaped after were such as you can hardly beleev; at first, that hee should have a knight to bee made for his sake; and then, after that, a baronet, wherein

²¹ Richardson, p. 171.

a proiector should have shared with him : after that, the Kinge was to bee moved to give the advowson of a benefice, which a false simoniacal person did promise to buy of him. I caused my chaplaines to dissuade him from these thinges, and I interposed mine own censure in it, as thinking these courses to be unwise, unfitt, and unworthy. But, to satisfy his desire, I bought him new out of the shoppe, many of the best Greeke authors, and among them Chrysostomes eight tomes. I furnished him also with other bookes of worth, in Latin and in English; so that I may boldly say, it was a present fitt for mee to send to the patriarke of Constantinople. In the meane time, since Michaelmas last, I lodged him in my owne house, I sett him at my owne table, I cloathed him, and provided all conveniences for him; and would once againe have sent him away in a good shippe, that hee might safely have returned : but hee fell into the company of certaine Greeks, with whom wee have bene much troubled for collections, and otherwise; and although I knew them to bee counterfeits and vagabonds, (as sundry times you have written unto mee,) yet I could not keepe my man within dores, but hee must bee abroad with them, to the expence of his time and mony. In breefe, writing a kind of epistle unto mee, that hee would rather loose his bookes, suffer imprisonment, and loose of his life, then go home in any shippe; but that hee would see the parts of Christendome, and better his experience that way. I found that hee ment to turne roague and beggar, and more I cannot tell what; and thereupon I gave him ten pounds in his purse, and leaving him to Sir Paul Pindares care, at my removing to Croydon, about fortnights since, I dismiss him. I had heard before of the basenes and slavishnes of that nation : but I could never have beleaved, that any creature in humane shape, having learning, and such education as hee hath had heere, could, after so many yeeres, have bene so farre from ingenuity and any gratefull respect. But hee must take his fortune, and I will learne by him to intreate so well no more of his fashion. Only I have thus at large acquainted you with the unworthy cariage of this fellow, which though it bee indecent in him, yet for the patriarks sake I grudge it not unto him.'

Before giving Roe's reply to this letter, it will be convenient to cite a document which shows that, whatever opinions Abbot may have entertained about the propriety of Critopoulos' visit to King James I and his behaviour in connexion therewith, that monarch thought him well worthy of his favour. The document was first published by the Archimandrite Demetrakopoulos from the original in the Library of Hamburg.²² Other documents from the Hamburg collection will be cited in due course.

' JACOBUS DEI GRATIA MAGNAE BRITANNIAE

' Franciae et Hiberniae Rex fidei defensor, Serenissimis atq. Illustrissimis Principibus Ducibus Comitibus Thalassiararchis Exercituum militariumve duc-
toribus Urbium Arcium Portuum Viarum Fluminum Praefectis, et quocunq.

²² Demetrakopoulos, *Δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Μητροφάνους τοῦ Κριτοπούλου*, 1870, p. 9 f.

alio magistratu eminentibus Ecclesiastico civili, seu sua seu vicaria fungantur potestate, in quorum benevolas manus venient hae nostrae Salvi conductus literae Salutem.

‘QUI HAS Vestrae humanitati legendas exhibet

‘METROPHANES CRITOPULUS Graecus e Beroea Macedoniae, ante quinquennium huc in Angliam missus à Beatissimo in Christo patre, CYRILLO, Reverentissimo novae Romae hoc tempore Patriarcha, ab eodemq. nunc revocatus in patriam, ut Ecclesiae, cujus causâ hos labores suscepit, deinceps inserviat Sacerdos ipse et Hieromonachus, prius è Britannîâ excedere noluit, quam nos sui itineris faceret certiores, ut qui nobis volentibus has terras ingressus est, bonâ nostrâ cum veniâ et pace regrederetur ad suos. Intellexim^s autem dictum Metrophanem in Academiâ nostrâ Oxoniensi, ubi lustrum hoc exegit, in lectione Sanctorum Patrum, Doctorumq. Ecclesiae in omnib^s q. sacri studii partib^s fuisse assiduum, non neglectis interim doctissimorum omnis generis virorum colloquiis quib^s (ut ex ipsorum patet testimoniis) magnum sui abiens reliquit hic peregrin^s desiderium; ea illius passim visa est animi moderatio et cum insigni eruditione conjuncta morum Sanctitas.

‘Quò igitur tutius redeat in patriam, quò eum revocat Superiorum autoritas, suspicionesq. et moras et alia quib^s viatores obnoxii sunt incommoda devitet unicè eos rogatos volumus, quorum supra honoris causâ meminimus, consanguineos et amicos nostros, ut l(i)ceat huic Metrophani terrâ mariq. quò destinat proficisci, perq. eorum ditiones, provincias, praefecturas sine offensâ aut injuriâ transire. Quod si quis nostris hisce commendaticiis inductus peculiari aliquâ gratiâ et favore eum dignabitur, nos pro eo, quod ipse solvere non potest, debebimus, pari humanitate compensaturi, qu(u)m id a nobis eorum exiget aut utilitas aut necessitas.

‘Datum sub Chirographo et Sigillo nostro, e Regiâ nostrâ Albaula Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo vigesimo tertio.’

Sir T. Roe in a letter to Abbot, dated Constantinople, 24th January, 162(4),²³ replies to the Archbishop's letter of August 12th of the preceding year. It shows that Cyril had perfect confidence in Critopoulos. The Patriarch had in the interval been released from his imprisonment in Rhodes and restored, largely (as Roe explains in a letter of 4/14 October, 1623, to Sir Dudley Carleton)²⁴ through the aid of the Dutch Ambassador. I give the most important passage of Roe's letter of January 24th.

‘I have, according to your command, acquainted the good patriarch with his majesties grace, and of your graces compassionat affection towards him, which hath much revived his heart, and which, with all gratitude, hee will, by the next post, acknowledge to both. By my letters of the 14th Oct. and 15th Nov., which I hope are arrived, I gave your grace advice of his restitution; and with them I sent you a letter, with others enclosed, to Metrophanes, from him. I have also let him know the devious course taken by that man of your bounty and care for him, and all the circumstances of his departure. Att first hee seemed somewhat astonished; but his affection

²³ Richardson, p. 213. The 1623 there is clearly an error.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

towards him prevailed to make his excuse; first, That hee had given him in charge to provide bookes; which might occasion him to tread awry, to gett money: next, That hee could not beleve of him, butt that hee would soone shake off his vagabond company, and retorne directly hither. For those bookes which your grace intended to send him, hee made earnest enquiry, whether Metrophanes had them, and what hee had done with them; of which I could give him no other account, butt that they were bought as a present for him. Hee lamented the loss of them with complaint of the little meanes hee had to bee furnished with any, butt such as were allowed, and sold in Italy; whereby I perceived that Metrophanes error should not deprive him of your graces favour. Hee hath taken order to write into Holland, France, and divers other parts to recall this straye sheepe, to whom hee beares an entire love; and if hee come hither, intends to make him a kind of coadjutor in judging of causes, and to conferr upon him all the dignity hee can.'

The rest of this letter is occupied with an account of the continued plots of the Jesuits and the French Ambassador against Cyril.

On June 23rd, 1624, Abbot again wrote from Lambeth to Sir T. Roe,²⁵

'You must salute the patriarke in my name, to whom at this time I do not write; but I hold it fitt to give him this account of Metrophanes; that in July last I gave him *viaticum*, to carry him to Constantinople by land; and for a long time after I heard of him, but saw him not; only in February or March last, hee came unto mee, and told mee, that hee was resolved then speedily to go home by sea, and would know what service I would command him. I told him, that for 7 or 8 moneths hee had not knowne mee, and I now would not know him; hee might go where he list, and might do what hee pleased. I thought then hee had gone away; but now, two daies past, being in my coach at London, I saw him go by mee; but what hee intendeth, or what hee hath done with the books which I gave him for the patriarke, I can yield no account.'

It will be well to give here the rest of the Abbot-Roe correspondence, as far as it relates to Critopoulos at this time.

A letter from Roe dated Constantinople 9/19 December, 1624,²⁶ contains the following passage:

'I have acquainted the patriarch with your graces first and last letters concerning Metrophanes; who can heare nothing against him, that affection doth not enterprett to the better. Hee expects him daily, and your worthy present of bookes. I feare they will bee pawned in the way. Of wandering Greeks there is so great store, that I am forced daily to deny my passports.'

To whom the Archbishop in a letter dated Lambeth, March 30th, 1625:²⁷

'I know not what to say to the patriarke touching Metrophanes; his rogish countrey men did undoe him; hee had bene fairly caried to Constantinople by sea, and I gave him *viaticum* to that purpose; but hee is gone with pretence to travaile through Germany by land, in which course I cannot see how hee should carye the bookes alonge with him. I do mucche feare, that hee hath

²⁵ Richardson, p. 253.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

fared so well in these parts, that hee will hardly reduce himselfe to the strict life of the Coloires in the Greeke churche.'

It is time, however, to leave these hard judgments, and to see what evidence there is to show how Critopoulos was really spending his time while Abbot and Roe were passing their strictures upon him.

Rhenieres in his monograph reminds us that there was in London at this time a Greek named Nicodemos Metaxas,²⁸ nephew of a late Bishop of Cephalonia and Zacynthos, who had gone there with the object of procuring a Greek printing-press in order to print Greek books for the enlightenment of his fellow-countrymen. We shall later on see from Roe's correspondence that this printing-press was ultimately taken to Constantinople with exciting results. Though direct evidence is wanting, there seems little doubt that Critopoulos had a hand in this enterprise, and that Nicodemos Metaxas was one of the 'vagabond' Greeks with whom he consorted in London.

We have, however, positive evidence from the Album to show that during this period, in which he lay under the Archbishop's heavy displeasure, Critopoulos earned high praise from several distinguished Englishmen in London. The following are examples :

THOMAS RHOEDUS SCOTUS, who styles himself 'magno magnae Britanniae Regi Jacobo à secretis,' is apparently the author of *Paraphrasis Psalmi* 104, published in London in 1620, and of an *Epist. ad episcopum Roffensem*, published about the same time. Wood,²⁹ who gives this information and states that he was an M.A. of 'Aberdene,' omits to state that he was a Secretary to James I. Rhaed's entry in the Album is given below, under date 17th June, 1623.³⁰

A more distinguished inscriber is PATRICK YOUNG (Patricius Junius),* born at Seaton in Forfarshire, and Librarian successively to Prince Henry, James I and Charles I. A noted Greek scholar, his chief title to fame was his publication in 1633 of the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.³¹

²⁸ In a letter of indebtedness, dated Venice, October 28th, 1630, Critopoulos states that he owes twenty-four Venetian pounds for two sets of books published by Metaxas. See Rhenieres, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

²⁹ *Fasti Oxonienses*, ii. 394 (ed. Bliss, 1815).

³⁰ Πρώτων δεῖ τάξει τὴν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀλογίαν τε καὶ βαθυμίαν· ἔπειτα οὕτως ἐπιβάλλειν τῇ τῶν θειοτέρων γνώσει· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ λημῶντι καὶ οὐ κεκαθαρμένῳ τὰ σφόδρα φωτεινὰ ἰδεῖν οὐχ οἶδεν τε, οὕτως καὶ ψυχῇ μὴ ἀρετὴν κεκτημένῃ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνσπρίσασθαι κάλλος· μὴ καθαρῷ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ᾖ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν πρακτικὴ φιλοσοφία ἀρετῆς ποιητικῆς, ἡ δὲ θεωρητικῆς ἀληθείας.

Ut in paucis verbis amicitiae illius memoria conservetur quae mihi cum Viro clar. D^o Metrophane Critopulo Macedone intercessit, adscripsi haec L.M.G., amator tum Literarum quas in eo cognovi pluri-

mas et Graecia etiam vetere dignissimas, tum pietatis et virtutis quae hominem Deo sacratum et Hieromonachum commendat.

³¹ Χριστὸς ἐνοδίην δόξην καὶ ἄγγελον ἐσθλὸν Πομπόν, ἀλεξητῆρα, βοηθόν, ἕφρα σε πάντων
'Ἡματίων νυχίων τε κακῶν ἀπὸ τήλο-
θ' ἐέργων
Καὶ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁδοῖο χαριζόμενος μογέοντι
Οἰκοθεν ἀρτεμέοντα καὶ οἰκαδέ σ' αἰθις
ἀγίνοι.

Greg. Nazianz.

Virum amicissimum iuxta et D^{um} Metrophanem Critopulum, quem propter eximiam eius eruditionem, morum probitatem et vitae sanctimoniam (quae Maecenati suo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi [N.B.—This was written twelve days before Abbot's condemnatory letter to Roe] et viribus (sic!) omnibus probis charum et commendatum reddiderunt) praesentem semper coluit :

JOHN CAMERON,* a famous theologian in his day, Principal of Glasgow University, and on account of his skill in Greek and Latin elected to Professorships in the Universities of Sedan and Montauban, was also a contributor, dating his entry July 8th, 1623.³² About the same period we find also the name of LAURENCE WHITAKER, a Somersetshire man, who, according to Wood,³³ 'was secretary to Sir Edward Philips, Master of the Rolls. . . . He was much admired by Thomas Coryot (Coryat) the traveller : in the dishing out of whose *Odcombian Banquet* he had a considerable hand in 1611 : being numbered among the poets of that age.'³⁴

Three other entries made by Englishmen of distinction, whose names are included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, belong to this period at which Critopoulos was supposed to be absorbed in the company of 'vagabond' Greeks.

ROBERT ASHLEY* (1565–1641), of the Middle Temple, became M.P. for Dorchester. He is chiefly known for his translations from French, Spanish and Italian works, amongst these being *Ourania* and *Almansor*.³⁵

A medical friend of Critopoulos was RAPHAEL THORIUS,* M.D. of Leyden, who died of the plague in 1625. He is known for his *Hymnus Tabaci*, and verses of his on the execution of Sir W. Raleigh and on Meric Casaubon are contained in Sloane MS. 1768 in the British Museum.³⁶

in patriam post quinquennium redeuntem, Gregorii Theologi voto prosequitur et fausta omnia à Deo Opt. Max. precatur.

PATRICIUS JUNIUS Scotus magno magnae Britanniae regi Jacobo et Sere^{mo} Principi Carolo a Bibliothecis.

Londini Cal. Augusti CIOIOCCXXIII.

³² "Οστις βιώσαι βούλεται Χριστῷ μάκαρ, Δεῖ τοῦτον αὐτῷ ἐκβιοῦν καθ' ἡμέραν.

*Έγραψα σημείον μου τῆς πρὸς ἐλλογιμώτατον ἄνδρα Μητροφάνη Κριτόπουλον φιλίας τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμενούσης.

*Έν Λονδίῳ, ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ χιλιόστου ἑξακοσίου τοῦ εἰκοσίου τρίτου, μηνὸς Ἰουλίου ὀγδώη.

ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ὁ ΚΑΜΕΡΩΝ.

³³ *Fasti Oxonienses*, ii. 300 (ed. Bliss).

³⁴ *Έστιν ἄνθρωπος ζῶν τῶν μὲν ὕψτων θεωρητικόν, τῶν δὲ δεόντων πρακτικόν. Secundum hoc τῆς ἐξοχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης elogium se vere hominem nihilque a se humani alienum esse monstravit vir comitate, morum probitate, Atticae linguae purioris elegantia, rerumque tam divinarum quam humanarum scientia spectatissimus. D^{nus} Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος Βεροιαῖος qui ἅμα θεωρητικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ ἔνεκα fidelissimo et prudentissimo Oratoris consilio paruit monentis : μὴ κατόκειν μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διδάσκοντι χρήσιμον ἐπαγγελλομένους· οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις χαλεπῶς εὐρημέα συμβήσεται σοι ῥαδίως μανθάνειν. Quem ideo inter εὐγενεστέρους illos Βεροιαίους, Act. 17, censeri

optimo iure monentem sic valere jubet.

LAURENTIUS WHITAKERUS Collegii S^{ci} Joannis Evangelistae in Academia Cantabrigiensi quondam alumnus ibique Artium Magister, iam Londini in suburbanis accola.
26 Junii 1623.

³⁵ ὡς τυφλὸς πρὸς δὲξὶ βλέπωντας, οὕτως ἀναποδήμητος πρὸς ἐκδεδημηκότας. Philo Judaeus. Γνώσις βροτῶν μέγιστον ἐν βίῳ κλέος. Greg. Naz.

*Ομιλία ἔτεκε τέχνας. Eur.

Eximio Viro D^{no} Metrophani Critopulo ex Graecia oriundo Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Cancellario sapientiae et religionis ergo apud Britannos peregrinanti convictori suo clarissimo benevolentiae hoc symbolum scripsit ac reliquit.

ROBERTUS ASHLEYUS Anglus olim Collegii Magd. apud Oxon. Socius, nunc apud Templarios Londonenses Juris consultus. Aug. 1623.

³⁶ Προδοσία τῆς σωτηρίας ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐστῶτα καὶ τὸ ἀπογινώσκειν κείμενον· διὸ τὸν δίκαιον ὁ Θεὸς φόβῳ στηρίζει, τὸν δὲ ἁμαρτωλὸν τῇ φιλανθρωπῇ διεγείρει.

Μητρόφανες, τὸ καλὸν πεφιλημένε, βόσκε τὰ μῆλα,

Χαῖρε καὶ οὐλε· Θεὸς δὲ τοι ἡπιος ὕλβια δοίη.

Hoc quoque tecum habeas nostri servaeque sepulcro.

RAPH. THORIUS, medicus, tui admirator et amator.

Londini, Junii 24, 1623.

JOHN TAVERNER * (1584–1638), grandson of Richard Taverner, religious reformer and author, was of Trin. Coll. Cambridge and Oxford. He was for twenty-eight years (1610–38) Professor of Music at Gresham College, London.³⁷

As for the books which Critopoulos obtained in England, which Roe feared would be pawned in Germany, there is evidence that these ultimately reached their destination and enriched the Patriarchal Library at Alexandria. Dietelmair,³⁸ in writing of Critopoulos' stay at Altdorf University, says that he brought with him from England four cases of books. G. G. Mazarakis³⁹ traced some of these books in the Patriarchal Library at Alexandria, and among them a work of Andronicus of Rhodes given by a Thomas Draper⁴⁰ on the 10th July, 1623, with the Greek entry reproduced below.⁴¹

Even if we allow for a tendency on the part of those who make entries in Albums to indulge in flattery, we cannot but regard the testimony of the distinguished contributors in England as remarkable. In the period 1622–3 Critopoulos obtained eulogistic entries from at least fifteen men who have been adjudged worthy of inclusion in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It should further be remarked that Rhenieres gives only a selection from the entries, and that it is quite possible that a complete publication of the Album would reveal several other distinguished names. Certain it is that he must, when he left our shores about the middle of 1624, have carried with him no slight knowledge of English learned life from his seven years' stay in England.

The fortunes of Metaxas and his printing-press, with which, as we have had reason to see, Critopoulos was probably not unconnected, are interestingly told in Roe's correspondence, and may be not unwelcome as a pendant to this paper.

Roe, writing to Dr. Goad from Constantinople on 7/17 July, 1627, has the following passage : ⁴²

'Here is arrived a coloyre, that hath been long in England, called Mataxa of Cephalonia, who pretends to have been acceptable to his grace, and well knowne to you, from whom he hath brought me welcome remembrance. As yet I know him little, but hee speakes gratefully of our nation, and ingenuously of his enterテインment. His coming hither is principally to bring the Greeke stamp and two Dutchmen to order it, and to teach the use, which are aboard

³⁷ Ὡς ξένη φίλτατε,

Οὐδέ τε καὶ μέγα χαίρει, θεὸς δέ τοι ὕλβια δοίη.

Sic apprecatur et sic votis usque suis prosequitur abeuntem et ubicunque absentem amicum suum omni virtutum laude cumulatissimum nec non doctrina et pietate insignem.

Λονδίνοῖς ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ὁ ΤΑΒΕΡΝΑΡΙΟΣ
ἐκ φροντιστ. Γρεσσάμ.

³⁸ *De Metrophane Critopulo huius Academiae quondam cive*, Altdorf, 1769, quoted by Demetrakopoulos, p. 4.

³⁹ Μητροφάνης Κριτόπουλος Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας, Cairo, 1884. Not accessible to me and quoted after Rhenieres.

⁴⁰ Apparently included in Wood, *Fasti Ox.*,

Index, ii. 237 (wrong reference), ed. Bliss.

⁴¹ Μητροφάνει τῷ Κριτοπούλῳ τῷ λογιωτάτῳ Ἑλληνι καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἱερουργῶ εὐδοκιμωτάτῳ, τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον, τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ξύμβολον, φίλος φίλτάτῳ ἐχαρίσατο Θωμᾶς ὁ Δραπῆρ, πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν Ὁξωνιεύς, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι διάγων ἐν τῇ Λονδίῳ, τῇ τῆς Μεγάλης Βρεττανίας Βασιλευούσῃ πόλει, πατρίδι τε ἑαυτοῦ φίλτάτῳ. ἔτει ἀπὸ θεογονίας ἁχκγ' δεκάτῃ μηνὸς Σεπτεμβριῶντος κατὰ ἀρχαιότερον ψηφισμὸν.

Ὁ Κύριος τὰς νῆσους ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διὰ θαλάσσης διέστησε, τοὺς τε νησιώτας τοῖς ἡπειρώταις διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνέδωσε.

Βασίλ. τοῖς ἐπισκόποις παραλιώταις.

⁴² Richardson, p. 663.

an English ship, and wilbe difficult to land without discovery and dangerous to be knowne to these haters of knowledge. What the dessigne may be I cannot yet penetrate; it may hinder the patriarchs purposes to furnish mee, which were grounded upon a desire (as he pretended) to cause many unknowne authors to be printed, and to take the light from under the bushell of ignorance and obscuritye. If he can safely print, I will not enuye them; but I know their copyes will never have creditt, nor, I doubt, truth. Himselfe cannot oversee all, and few others are able, or fitt to be trusted.'

We have further information in Roe's *Narration of Jesuits' Practices*, addressed to the King, Constantinople, 22nd February, O.S., 1627.⁴³

'In June 1627 arrived, upon the Royall Defence of London, one Nicodemo Mataxa, a Greeke coloyre, borne in Cephalonia, who had remayned some yeares in England, and was well knowne to many learned men, and to the principle merchants of the Levant companye; being brother to gentlemen of that island, with whome our nation doth maynteyne great trade and correspondance. He brought with him the Greeke stampe, made at his expence, and divers bookes printed in England, as he pretended, for the benefitt of his church, drowned in invincible ignorance; especially for want of meanes to learne and studye. As soon as he came ashore, and had spoken with the patriarch, he was from him, by the archbishop of Corynth, recommended to me; and they both came to acquaynt me with this charitable entention, and to desire my help and protection to take up the stamp, and to pass it as my goods; which being very heavye, could not be done without suspition; and in their owne judgements they feared the malice of the Turkes, that either it would be taken from them, or some sinister enterpretation made of it. And having well considered the religious purpose, and that I found it was undertaken by the consent of many wise men in England, and for the glorye of God, though I foresaw some possibilitye of trouble, yet I resolved to assist them, if they would be directed, and proceede in my way, and by my counsell. Wherein, after conference with the two patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria (then by accident in this cyttie), who with the Dutch ambassador came to my house to consult of the manner, I thought it most safe and less scandalous, to goe openly in a matter that could not be concealed. And having first, by Cyrillus, acquaynted the vizier, and obteyned his leave, I tooke it up, and all his bookes, through the custome-house unsearched, which no man els could have done, and brought them safe to my house; supposing all the difficultye had then beene overcome, and never suspecting from christians any scandall for that which I thought did not, or ought not to offend them. Yet knowing the jealousye of this nation, and that, notwithstanding the licence taken, it might be in the power of every judge to quarrell against the noveltye, especially at the printing of bookes, which might be wrested by consequence prejudicially to their law; we agreed to proceed warily, *de modo* of putting it in use.

'About this time we had sundrye conferences, and the patriarchs desired, that I would suffer it to worke in my house; but I shewed them many

⁴³ Richardson, p. 757 ff.

inconveniences, that I could not hazard other interests, over which I had charge; nor engage my selfe publicquely for anything, which was not my proper function, and which might draw me into an unnecessary dispute with this state, if perhaps offence should be taken; but that I would doe the office of a good christian. And therefore I perswaded, not to teach others suspicion, by suspecting ourselves; but rather to goe on confidently, and to take a house for Mataxa, and his servants; and so to proceed with such modesty and caution, as occasion should present us, wherein I would alway assist them. Upon this course we resolved, and found a convenient place, not far from me, nor the French ambassador; who pretending the union of the two churches, I did never conceive would have rayseed a scandall to separate them for ever. As soon as Mataxa was settled, and his print in order, the French and the Jesuites tooke offence; as sett up to publish bookes agaynst the church of Rome, or at least to take away their trade of teaching children, by the printing of catechismes. First they attempted to draw him into their government, and invited him to their monasterye, intimating that adhaering to them would take off some ill suspicion rayseed upon him for having studied in England. When they could not winne him by flatteries, their first bayte, they reported him to be an hereticque and a Lutheran, because hee tooke protection of mee, whom they never spared. Agaynst the stamp they excepted, for the armes of his majestie, which they sayd was scandalous: and being in the frontispiece of every booke, was *malum augurium*, and did foreshow, that within they did savour of heresye: for what better could be expected from an hereticall founteyne, or from the man that conversed with hereticques?

‘These words moved us little; we were used to them, and content to heare them; knowing their hatred proceeded from the matter of one author (Meletius, patriarch of Alexandria), that wrote agaynst the supremacye. But their malice extended so far, that it was revealed to Mataxa, that he should be murdered in his bed, or in the streete, as he passed in the night from my house. Whereupon, at his great instance, I was content, for his person, to give him lodging; and so he continued in the day to oversee his worke, and at evening he retyred to me for sanctuarye.

‘As yet, they could fynd no occasion to worke their purpose; but the patriarch having sent a little treatise to the press, made by himselfe (being only a declaration of the fayth and tenetts of the Greeke church, without any mention of controversye, or censuring the opinions of others), principally directed to satisfye the world in divers calumniationes spread by the Jesuites, that he had introduced new and dangerous doctrines, to the scandall of his owne flock, which he had resolved to dedicate to his late majestie of blessed memorye, and to send it by me to be printed in England by his licence; but now having oportunitye to doe it here, he only changed the epistle from the father to the sonne; this provoked the rancor of the French, and the spight of the Jesuites; who not able to endure, that any honour from the East church should be done to his majestie, could no longer conteyne themselves: but conspired to disturbe and overthrow both the author, worke, and worke-men; and having gotten another booke written by the patriarch, printed in

England, and brought by Mataxa, they studied it, to fynd out some clause agaynst Mahomett; the subject being to prove the divinitye of our Saviour, especially agaynst the Jewes; wherein some passages modestly did declare and condemne the opinions of the Turkes. When they had this supposed advantage, they practised with a buffone, but a crafty nave, that had good creditt with the vizier, and had been vayvod of Galata, to enforme him, that this Mataxa was a capteyne, sent hither to rayse sedition; and that under the dissembled colour of printing bookes for children, he had dispersed others agaynst the Alcaron; that they were brought from England secretly upon an English ship, and that I protected him; that these bookes were written by the patriarch to stir the Greekes, and to draw them into rebellion; and many of them sent to the Cossacks, to provoke them to unite upon the occasion of the Grand Signors expedition expected into Asia, and so to expell him for ever out of Europe.

‘These accusations were capitall, and strooke at the life of the patriarch and Mataxa; in which they sought sinisterly to envolve me thereby at least so to impaire my creditt, that I should have worke sufficient to cleare mysele, and little courage or power to protect them, agaynst whom they principally combined.

‘The vizier, *more Turchesco*, without farther examination or consideration, resolved to assault the house of Mataxa, and to surprise him, as he supposed, in the act of synne, printing agaynst their law; and gave order to a capteyn and company of Janitzaries, for the execution. Wherein the malice of the persecution is observable; not done by the usiall and ordinarye minister of justice, but by soldiers, as if ther had been power or purpose to resist; and by unrulye spiritts, as hard to restreyne, when they are at libertye, as divells raysed by an ignorant conjurer. This exployt should have been made on Friday the 4. Jan., but the French ambassador hearing that I had invited the patriarch, the baylo, and other friends to see an English maske on Twelvenight, he sayd he would defer it, to make sauce to my feast; and so on that day at high noone, when all our minds were directed to mirth and quiett, suddenly 150 Janitzerie, armed, had besett Mataxas house, and guarded all the passages to myne: no man knew the cause, but all men feared the licentiousness of the actors. In this tumult my secretarie and Mataxa passed thorough them, comming from Galata, and some that were apprehended of his owne servants showed him to the soldiers; but being in a hatt, and answered by others, that he was one of my house, he escaped safely, and gatt within to sanctuarye, halfe dead of feare, whom I received into protection. The capteyne, missing him the principle, bound all his servants, brake open his chests, and carried all away, stamp, bookes, papers, plate, mony, and whatsoever was bootye, as the goods of a traytor, to his loss (if not restored by justice) of 7000 dollars; and returning into the streetes, a good friend, that thought this was not enough, (one of the French drogamen) told them, That the offender was fled to my house; but the Turke, that had more charetye, answered, He had no order to follow him thither.

‘Notwithstanding, I resolved not to be enterrupted to be *all’ Inghelse*

that day with my guests; only the patriarch, burthened with so high crimination, durst not pass the water.

'The next day his bookes were examined, to find some matter of guiltiness; and so well they were instructed, that the folio was noted where the blasphemy agaynst Mahomett should bee: the place was enterpreted by two Greek renegadoes before the vizier, and some churchmen; but ther was nothing found of consequence, that by law could touch eyther the life of the author or printer. Notwithstanding, the patriarch, confident in his innocency, presented himselfe for his justification; where many other crimes were objected agaynst him, without prooffe or probabilitye.

'Ther yet remayned some dislike and diffidence in the vizier, especially at the report that Mataxa was a man of war, and held correspondence with the Cossakes, and that he should live under my protection; and having seene the armes of England upon his bookes, it did confirme him so far, that he could not be persuaded he was a Greeke and a coloyre, who use not to be able to sett upp such workes. The second day I was enforced to goe to him, not to suffer his sospitions to take deepe roote, and did open to him the truth; confidently professing, that I had received Mataxa into my house, to save him from the furye, but he should be alway ready to maynteyne his innocencye. I putt him in mynd, that this terrible man he had seene and knew, that he was a subject of the Senate, a coloyre, and presented to him by the Venice baylo, who must answeere for his actions if they were offensive; that he had given leave to land and use the stamp; and that therefore we much admired, that he would be so rash to suspect and scandalize his friends, in whom he had ofte professed confidence and beleefe in their sinceretye; so lightly to sett upon the houses of their subjects, and to spoyle them, at the instigation of those that he knew to be enemies to the state; and with the first wind of accusation, without acquaynting us, to rayse such a storme as might have produced worse effects then he entended. When he had called the man to remembrance and well considered the weight and justice of my complaynt, being ashamed of his precipitation, he first protested, That he had no thought nor doubt of me, nor purpose to affront me; but only had too easily beleeeved, that he wondered at the impudence of those that so grossly had abased him; and concluded with these words, That if agaynst his will he had done me wrong at the false instigation of others, when I should see all the goods of Mataxa restored with honor, and those that had procured this scandall fallen in the pitt which they digged for others, and exemplarily punished; then he hoped I would acquitt him, and beleeeve that he was both my friend, and a friend of justice. By this office I cleared all the clouds, and defended the patriarch, so that he was restored to the good opinion of the vizier and mufty; to whom also I went for the same purpose, and to instruct him in the truth of the innocency of the persecuted partye, and the malicious practices of others.'

Critopoulos' tour of the German Universities, though of less immediate interest to Englishmen, is of considerable importance in connexion with the relations between Cyril Loucaris and the Reformed Churches. Perhaps it may be possible at some future date to give an account of these activities also.

F. H. MARSHALL.

CYCLADIC VASE-PAINTING OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

(PLATES VIII-X).

AN inquiry into the classification of the various Island fabrics of the seventh century is accompanied by many difficulties, some of which are the peculiar inheritance of the subject. Not only was much of the material discovered without grouping or stratification in the Catharsis grave at Rheneia; the very fact of the original provenance of these vases from Delos at once deprives the circumstances of their discovery of much of its *a priori* significance. Further, by far the greater part of the material from Rheneia remains unpublished; and, lastly, there will always be the difficulty, often amounting to impossibility, of classifying some of the fabrics at all without examining the vases in the hand—a process which involves a visit to several comparatively inaccessible places.¹ The result of these various and partially inevitable causes is a misfortune, inasmuch as Cycladic vase-painting, despite many borrowings, possesses a definite and often very interesting individuality of its own. Of this the published finds have for some years given us a simple and fairly intelligible picture, a chiaroscuro effect, one might say, in which the central figures appeared clearly, if not sharply, grouped against the background. Gradually, however, as our knowledge and materials increase, it appears that the straightforwardness of the picture was in some measure deceptive. In reality the subject is beset by complications, and there is, unfortunately, much for the chilly work of analysis to do before we can hope to appreciate for its own sake what the various schools of Island painting have to offer, or to understand their point of view in relation to that of their contemporaries in Crete, in Ionia and on the mainland of Greece. Accordingly, the appearance of a work containing much new material was a very welcome event. In Professor Dugas' book^{1a} the subject receives its first specialised treatment, but his classification presents one or two difficulties, and the notes which follow have been put together as an alternative solution of the problems, independently arrived at.

There are, according to Professor Dugas, three principal Island fabrics which we can trace from the geometric into the orientalising period—the 'Island,' the 'Argive-Cycladic' and the 'Theran' styles. The first of these can be followed as far as the borders of the sixth century; the second reaches a developed, but not a ripe stage of orientalisation; the third, even in the full seventh century, clings to the memory of its geometric past, and remains a conscientious but unenlightened style. I propose to deal here only with the

¹ I should like here to express my warmest thanks for permission granted by the Director of the French School at Athens to J.H.S.—VOL. XLVI.

stay at Delos, in the house of the French School.

^{1a} *La Céramique des Cyclades*, Paris, 1925.

'Island' and 'Argive-Cycladic' fabrics, since they present more problems and are intrinsically of greater interest.

THE LINEAR ISLAND STYLE

The main body of the geometric vases classified by Professor Dugas under the heading 'style insulaire' (a name to which I have thought fit to add a distinguishing stylistic epithet owing to the impossibility of attributing the fabric to any one Island²) is a closely coherent group which has long been familiar under different names.³ The 'style insulaire orientalizant,' to which these are supposed to lead, is the familiar Melian series,⁴ formerly derived from another geometric origin.⁵

Linear Island Geometric.—The Linear Island Geometric (in which term early orientalisising vases are included) is for the most part well defined and easily recognisable, and needs no detailed description here.⁶ One thinks of the fabric as consisting chiefly of great amphorae and craters, but the picture is to be completed by a series of oenochorai and by a variety of skyphoi⁷ (see Dugas, pp. 112–14, and Pfuhl, *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, p. 189 seq.). The technique is described by Dugas on p. 111, but the varnish is far more often brown than black—a fact which one would not gather from this description. Pfuhl (*Ath. Mitt.* 1903, pp. 183–90), describing 38 examples, never speaks of the varnish as black, but usually as brown, sometimes tinged with green or violet. The slip is buff, pale yellow, or pale brown, when it occurs—and the exceptions are not numerous—so that the relation of colours is harmonious, without harsh contrasts. Pink paint is used in one or two cases. There is no use of incision.

It is unfortunate for Professor Dugas' presentation of the series that he connects its most remarkable example⁸ with another category, and omits to

² Vases of this fabric have not been discovered in Greece outside Thera, Delos, Rheneia, Paros (*Ath. Mitt.* 1917, p. 73 seq.), and Aegina (griffon jug, *v. infra*, and possibly the fragment, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 270, Fig. 4). The examples from Euboea are all of local manufacture (cf. Buschor,² p. 70), as are further fragments in the Eretria Museum. On the examples wrongly stated (*Jahrbuch*, 1897, p. 195; Collignon-Couve, Nos. 211 and 212) to have been found in Boeotia, see Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii., p. 209. The slipless crater from Melos (*Jahrbuch*, 1899, p. 34) connected with the fabric by Dugas (p. 111) can hardly be reckoned with it on grounds either of style or of technique. I am indebted to Mr. Forsdyke for information concerning this vase. The finds at Paros are perhaps significant.

³ *E.g.* called by Wide Boeotian; so also Dragendorff, sceptically (*Thera*, ii., p. 210); by Buschor, Cycladic; by Pfuhl, Euboic-Cycladic or simply Euboic.

⁴ Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*; Pfuhl, Figs. 104–110; Dugas, Pls. VII–X., etc.

⁵ *B.C.H.* 1911, 381 ff.

⁶ Good examples illustrated: Dugas, Pls. II and III; Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. p. 199 seq.; *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Pls. XXVII–XXXI; De Ridder, *Vases du Cabinet des Médailles*, Pl. I, No. 25; *Jahrbuch*, 1897, Pl. X.

⁷ *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Pls. XXXI, XXXII; Pfuhl, Fig. 98.

⁸ B.M. 73-8-20-385, from Aegina, here illustrated in three aspects on Pl. VIII. For permission to publish these new photographs and the drawing from the Burgon Lebes, my thanks are due to Mr. H. B. Walters. In the drawing I have transferred the white marks visible on the front foot of the left-hand lion to the one I have illustrated, on which they have almost disappeared, and I have also restored the central ornament (cf. Pfuhl, Fig. 82). The white lines on the black are not reserved, but are in white paint; similarly the alternate

mention two others which are almost equally important.⁹ It has long been recognised (for example by Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii, 207; by Buschor, 69; and by Pfuhl, i, 131) that it is to the Euboic (= Linear-Island) circle that the griffon jug belongs, whether it be regarded from the technical or from the stylistic point of view. There is nothing in the technique which cannot be paralleled on Linear Island vases, and it is within this group that we have enlightening analogies for the style. If the lion group of the griffon jug be set beside that of the amphora from Thera (*Ath. Mitt.* 1903, Pl. XXXIV), it is immediately apparent that we have, in the griffon jug, something fuller in form and less constrained in manner, but identical in spirit and in many details. Further experience, or a greater talent, might well explain the differences that can be found. In the same way the very individual pattern round the middle of the griffon jug is essentially that of the skyphos from Thera (Pfuhl, Pl. XXI, Fig. 98). There can be no doubt of the origin of the griffon jug in the centre which produced the whole Linear Island series—and with it must go the oenochoe from Cumae (*Mon. Ant.* XXII, Pls. XXXII, XXXIII).¹⁰ In the earlier vases of this class as a whole, the principle of decoration is essentially linear.¹¹ There is little balancing of masses in either patterns or figures, and little working for effects of light and shade. The system, and it is consistently applied, is the disposition of related fields, decorated within and defined without by lines. This is not a necessary quality of geometric drawing. A glance at any of the great creations of the Dipylon potters will show that the adoption of a linear principle does not imply that line remains the unit of the finished work. The units of the Attic artist are not lines, but firm, smooth surfaces of pattern, sometimes of no small breadth. The effect which he achieves is a deliberate rhythm of related masses, a gentle play of darker surfaces on light. In contrast with this, the Island artist seems consciously to ventilate his shaded spaces with others, freer and less encumbered (v. Pl. IX, 1). It is, in fact, a rather draughty style; but it is always constructed in accordance with a deliberate plan, sharply contrasting, in this respect, with Phaleron painting, where there is a chaotic looseness, the result of disintegration. We see the fulfilment of this same spirit in a slightly later group of vases. One of them is illustrated by Dugas (Pl. XV). It is in these, and not in the Melian series, that we must see the orientalising phase of the Linear Island style.

Professor Dugas houses these, with other equally embarrassed guests, in his hospitable Argive-Cycladic category. They are, for him, not the continu-

teeth, though these are painted directly on the clay. The ears of the griffon, restored on the vase so as to point outwards, have been restored to a vertical position in the photographs.

⁹ (1) Leyden, Rijks Museum (Conze, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge der Kunst*, Pl. XI, 2; poor, inaccurate drawings): Pl. IX, 1, a photograph which Professor Holwerda was kind enough to procure and to give me permission to publish. (2) Paris, *Cabinet des Médailles*, De Ridder, 26 (Conze, *l.c.* Pl. XI,

1; Morin-Jean, Fig. 107, p. 95; Milliet-Giraudon, i, Pl. IV); detail on Pl. X by kind permission of M. Dieudonné.

¹⁰ Cf. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens*, p. 109. That this is a western imitation seems improbable owing to the presence of mica in the clay.

¹¹ I am speaking only of the regular 'Euboic-Cycladic' style; the 'Atticising' group (Dugas, Pl. II and p. 137) cannot, so far as I can see, certainly be connected with this series.

ation of the Linear group but of the rival 'Argive-Cycladic' fabric. In order to see why this is wrong we must return for a while to three vases of the Linear group.

The best of all the big vases of this fabric is the crater in Stockholm with a grazing deer (*Jahrbuch*, 1897, Pl. X; Buschor,² Fig. 51). It naturally recalls the two craters in Leyden and Paris (Pls. IX, 1 and X), which are impressive pieces, if not of quite the same distinction as the first. In the Stockholm vase there is a fine archaic tension which goes far beyond what any others of the fabric have to show. The forms are spare in the manner of the preceding period, but they have substance in a sense wholly foreign to geometric art. The lion craters look more developed, the Paris one especially. In this there is a new delight in sweeping curves, and less anxiety to fill the field with the design—in other words, a freer relation to space. The Leyden crater, on the other hand, is far less advanced in this respect, a fact which corresponds satisfactorily with its more angular, more geometric style.¹² None the less, the stylistic relationship between the three is extraordinarily close. Amongst all the vases of this fabric that have come down to us, these three alone emphasise the important decoration by reserving for it one great oblong panel on the shoulder. The panel in the Stockholm and Paris vases is bounded on either side by eleven vertical lines and above by three horizontal ones.¹³ In each, again, the outermost of each of the verticals is drawn somewhat thicker than the rest.¹⁴ The decoration on the neck and foot of these two would be almost identical, were not the band of triangles placed on the neck of one vase, on the foot of the other. There is then a certainty that they are products of the same workshop, a likelihood that they are works of one painter. In any case, it is certain that we possess the immediately following phase of this fabric—and that, as has been said, amongst the vases of Professor Dugas' Argive-Cycladic style. The only example of this series hitherto published is the amphora in Mykonos (Dugas, Pl. XV). A skyphos (shape, Johansen, Pl. XIII, 1), decorated with a lion protome almost identical with that of the Mykonos amphora, and side patterns like those on the neck of the same, together with a series of amphorae and hydriae, all in the Mykonos Museum, complete the group. The principal decoration consists of animal protomes¹⁵, but whole figures of animals occur.

Let us examine these vases, the amphora in Mykonos¹⁶ and the three craters already discussed, in further detail. Something more than a general relationship is apparent at a glance. I would call attention to the following points. Compare the rendering of the profile from the ear to the nose in the Mykonos amphora and the Leyden vase; the eye, the outline of the cheek against the neck and the shoulder. The peculiar side patterns of the Leyden vase are identical with reverse neck patterns of the amphora. The Paris vase presents an equally striking analogy with the amphora in the exact similarity

¹² The attitude of the crouching animal is not nearly so well grasped on the Leyden vase. Note also the awkwardly elongated hind quarters and the sharp angle at the knee of the hind leg.

¹³ Cf. Wide, *Jahrbuch*, 1897, p. 197.

¹⁴ This, however, is a not uncommon peculiarity of this fabric.

¹⁵ Cf. Buschor,² p. 70.

¹⁶ Dugas, Pl. XV.

of the sharp metallic profiling of the under jaw, and the flame-like streak of the tongue. The shoulder of this lion is rendered exactly as in the Stockholm vase and the Mykonos skyphos. Finally, the whole conception, and the use of the dark and light surfaces, is so similar in all four vases that there can be no question of their provenance from one centre. It is interesting to compare these drawings with those of the Burgon lebes,¹⁷ where we see precisely the same stage in Attica. That the same originals inspired these two groups is obvious; but the differences of detail between the Island and the Attic drawings¹⁸ serve to emphasise the unity of the Cycladic series.

A little light is thus thrown on the stages by which Oriental influence loosened the limbs of geometric art. The Stockholm vase, as Wide and Dugas have remarked, has already drawn on inspiration from outside.¹⁹ But the spatial constraint which seems to result from the artist's fear of detaching his drawing from its frame is a real inheritance from the geometric period.²⁰ This



FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF THE BURGON LEBES (BRITISH MUSEUM).

apprehensiveness is a natural concomitant of primitive ways of thought, of a mind which can conceive coherence only in terms of actual contacts and proximities. This is a principle which lies beneath the surface of all Greek geometric drawing and is still in some degree discernible in most of what we call archaic. To achieve a unity, intellectually apprehensible if not mathematically demonstrable, is one of the problems whose solution we imply when we speak of an art as developed or of a style as free. The seventh century took the first steps in the direction of emancipation; of the succeeding centuries down to and including the Hellenistic age, each went beyond the last in emphasising the spatial freedom at its command. The final stage was reached only in the nineteenth century, when Degas and some of his contemporaries deliberately composed their pictures in defiance of spatial limitations, and by a paradox used the bounding lines only to demonstrate their irrelevance.

¹⁷ Pfuhl, Pl. XVII, 82; Fig. 1.

¹⁸ Note, for example, all the details of rendering in the mouth, lower jaw, shoulder, feet, etc.

¹⁹ *Jahrbuch*, 1897, p. 178; Dugas, p. 132,

though this surely rather overstates the case.

²⁰ Ivories from Sparta give excellent illustrations of this. Cf. *B.S.A.* p. 78, Fig. 17, etc., and text, p. 79.

Judged on this principle, the earliest of our three craters will be those in Stockholm and Leyden—a conclusion which we should also draw from their more geometric style.²¹ The amphora (Dugas, Pl. XV), like the other unpublished vases of the series, shows a free acquaintance with curvilinear orientalising motives, and is, therefore, later in idea and probably time also than any of the craters.

How can we explain the particular form of orientalisation which we thus see passing over the Linear Island fabric? It is, I think, quite clear that the influence of the Rhodian style was responsible for the changes which took place. The amphorae, etc., in Mykonos being unpublished, it is impossible to speak convincingly of their development, but the bare fact of certain changes can be laid down, and their significance is obvious. We find on the amphorae and hydriae (but not yet on any of the craters) a whiter slip; red and white lines laid horizontally on a black ground; and a variety of specifically Rhodian filling-ornaments, especially the roundel with invected edges; lastly, we have the new style of the animals—which already appears on the Paris and Leyden craters. A Rhodian oenochoe in Berlin²² gives the same general type of lion with reserved face and no indication of mane. But an extraordinary analogy is presented by a Rhodian olpe in Turin (Pl. IX, 2 and Fig. 2), where we have precisely the same lion-protome as on the amphora (Dugas, Pl. XV) and on the unpublished skyphos in Mykonos.²³

By contrast, the earlier stages of the style, with their childish love of dotted surfaces and their weaker drawing,²⁴ have no affinity with Rhodian art. There are, on the other hand, indications that the first orientalisation came to this fabric through Crete.²⁵ The griffon jug must be counted the highest development of this older manner.

THE MELIAN STYLE

For Professor Dugas, the fabric which has long been known as Melian is the orientalising phase of the Linear style. One imagines at first that some adop-

²¹ V. note 12, *supra*.

²² No. Inv. 2430 (Prinz, *Funde aus Naukratis*, Pl. IV, a).

²³ I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Barocelli of Turin for procuring the photographs and allowing me to publish them.

²⁴ Dugas, Pl. III, 2; *Thera*, ii. p. 60, Fig. 209, etc., etc.; *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 381, Fig. 42.

²⁵ The craters with their panels of concentric circles strongly recall Cretan geometric. A crater in the Levi find has exactly the same use of a big horizontal cable to fill the back of a vase as we see in *Thera*, ii. p. 201, Fig. 403. Cretan plastic comparable with the griffon head we now have in the lion from Afrati (*Liverpool Annals*, 1925, Pl. II); the dotted animals of the Linear Island style are exactly paralleled by those on the oenochoe

from the same find (*ib.*, Pl. VI, 1 = *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 279, Fig. 7). There are many reasons for supposing the Odysseus vase from Aegina to be Cretan (clay and varnish correspond exactly to many examples in the Levi find). The shape, again, is essentially East-Greek and Cretan; Rhodian geometric, B.M. 60-4-4-10, 61-4-25-48; Munich 455, Cat. I, Fig. 57; Hague, Buschor,² p. 75, Fig. 55. Rhodian orientalising, Berlin, F. 295, Prinz, Pl. II (cf. n. 22, *supra*); Hermitage, Kinch, *Vroulia*, p. 220, Fig. 107; Cretan, Berlin, F. 3916; *Liv. Ann.* 1925, Pl. VI b. = *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 279. (The three Protocorinthian examples of this shape are quite isolated: B.M. 60-2-1-32; Munich 227 and 228, Cat. I, Pl. XI). The style of the animals on the griffon jug shows many strong resemblances to that of the Odysseus vase.

tive relationship, not direct descent, must be intended. But we are left in no doubt on this question: 'Les vases insulaires orientalizants [= Melian vases] se rattachent trop étroitement aux vases insulaires géométriques [= Linear Island vases] pour n'être pas sortis des mêmes ateliers' (p. 225).

Our previous section has been devoted to showing that a group of vases (Dugas, Pl. XV) regarded by Professor Dugas as 'Argive-Cycladic' is in reality the orientalising phase of the Linear style. If this is correct, it is obvious that the Melian vases cannot also be regarded as Linear orientalising, for they are contemporary with the others, and different in all respects. We can, however, approach the question from the other point of view. Are there obvious connexions between the Melian vases and the Linear geometric? For Professor Dugas there are, for he accepts the sequence with very little discussion, finding a continuity of technique, shapes, and patterns. He describes the technique

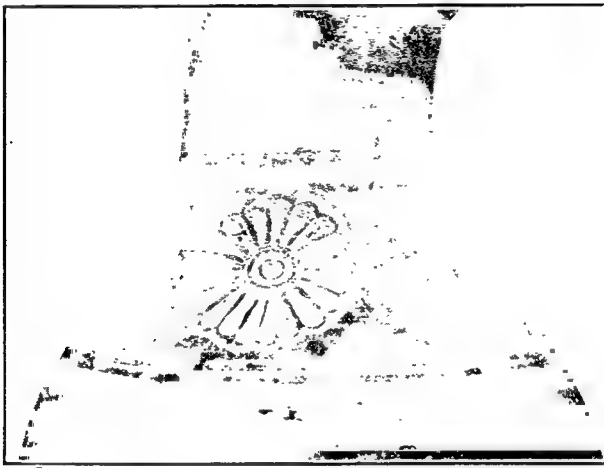


FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF PLATE IX, 2 (TURIN).

of the two groups as similar, the sole difference being the use of a white slip in the Melian vases (p. 192). The following points may, however, be worthy of consideration. (1) Melian clay frequently contains limestone particles (*B.C.H.* 1911, p. 421; Dugas, p. 192; cf. Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. p. 216) which do not appear to occur in any Linear Island vases. Like most Cycladic clays it contains mica, but is far coarser in texture than that of the Linear vases (cf. Dugas, p. 111). (2) Melian varnish is characteristically dull, almost matt in many cases, and is very frequently black. That of the Linear Island vases is almost always lustrous, and generally brown (*v. supra*, p. 204). But of course there are exceptions to both these generalisations.

By the direct continuity of shapes claimed on p. 193 appears to be meant the employment of the amphora and the crater in both fabrics. Needless to say these fabrics have a monopoly of neither, and the significance of the connexion is therefore somewhat obscure. Further, there appear to be no Linear-style hydriae (one of the commonest Melian shapes) or plates, and no Melian skyphoi or oenochoai (cf. Dugas, pp. 111 seq. and 193 seq.).

Nor are we persuaded when we are told of other inheritances from the Linear style—the practice of concentrating the decoration on the shoulder, and a certain number of decorative motives (p. 195). One searches Professor Dugas' analyses in vain for any significant coincidences of pattern or filling ornament. The search establishes beyond question that only those motives which are found also in other styles—that is, those which are more or less common property—are common to the two fabrics.²⁶

But quite apart from all these considerations, the Melian vases have a wholly different individuality, with their delight in sharp contrasts of colour, their thickly woven decoration and heavy, obvious rhythms. The patterns, taken by themselves, present a complete antithesis to those of the delicate Linear Island style. Moreover, we can, I think, point to the immediate predecessors of the orientalising Melian—a Melian geometric or proto-orientalising class, exactly parallel in time to the Linear Island geometric.²⁷ The only published example of these is the amphora found at Thera (Dugas, Pl. XII; Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. pp. 212, 213), now in Athens. The rest are smaller amphorae of similar shape and hydriae, in the Mykonos Museum. When these are published, their connexions with the example from Thera will be generally admitted. They are presumably those referred to by Karo, quoted by Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. p. 215. However, as they are unpublished it is useless to speak of them in detail. It must suffice to say that technically, with their whitish-green slip and often dull black varnish, they correspond precisely to the later Melian class, and equally recall it by their close-packed decoration, which embraces neck as well as shoulder in a single scheme. It will be noticed that this is quite uncharacteristic of the Linear geometric class, which in vases of this kind considers the shoulder alone worthy of serious treatment. Dragendorff (*l.c.*, p. 212) suggested with excellent reason that the Thera vase was Proto-Melian—an opinion which has not met with due consideration.²⁸ He pointed out the general affinity of the powerful decoration scheme, and the presence of volcanic particles in the clay—an important connexion with the larger Melian vases. Further, the fact that this class consists principally of small amphorae and hydriae connects them significantly with the Melian orientalising fabric, in which these are by far the most popular forms.

There remain the

“ARGIVE-CYCLADIC VASES.”

This mysterious category consists of the vases published in *B.C.H.* 1911 as Delian, together with certain notable additions—such as the griffon jug, the

²⁶ Linear geometric motives, Dugas, p. 116 *seq.*; Melian motives, p. 197 *seq.* The following are common to the two styles: Dugas, p. 197, Fig. 109, (a) geometric motive, *passim*; (b) also found in Protocorinthian (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. p. 154), Cretan (Pfuhl, Fig. 34), etc., etc.; (c) *passim*; (d) Cretan, Pfuhl, Fig. 38; (e) *passim*; (f), (h), (i) *passim*, Fig. 110, p. 198; (b), (c) and Fig. 111, (a), (c), (d),

(e) *passim*, Fig. 111, (b) East Greek; (f) Rhodes, Crete. Fig. 115, (b), (c) (found in Linear orientalising) are East Greek. Fig. 116 (a), (c) *passim*.

²⁷ It is possible but not certain that the vases regarded in *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 381, as Proto-Melian are to be reckoned with these.

²⁸ Cf., however, Pfuhl, i. p. 132, and Poulsen, *Mon. Piot.* xvi. p. 28.

Naples oenochoe, and the vases illustrated by Dugas on Pl. 1, 3, 4, IV, 1, 2, XIV, 1, Pls. XV, XVI. These are held to be a group of Island vases under Protocorinthian (Argive) influence. The griffon jug, Naples oenochoe, Mykonos amphora, (Dugas, Pl. XV) we have seen to belong to the Linear Island class. We must now ask to what extent the Argive-Cycladic vases, even with those we have removed, form a coherent series. At least one feels that the apprehension of the Argive-Cycladic category as a group is a demand on the synthetic faculty to which only the most powerful intellects will be able to respond.

It is best to realise at once that the Delian vases, which formed, in the 1911 article, a fairly homogeneous group, have little to do with Argolid vase-painting. They simply have elements in common which one has learnt to expect from contemporary fabrics. To the Delian group, however, have now been added three vases, differing from the Delian in technique as well as style and shape, which are quite obviously direct imitations of Protocorinthian originals.²⁹ In this they are peculiar, and bewilderment alone can attend the proposal to incorporate them with the Delian vases, present the whole as a homogeneous series, and then call it Argive-Cycladic. To the three imitative vases just referred to will be added another when the publication of the Delos Museum is completed. This is a large and handsome plate,³⁰ identical in clay, slip and varnish with the foregoing three, but totally different in style, for our artist, or a fellow-worker of the same studio, has turned East, not West, for his inspiration. There is nothing Cycladic in the design of this plate, just as there was nothing Cycladic in the decoration of the conical oenochoe (Dugas, Pl. I, 4).

The design, which is purely Rhodian in style, consists of two rampant lions posed as on the neck of the Thera vase (*Thera*, ii. p. 212), but of full orientalising form; between them, neck-high, two dogs, as on a Naukratis fragment (*J.H.S.* 1924, p. 211, Fig. 43); below, a wild goat on its back, as on the Monteleone chariot.³¹ The whole above an exergual line, with much Rhodian filling ornament in the field.³²

This plate completes the group of imitative vases, and proves, I think, conclusively that we cannot incorporate them with a normal Cycladic

²⁹ Dugas, Pl. I, 4, copied from such vases as Johansen, Pl. V, 5 or 6; Pl. IV, 1, which recalls the Aegina skyphos, Johansen, Pl. XIII, 1, in shape, but the decoration is earlier; and Pl. XIV, 1, the Protocorinthian affinities of which are equally apparent. Such skyphoi as this last are absent alike from the repertory of Cycladic and E. Greek shapes.

The technique of all these vases is rather peculiar. Coarse, brick-red clay, like Melian, thick, lemon-yellow slip (cf. Dugas, 'engobe blanc') and brilliantly lustrous brown varnish.

³⁰ Of ordinary Rhodian shape. It may be said that there is no question that these four vases (to which a small fragment, *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 398, Fig. 57, must be added)

are of anything but Cycladic origin.

³¹ Furtwaengler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. Pl. XXXI.

³² Rhodian (or, of course, Naukratite) origin for the original is proved by details like the white socks of the lions—not a Cycladic motive, but almost invariable in Rhodian—e.g. Louvre, *Catalogue*, I, Pl. XII, A 316 (Sphinx), and the rendering of the lion's mane by semi-circles, as commonly in the Rhodian lions (e.g. Walters-Birch, I, Pl. XXIV, 2; B.M. Inv. 64-10-24-143; fragment from Syracuse, *Monumenti dei Lincei*, xxv, Fig. 113, p. 527. Cf. Johansen, p. 150, on the only case where this occurs in Attic pottery). Cycladic lions, where the mane is indicated, have cross-hatched or 'flame' manes.

series. These imitative vases have a further importance; they give us a chronological relationship for the originals imitated—making it extremely probable that the Transitional Protocorinthian (Johansen, Pl. VIII, etc.) is contemporary with the developed Rhodian orientalising style. But the pursuance of this indication would lead far from the scope of these notes.

It is difficult to assign these imitative vases with certainty to any particular group, but the Delian fragment published by Poulsen (*Mon. Piot.* xvi. Pl. III), with which they have a close technical correspondence, probably indicates their provenance. The Delian vases as exemplified in the large vases, *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 362 seq., form a connected and intelligible group, which, in principles of decoration, stands closer to the earliest Melian than to the Linear Island fabric. Further discoveries alone can fix its position more precisely.

In order to minimise the confusion which each new attempt to solve so intricate a problem must involve, I will tabulate the classification here put forward.

Against a background of Cycladic geometric fabrics (mostly unpublished) we can distinguish the following groups :

A. *Linear Island Style*

- (1) Geometric, *e.g.* Dugas, Pl. III, 1.
- (2) Early Orientalising, *e.g.* Dugas, Pl. III, 2. Leads to style of griffon jug (Pl. A).
- (3) Further development under new influence :—Craters in Leyden and Cab. Med. (Pls. IX, 1 and X). Leads immediately to amphoras, etc., Dugas, Pl. XV.

B. *Melian Style*

- (1) The Late Geometric and Early Orientalising group, typified in *Thera*, ii. p. 212–13 (Dugas, Pl. XII), is almost certainly early Melian.
- (2) Developed Orientalising; Dugas, Pls. VII, X, 1.
- (3) Later; Dugas, Pls. VIII, X, 2.
- (4) Pointed aryballoi (unpublished), based on Late Protocorinthian. Cf. the Rhodian imitations, two of which are published (Johansen, pp. 176–7, Figs. 122–4).

C. *Delian Style*

- (1) Late Geometric and Early Orientalising; Dugas, Pl. V; *B.C.H.* 1911, p. 362 seq.
- (2) Leads to *Mon. Piot.* xvi. Pl. III. Dugas, Pl. XIV, 2.

D. *Imitative Cycladic Group*

(perhaps to be connected with Delian).

- (1) Imitating Protocorinthian; Dugas, Pls. I, 4, IV, 1, XIV, 1.
- (2) Imitating Rhodian, Plate in Delos. The above are certainly works of one studio.

H. G. G. PAYNE.

THE DATE OF THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE ¹

(PLATE XI).

THE problem of the Nike ² has long been confused by Benndorf's theory that it is the Victory represented on the coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes of c. 306. 'But,' it has been said,³ 'the statue has no connection with the coin, for a detailed study of the neck and fragments of the right shoulder reveals the impossibility of the trumpet-blowing attitude. The right hand and arm are raised high and backwards, probably with a victor's wreath.' It may be objected that the condition of the statue does not admit of absolute proof; while the fact that the coin does not show a mantle such as the statue had is poor evidence against the identity of the figures, for small variations must be expected in coins of Hellenic period. A more valid argument⁴ against the connexion with Demetrius lies in the circumstance that Samothrace belonged to Lysimachus, who was a bitter personal enemy and would not have allowed the setting up of a trophy on his ground. Benndorf's interpretation must accordingly be given up. Klein produced a theory⁵ that the statue was of the time of Mithradates, and then he changed his views on the development of 'ancient rococo art' and said⁶ it was a Rhodian memorial for the Battle of Actium; but a gigantic Rhodian monument for a Roman civil war would hardly be met with on a distant island, and when Augustus himself wanted a good Nike he had to use an old one from Tarentum.⁷ The supposed signature of a Rhodian artist supposedly found with the statue (and immediately lost)⁸ is a very weak foundation for such a theory. Sieveking and Buschor⁹ compromised and cited the Nike as the perfect example of Pergamene drapery, and Krahmer¹⁰ too dates it with the Priene frieze, which is of c. 158 B.C. A figure on the frieze¹¹ certainly resembles it in pose; but it must be remembered that the Pergamene sculptures are full of reminiscences of the Old Masters, and I consider that this is one of them; the style of the frieze is totally different to my eyes. And there is, in fact, a statue from Pergamon

¹ I am indebted for valuable criticisms to Prof. E. A. Gardner, Mr. A. J. B. Wace and Mr. Roger Hinks.

² Bulle, 139, Dickinson, *Hell. Sculpt.* Fig. 34; Brunn-Bruckm., *Denkm.* Pl. 85, and *Ersatz*; Rayet, *Mon. de l'Art Ant.* ii. Pl. 52; Collignon, *Histoire*, ii. Pl. X. at p. 464; Cultrera, *Saggi sull' Arte Ellenistica*, p. 124, on it and Niobe; Studniczka, *Siegesgöttin*, p. 23.

³ S. Reinach, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*,³ v.

1891, p. 89; summarised by Dickinson, *Hell. Sculpt.* p. 46; restoration republished, *Jahrb.* xxxviii-ix., 1923-4, p. 125, Fig. 21.

⁴ Hatzfeld, *Rev. Arch.*, 1910, i. p. 132.

⁵ *Gr. Kunstgesch.*, iii. p. 293.

⁶ *Vom antiken Rokoko*, p. 106.

⁷ Dio Cassius, li. 22.

⁸ *C.R. Acad. Insc.* 1891, p. 269.

⁹ *Münch. Jahrb.* vii. 1912, p. 123.

¹⁰ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxviii-ix., 1923-4, p. 151.

¹¹ Br.-Br. 79; Krahmer's Fig. 3.

(Pl. XI, 1) ¹² of the same type and equally different in style. Moreover, there is a scarcity of naval battles at that period of the death of Greek independence in the Aegean region.

We must trace the Nike's line of descent if we wish to find its date. For this purpose I shall treat a batch of fourth-century sculptures as though they formed a school, although it cannot be localised. I begin with the Epidaurus statuettes (Fig. 1),¹³ Timotheus' contract for some of which can be dated about 375. The Mounted Amazon at Boston ¹⁴ is another product of the same group of sculptors in the first half of the century, and so is a headless



FIG. 1.—NEREID FROM EPIDAUROS.

statue at Munich of a girl in fluttering garments.¹⁵ Timotheus was employed again on the Mausoleum and it is suggested that he was the author of the colossal equestrian fragment;¹⁶ I am not concerned with the accuracy of the attribution, but only with the fact that the statue resembles the Epidaurus sculptures. A figure with similar drapery may be noted, the Berlin example of the girl playing knuckle-bones;¹⁷ the one in Dresden ¹⁸ has drapery like

¹² *Ath. Mitt.* xxxv. 1910, p. 495, Pl. XXIII. 4.

¹³ Br.-Br. 19, 20.

¹⁴ Amelung, *Ausonia*, iii. 1908, p. 98, Figs. 5, 6; Caskey, *Cat.* No. 40; Br.-Br. 674; Chase, *Sculp. in America*, Fig. 109.

¹⁵ Glypt. No. 472.

¹⁶ B.M. *Cat.* II. Pl. XIX; Br.-Br. 71.

¹⁷ *Beschreibung*, 494; Kekulé, *Gr. Skulp.* ³ p. 292.

¹⁸ Herrmann, 396; Collignon, *Stat. funer.*, Fig. 187.

the Maenad of Scopas and the Amazon Frieze of the Mausoleum. The girdle is placed low in all the copies I know of.¹⁹ I imagine that the motive was a favourite one at this time when the Tanagra genre-types were becoming popular, and it was utilised by more than one of the great artists of the day. Then too a statue of Aphrodite which went from Rome to the museum at Mantua is ascribed by Amelung²⁰ to the school of Timotheus; it is an imitation of the Genetrix but has a high girdle. I only know it from an indistinct photograph and I cannot place it to my satisfaction. A mirror-relief in the Louvre²¹ shows the Timotheus influence, and the well-known Ephedrimos group goes back to something in his manner, although it is plain that the marble



FIG. 2.—ARTEMIS AND IPHIGENIA (COPENHAGEN).

version in the Conservatori²² is not earlier than Late Hellenistic, and is not a copy but a variation from the original small object.

A contemporary work of another school is the Artemis and Iphigenia of Copenhagen (Fig. 2).²³ It used to be described as Pergamene, which is certainly a mistake (the breast drapery alone is clear testimony), and Studniczka²⁴ has recently attributed the group to the latter half or last third of

¹⁹ List in B.M. Cat. III. No. 1710. The Hanover copy is *Einz.* 1073.

²⁰ *Aus.* iii. 1908, p. 101 and Fig. 7.

²¹ *Mon. Piot.* i. 1894, Pl. XX.

²² *Bull. Comm. Arch.* xxxv. 1907, p. 34, Pl. VI.; Lippold, *Kopien*, p. 154.

²³ Ny C.G. Cat. No. 83, *Billedtavler*, Pl. VII; Iphigenia alone, *Bull. Comm. Arch.*

xiv. 1886, Pls. XIV–XV. Photo by courtesy of Mr. Harold Ingholt and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

²⁴ In the Danish version of his restoration, *Fra Ny C. G. Samlinger*, ii, 1922, p. 60; in his *Artemis und Iphigenie*, published since this article was written, the date suggested is the decade 340–330.

the fourth century, this being the period when sculpture was becoming tridimensional according to Rodenwaldt.²⁵ I should prefer to label it as a copy from the period 350-330, for its resemblance to the Atalanta of Tegea (Pl. XI, 3)²⁶ and draped fragments of the pediments (e.g. Fig. 3)²⁷ is so striking that the original must be ascribed to Scopas or one of his pupils, and in my opinion its place lies between the Tegea sculptures, the Mausoleum frieze and the Alexander Sarcophagus.

The style of Timotheus is still living in the Artemis Rospigliosi²⁸ and a better copy of the torso in the Lateran (Pl. XI, 2).²⁹ The latter should be carefully compared, especially for the treatment of the drapery blown round the groin and between the legs, with the draped figures of the Alexander Sarcophagus;³⁰ it is also the statue which comes closest to the Nike of Samothrace. The similarity is unmistakable and the Nike cannot be discussed without reference to it and to Timotheus: the date thus *a priori* indicated is not so late in the fourth century. Studniczka³¹ classes the Nike with the Samothrace pediments of c. 270, but their tricky drapery stamps them as the work of a Hellenistic virtuoso who borrowed his general conception from the great classic prototype on the same site.

I am much indebted to Prof. Wilhelm for calling my attention to a naval battle in the Hellespont, the importance of which 'cannot be over-estimated.'³² I refer to an event in the war that broke out in 323, when the Athenians were fighting Antipater and the Macedonians. It was apparently before the end of 323 that the decisive engagement took place (perhaps in the neighbourhood of Abydos), the result being that Athens lost the command of the sea for ever. The fleet put back to Piraeus to refit, came out again and got as far as Amorgos, where it was completely demolished, and henceforth no more is heard of Athens as a sea-power. I suggest that the Nike of Samothrace was intended to commemorate this very notable battle, and so was placed at the nearest important sanctuary on an island which can be seen from the Hellespont. The gods sat on the peak of Samothrace to watch the Trojan War,³³ they may have sat there again to watch the end of the Athenian fleet and have sent Nike to crown the victors. As a matter of fact, she was high up on the slope behind the sanctuary,³⁴ not facing the Hellespont but going straight out to sea towards Thrace. This may be taken as a weak point in the argument, but what else could she do? There was a ridge between the temenos and the Hellespont, and it was not fitting that she should be represented flying uphill

²⁵ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxiv, 1919, p. 65.

²⁶ *B.C.H.* xxv, 1901, Pl. VI; Dugas-Berchmans-Clemmensen, *Sanctuaire à Tégée*, Pls. XCVI.-XCVIII.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. OVII. c.(10). They give 380-350 as the date of the temple, p. 127.

²⁸ Reinach, *Rep.* ii, 310, 6; *Einz.* 112; Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 336, note 1, compares Nike of Samothrace; Mahler, *Rev. Arch.* i, 1903, i, p. 383; Sauciuc, *Andros (Sonderschriften d. Österr. Inst. viii)*, p. 45, Fig. 56.

²⁹ Klein, *Rokoko*, p. 114, Fig. 48, and *Prax. Stud.* p. 55, Fig. 15.

³⁰ Mendel, *Cat. I.* pp. 171, 197 (bibliography); Hamdy-Reinach, *Nécrop.*, Pls. XXIII-XXXVII.

³¹ *Jahrb.* xxxviii-ix., 1923-4, p. 124, Fig. 20 (pediment fragments).

³² Johnson, *A.J.A.* xvii, 1913, p. 515.

³³ *Iliad*, XIII, ii; Kinglake, *Eothen*, chap. iv.

³⁴ Map in Conze and Benndorf, *Samothr.*, ii, Pl. I.

when her purpose was to reach the sea; the actual position is the logical one, once it is realised that she has to start from the wrong side of the island, since harbour and sanctuary and city all lie there. And we do not know that the north really is the wrong direction, for the action may not have terminated in the Hellespont, and in any case the route to the Macedonian base passed round the north side.

This theory will, of course, be combated on the ground of stylistic improbability. The pose is late according to Krahmer,³⁵ but in this respect an exceptional artist need not be bound by the conventions of the more timid (the celebrated example is Correggio), and the bold composition of contemporary reliefs may sometimes have strayed into the round; it must be remembered too that this was an age when painting flourished and sculpture would be the freer therefor. The high girdle is a point on which too much stress has been laid: it really



FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT FROM THE PEDIMENTAL SCULPTURES, TEGEA.



FIG. 4.—STATUE FROM CYRENE.

seems to occur all through the second half of the fourth century,³⁶ and it is found very high on an Attic votive relief which can be plausibly dated towards 325.³⁷ It is also worn high on the Cyrene statue (Fig. 7),³⁸ which Lippold triumphantly produces as showing the prototype of the Nike, but that is an eclectic type of the late first century A.D., and does not represent a fourth-century original of which the Nike is a further development. As to

³⁵ *Röm. Mitt.* xxxviii-ix., 1923-4, p. 151.

³⁶ Studniczka, *Jahrb.* xxxiv., 1919, p. 112, note 4; *Artemis u. Iph.*, p. 90, no example certainly previous to 336.

³⁷ Bears an inscription of Mnesimachus, who is probably the Diaetetes of a list of 325/4. v. Duhn, *Ath. Mitt.* ii. 1877, Pl. XVI. p. 220; Svoronos, *Nat.-Mus.* Pl. 36, 4, No.

1335; *Einz.* 1231, where Löwy says the date suits excellently.

³⁸ Lippold, *Röm. Mitt.* xxxiii, 1918, p. 95, Fig. 10; *Kopien*, p. 25; *Bull. of Arch. Inst. of Amer.* ii, 1911, p. 161, and Pl. LXXXV, from which my photo is copied. Cf. the Chiaramonti Niobid for the position of the girdle.

the treatment of detail in the Samothrace statue, I have already pointed out that the closest analogies are in works of a date not far from the one I suggest, *i.e.* soon after 323. And above all the spirit of the statue is undeniably classic, it is the perfected expression of the classical ideal which worked in Paeonius, the Nereid Monument ³⁹ and Timotheus, and it should naturally follow them in time as closely as in artistic development: I fail to understand why it should be attributed to a Greek Bernini of the second century, still less why it should be attributed to a Canova of the Augustan Age.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

³⁹ Br.-Br. 211-213 (statues), 214-219 (frieze).

A BYZANTINE MUSICAL HANDBOOK AT MILAN

PROFESSOR AUG. HEISENBERG, editor of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, made a copy some years ago of a text of the Papadike or singer's manual preserved in the volume Codex Ambrosianus O. 123 *supra* (598 in the printed catalogue), and he has now very kindly passed this on to me for study and publication.¹ Being at Milan in 1925, I verified his transcript, which of course proved to be quite accurate. The Papadike is the most familiar of the mediaeval treatises, and it has already been published in slightly differing versions by M. Pararikas,² O. Fleischer³ and W. Christ.⁴ I have collated several manuscript copies, and in the present article it will only be needful to point out a few divergences in the Milan text. The number of MSS. containing the Papadike is very great, which shows it to have been the standard manual of the Round Notation; and probably the essential part was drawn up by the inventors of that notation. But the work was re-edited by many theorists, one of them, according to tradition, being John Cucuzeles (A.D. 1300), although we must reject the notion that he was the original author. Most of the copies, like ours, were made in the fifteenth century.

The title here is as follows:—‘With God’s aid, the beginning of the signs of the musical art, both the ascending and the descending, both “bodies” (steps) and “spirits” (leaps), and of every kind of musical gesture and of services composed in these signs by the poets, both old and new, who were famous in their own time.’⁵

The following are the sections of the manual:—

1. list of the interval-signs with their values;
2. the laws of subordination or Hypotaxis, and a tabulation of the most important combinations (a) of ascending signs annulled by descending signs; (b) of Soma and Pneuma combinations, whether cumulative or not.

The Hadrianople MS. adds the sentence, ‘By these signs every melody in the art of music ascends and descends;’

¹ AUTHORITIES.—The English reader may refer to my little book, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, noticed in *Laudate*, vol. ii., No. 2, p. 127.

A good summary of recent progress in the subject, with full references, will be found in E. Wellesz, *Aufgaben u. Probleme auf d. Gebiet d. Byz. u. orient. Kirchenmus.*

The important article of C. Hoëg, *Revue des Études grecques*, tome xxv., No. 162, p. 321, should also be consulted on the origin of the Byz. modal system and some recent papyrus-finds.

J.H.S.—VOL. XLVI.

² ‘Ελληνικὸς φιλ. σύλλογος, ΚΑ’, p. 164 (Hadrianople MS.).

³ *Neumenstudien*, T. 3, pp. 17 ff.

⁴ *Sitzungsber. d. k. bay. Akad. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1870, vol. ii., p. 270 (appendix). W. Christ did not observe that the Papadike contained the key to the Round Notation, then undeciphered.

⁵ Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 18, has as title, Γραμματικὴ Μουσική. The preamble and the first two sections agree (save for a few trifling verbal points) with ours.

3. a list of the Phthorae or Modulation-signs with their symbols; ⁶

4. the names and signatures (Martyriae) of the eight modes. The ancient names are applied in the usual haphazard fashion. (I Dorian, II Lydian, III Phrygian, IV Mixolydian: the plagal modes the same, with Hypo- prefixed.)⁷

The Hadrianople MS. adds (i) the Mesoi or Mediants of the modes with four short vocalisations (ῥήγματα), showing the transition from the plagal modes into the modes related to them as Mesoi. (ii) The emotional qualities of the modes, viz. I. χαίροντος, II. λυπουμένου, III. νυστάζοντος, IV. χορεύοντος, Pl. I. φεύγοντος, Pl. II. παρακαλούντος, Pl. III. (Barys) τραγῳδοῦντος, Pl. IV. ἐμπλησμένου, σκούζοντος;

5. the Ἀργίαι or length-marks; ⁸

6. the Great Hypostases or subsidiary signs.⁹

The Hadrianople MS. gives the same material in a slightly different order. We may remark that the pathetic qualities attributed to the modes seem to be purely fanciful and do not at all represent their actual use. For instance, Casia's well-known Christmas hymn, 'When Augustus, etc.,' a triumphal composition, is in Mode II, which is called 'grieving.' The Easter hymn, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, is in Mode I Plagal, here called 'fleeing.' We cannot say for certain what led a mediaeval composer to choose one mode rather than another. Elsewhere we find poetical description of the modes, like those quoted in the *Anthologia*; ¹⁰

7. tables of the compound interval-signs, both ascending and descending.¹¹ The widest leaps are an eleventh upwards and an eighth downwards. The Hadrianople MS. goes as far as an eleventh either way. In practice we seldom find large intervals: even a seventh or an octave upwards is rare, and a downward drop seldom goes beyond a fifth;

8. a novelty in the Ambrosian MS. is a short exercise on Chironomia, that is, on the gestures made by a conductor to indicate musical progressions. The practice is well attested and is described by Gabriel Hieromonachus.¹²

It is strange to find that some of the 'gestures' have names for which no symbol existed. The conductor, while roughly indicating, by conventional movements, the progressions of the music, would also give a guide to the singers' time. The exercise here has no signature and was therefore not intended for singing. The heading is ταῦτα τὰ σημάδια χειρονομούνται χωρὶς μέλους;

⁶ So also in Fleischer, p. 20.

⁷ On questions connected with the names of the mediaeval modes and their origin see J. F. Mountford's article, *J.H.S.*, vol. xl., p. 37. Fleischer, pp. 36 ff., has gathered the same information from the Codex Chrysander (fourteenth century). But the latter adds the Echemata (melodic formulae), which our MS. gives more fully elsewhere. See also *B.S.A.*, XXII., 137.

⁸ Missing in Fleischer's MSS. For a discussion of these see my article, *B.S.A.*,

XXI., pp. 125 ff. I hold fast to the views there set out.

⁹ Cf. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

¹⁰ W. Christ and M. Parankas, *Anthol. Gr. Carminum Christianorum*, p. cxxii.

¹¹ Fleischer, pp. 21-3.

¹² Quoted in Psachos (K. A.): 'Ἡ παρασημαντικὴ τῆς Βυζ. Μουσικῆς' (Athens, 1917), p. 65. (For a criticism of the 'steno-graphic theory' advocated by Psachos see my article in *Laudate*, December 1924, p. 216.)

9. the Papadike is usually followed in the MSS. by some elementary vocal studies or exercises. Fleischer¹³ has reproduced and interpreted a great many of these. The Milan codex has a series of short lessons on the modes, beginning with the melodic formula (Echema) and adding only a fragment of some well-known hymn, *e.g.* from the *Eothina* of the Emperor Leo. These formulae were intoned at the beginning of any hymn in order to help the singer to find the proper note and to fix the scale in his mind. Their interpolation into the actual text of florid musical passages is not apparent from any MS. known to us, but it must have been customary at some late epoch, because it is part of the basis of the 'stenographic'¹⁴ theory, and also because it can be found in Russian Church music. The proper use, however, is clearly laid down in the treatise going under the name of Hagiopolites:—

'When we are about to sing or teach we must begin with an Enechema (melodic formula). For an Enechema is the laying-on of the Mode; as if I should say, Ana-ne-anes, which is, O King, forgive. For all things ought to have their beginning in God and to end in God.'¹⁵

We observe that there is no practical difference between Enechema, Apechema and Echema; and further, that all hymns necessarily 'end with God,' because some kind of Doxology or an appeal to the Almighty for the soul of the worshipper is the regular conclusion in Byzantine hymnody. We therefore infer that the formula was used at the beginning of the hymn for the purposes already stated.

The Echemata were also names of the modes and were borrowed as such by mediaeval Western theorists. We find that the syllables (Ananes, etc.) composing the formulae are almost invariable, but the musical notes vary greatly, either because the melody did not always start from the Finalis of the mode in question, or else merely to avoid monotony. Sometimes long and elaborate vocalisations are used.

The following are a few of the melodic formulae in our MS.:—¹⁶

Mode I. (Ananes or Aneanes): (1) *a g a*, (2) *a g f e d e f g a*. Finalis *a* or *d*.

Mode II. (Neanes): *b a g a b*. Finalis *e*.

Mode III. (Aneanes): *c' c' b c' g a g f e f g a (b c')*—twice with and twice without the last two notes. Finalis usually *f*; melodies may begin from *a* or *c'*.

Mode IV. (Hagia): (1) *g f e d c d e f g*, (2) *g g a g f g*. Finalis *g*.

I. Plagal (Aneanes): *d f e d*.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, Transcriptions, pp. 1–10.

¹⁴ See Chrysanthus, *Θεωρητικὸν Μεγὰ τῆς Μουσικῆς* (Athens reprint), p. 190. In Byzantine MSS. the syllables *τε-ρε-ρε-μ* (from *τερερίζω*, to warble) are used in florid passages where no verbal sense was conveyed.

¹⁵ The medley of classical and Byzantine theory ascribed to Hagiopolites is undoubtedly the work of many hands. A

complete text is not available; the best is that of Thibaut, *Monuments d. l. Notation Ekphon. et Hagiopolite*, etc., p. 57.

¹⁶ The formulae given by Chrysanthus are transcribed by Rebours, *Traité de Psaltique*, p. 280. Both writers note the difference between the modern and the mediaeval Echemata. The syllables were sometimes confused. Cf. Fleischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 ff., where Mode III. is called Nana.

- II. Plagal. (a) Diatonic (Neeanes): *g a b a g a ḅ*. Finalis *e*.
 (b) Chromatic (Neeanes-nenano): *e f g f e e f g a ḅ* (next note *ḅ*, finalis *e*).

III. Plagal or Barys (Aanes): *f g e f (g a)*. May begin from *f* or *a*. Finalis *f*.

IV. Plagal. (a) Common form (Nehagie): *g a g g*.

(b) Mixed form (Nehagie-nana): *g a g g c' c'*.

This requires *ḅ* and sometimes has the signature of Mode III. (Finalis *g*.)

In studying these formulae we must rid our minds of two illusions: the first being that the Echema is a guide to the order of tones and semitones. From the variety of the melodies it is quite clear that nothing of the kind was intended. The second mistake is to suppose that the formula affected the melody or the cadences of the hymns themselves. We do indeed find that in late Russian and in eighteenth-century Byzantine music certain ornamental figures were given a different interpretation according to the mode.¹⁷ In Syrian and Serbian music the modes have their own proper cadences. All this is supposed to be derived from the Arabian *maqams*, which embodied stereotyped figures as well as actual scales. But in mediaeval Byzantine music any musical figure or formula can be used at cadences or in the course of a melody in all modes without distinction, the difference between the modes being in the order of the notes and in the Finales.

I put forward the view some years ago that the so-called eight modes of the modern Greek or Chrysanthine system were based on Arabo-Persian scales, borrowed through the Turks. A full confirmation of this opinion is supplied by some phonographic experiments of Père Thibaut,¹⁸ who found that the modes as sung by a Greek Archimandrite corresponded minutely to some of the Arabian varieties. The notion still current in England, that the Chrysanthine system contains the Byzantine tradition, must therefore be given up; but we may still assume that Byzantine melodies have survived, though not untouched by Oriental influence, in contemporary Greek Church music. A purer tradition may probably be found among the Graeco-Albanian colonies in Sicily. We welcome the signs of a more widespread regard for Byzantine music among Western students. This is largely due to the work of Dr. Wellesz, who has many admirers in this country. Modern Greek musicians have deserved our thanks by the recital of their music, both sacred and secular, at King's College, London, in 1924. We hope that this may be the first of many, and that the Greeks will be more encouraged to collect and perform their own folk-songs as well as to resist the introduction of modern harmonies into the Greek Church—a practice entirely alien to the traditions of Eastern ritual.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

¹⁷ See for Russian music, O. von Riesenmann, *Die Notationen d. altruss. Kirchengesanges*; for late Byzantine, Psachos, *op. cit.*, Plate IET'; for Syrian and Serbian, E. Wellesz, *Zeitschr. f. Musik-*

wissenschaft, II Jahrgang, 3 Heft, p. 140.

¹⁸ My article, *B.S.A.* XXII., 147. Thibaut's experiments, Dom Jeannin, *Mémoires lit. syriennes et chaldéennes* (Paris, 1924), p. 137.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1925-26

THIS article summarises all excavations in Greek lands of which particulars have reached me since the completion of my report published a year ago.¹

AMERICAN SCHOOL

At Corinth, Professor T. L. Shear continued his excavations at the Theatre, and at the presumed site of the Sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis.² At the former, he has now cleared the entire Orchestra, with the Parodoi leading into it, and uncovered the front part of the stage and the lower rows of the *cavea*. The wall painted with life-sized figures of men and beasts, which was found in 1925, has now been all laid bare, and on it are preserved novel and interesting scenes in brilliant colours. In one case, a bull, richly bedecked with ribbons and fillets, has rushed on the extended spear held by a crouching gladiator, and blood is shown streaming from a wound in its throat. In another scene, which represents an acrobat making a pole-vault over the back of a charging leopard, both man and beast are depicted at the moment when they are in the air. In another, an athlete, with hands on the ground and head raised, is about to spring over the back of a huge charging lion. Beneath this lion a Greek inscription is scratched on the wall, recalling the story of Androkles, as it states that the lion recognises the fallen man as his saviour and fawns upon him. To quote the discoverer: 'The brilliance of the colours, the originality of the themes and the vivacity of the action indicate a hitherto unknown skill and technique in the execution of decorative painting on a large scale at the beginning of the Christian era; and the scheme of decoration is unique in our knowledge of the Greek and Roman theatre.'

Several floor-levels were distinguished in the Orchestra: the latest Roman level, of cement covered with marble slabs, on which many coins of the fourth century came to light, lies about a foot higher than an earlier floor, also of cement; and still earlier is the stone floor of the Greek Orchestra, round which runs a well-built stone drain with arched bridges, spaced to correspond with the stairways of the *cavea*. The diameter of the Greek Orchestra can now be determined as about 20 metres, enlarged to over 36 metres at the time of the Roman reconstruction. In the east end of the drain was found a hoard of 88 Roman bronze coins dating from the

¹ *J.H.S.*, 1925, pp. 210 ff. I must again acknowledge most cordially the generosity of all those who have supplied me with information concerning their unpublished

excavation-results.

² From a report kindly forwarded by Professor Shear.

first century of our era, and near the centre of the Orchestra was a round marble altar decorated with Bucrania and festoons.

The most important finds were, however, the following pieces of sculpture: just within either entrance to the Orchestra stood a life-sized statue, a woman on the west and a man on the east. Of the former the head was found, well-preserved except for an injured nose, and of the latter the head, legs and one perfect foot. The woman's hair, on which are still traces of the original deep red colour, is arranged in an unusual way behind, where it is gathered in a veil, and its technical treatment, coupled with that of the sharply-cut eyelids, indicate it as a copy of a bronze original; and as, moreover, it resembles a head of Sappho on coins of Mytilene, Professor Shear suggests that it is a copy of the famous bronze portrait of Sappho by Silanion. The other statue was a copy of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos, and the portions preserved have a freshness of modelling and an excellence of execution not observable on other copies of this masterpiece; it too preserves much of the original red colour. Of Roman sculpture, the most interesting piece is a portrait head, found in the Orchestra directly below the latest floor-level, of an Emperor or a statesman, which may be dated in the first century after Christ.

In addition, many pieces of marble reliefs were also found on or near the stage-building. These fall into three subjects: the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, the labours of Herakles, and the contests between Gods and Giants. Four large slabs, of the first group, give us the following subjects: (a) a mounted Amazon fleeing with head turned back from a pursuing foot-soldier; (b) a Greek spearing an Amazon who has fallen to her knees; (c) an Amazon kneeling on a rock and defending herself in vain with shield and axe against a Greek who attacks her with raised sword; (d) a victorious Amazon riding down a fallen warrior. Many other unconnected fragments show that this was a long frieze, and as there are cuttings on the front of the stage corresponding with the depth of the relief-blocks, they may well have been used to decorate it. Of the Herakles-reliefs, one is complete except for the right arm. The Hero, with club and lion-skin, strides to the right, with his head, which is massive and bearded, turned to the left. The third series is, however, the finest. Several of the Giants are admirably preserved. Their unkempt hair, wrinkled brows, and expressions indicating pain justify their finder in attributing them to the Pergamene School. In contrast to their sufferings the serene expression of the deities' features is striking. Of the latter, there have been found heads of Hera, characterised by a regal diadem, of Apollo, and of Aphrodite, a face of exquisite charm, as also a much-damaged head of Hermes.

The inscriptions found are of minor importance, but a dedication to Julius Caesar, found in the Orchestra, deserves mention.

In his search for the sanctuary of Athena Chalinitis, Professor Shear extended to the north and north-east the trenches dug in 1925 along the north side of the Sikyon road. Towards the end of the season a massive wall made of large blocks was uncovered at the north end of this area, and

was followed for about 25 metres to a point where it turns south. It is evidently the boundary-wall of a large precinct, and there is every reason to believe, from its proximity to the theatre, where no other sanctuary is mentioned by Pausanias, that the Temenos is that of Athena Chalinitis. This conclusion is supported by the presence of many votive offerings, among which are numerous archaic terra-cotta horses and riders, and by the use of a Pegasos as a decorative motive on one of several pieces of terra-cotta drapery from a female statue. The stratification in this region was little disturbed, and may be summarised from the excavator's report as follows: below a thick deposit of Byzantine ware, with many Byzantine coins, come the late Roman coins and lamps, and then a great quantity of Arretine pottery which is found associated with local ware made in imitation of it. Among the numerous stamped pieces of the former occur the names of Tigranes and Rasinus. Below this were found fine specimens of Megarian bowls, associated with terra-cotta figurines and with coins of Corinth and Sikyon of the end of the fourth and beginning of the third century B.C. Lower still came late r.f. sherds, below these again earlier r.f. and b.f., both sparsely represented, and finally, at a depth of from five to seven metres below the surface, a large amount of Corinthian pottery—mostly plain or with merely linear ornament, but one fine piece had figures and appended names in the local alphabet, and several pieces had designs of birds and animals. The commonest shape was a small round bowl, of which some 1,500 examples came to light; there were also many other kinds of small bowl, cups, saucers and skyphoi. At this level were found also some brilliantly coloured architectural terra-cottas. The results of Professor Shear's next campaign on both these sites should be of even greater interest.

These excavations formed only a part of the activities of the American School at Corinth during 1925-26, but I have received no particulars of the results either of Dr. Blegen's excavations in the spring of 1926 on the summit of the Acrocorinth or of the other work carried on throughout the summer by the Director, Dr. B. H. Hill, in the city below. The latter, however, has now published a summary of his work on the rest of the site in 1925.³ Much of the precinct south-west of the Temple of Apollo has been cleared, also the western half of the long Greek Stoa south of the Temple hill. The Stoa probably dates from the third century B.C. and was restored in Roman times. The original stylobate of the front is nearly complete, and on it are remains of most of the 47 Doric columns and of the 22 inner Ionic columns, many thickly covered with the white stucco of the Roman repairers. The rear wall partly consists of the living rock which has been cut and dressed with a broad *anathyrosis* to match the blocks of the built wall. An interesting find from the filling above the Stoa was a fragment of a fine archaic relief in *poros* with a thin coating of stucco; and it seems not unlikely that it is a part of one of the metopes from the Temple of Apollo.

³ In *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America*, xvi. (December 1925).

It represents a horse in front view, and, to judge from the scale of this fragment, it is probable that the subject of the whole metope was a quadriga with its driver; the background was painted red. Otherwise there was not much sculpture found except two late, life-sized, marble portrait-heads; on one the hair had been painted yellow and gilded.

Excavations were also carried out to west and south of the Fountain of Glauke. The area had clearly once been a quarry; the sherds found in the lowest stratum were of Greek and early Roman date. Roman buildings were found here but the plan has not yet been fully traced; in the débris with other bronze fragments the statuette of an armed warrior came to light—perhaps Ares, as the features are of an idealised Greek type. The statuette is .25 metre high, with high crested helmet, a cuirass with a Medusa head on the breast and *pteryges* in three rows on the thighs.

The northern end of the Lechaëum Road was partly cleared and yielded architectural fragments and inscriptions. South of the Museum some rooms of a well-built Roman structure were uncovered; here also inscriptions were found which had been re-used as paving-slabs. Among the finds from this area were a long iron sword, iron knives and a number of whole water-jars.

There is now available (in *A.J.A.* xxix. (1925), pp. 413–28) a fuller account of Dr. Blegen's very interesting discoveries at the Argive Heraeum, made possible by the generosity of the late Dr. J. C. Hoppin.⁴ The excavations show clearly that the hill on which the Heraeum stands has served as the site of a settlement all through the Bronze Age in Greece. On the slope above the old temple, beneath a disturbed layer of Middle Helladic and Late Helladic pottery, was found an undisturbed Early Helladic stratum, containing pottery and walls, though no complete house plan could be recovered. Lower down the slope a large rectangular room of the Late Helladic period came to light, and again, on the slope below the temple, pottery of all three Helladic periods was found. On the ridge to the north-west of the Heraeum (the East Yerogalaro ridge) he made a most important discovery of remains of the Neolithic period—the first yet found in Argolis. A circular hollow in the rock contained a black deposit of burnt débris with sherds of a heavy, hand-made, polished ware, some decorated with simple incised patterns along the rim, but the more characteristic type has curious patterns in red outlined in black. Most of the pottery consists of open vessels decorated inside and out and is closely related to the 'three-colour ware' of the second Neolithic period in Thessaly and is exactly like that found at Gonia near Corinth. Dr. Blegen thinks it possible that this deposit was once the floor of a primitive round hut. Four similar hollows were found near by, but all were too small to be the remains of huts; they had the same filling of black earth and Neolithic sherds unmixed with any of a later period.

On the same ridge was discovered an Early Helladic tomb in the form of a small chamber hewn in the rock; and, close to the surface of the

⁴ Cf. *J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 211.

soil, seven Middle Helladic graves came to light—simple shafts cut in the rock, just large enough to hold the body, which was usually in a contracted position. Irregular stone slabs formed the covering of the graves. Very few offerings were found in the graves, but in the case of two other graves (one of them on the slope south of the Heraeum) a deposit of yellow Minyan cups and matt jugs was found above the covering stone slabs, where they had been preserved by the deep soil above them. This seems to indicate that in Middle Helladic burials the sepulchral offerings were laid on the tomb rather than inside it. Thirteen Late Helladic tombs were found in the same area. They are of the usual type, with dromos, doorway and chamber—one with a fine painted stucco façade—and yielded valuable finds. All the tombs had apparently been used for successive burials; in one case five successive interments could be distinguished, ranging in date from L.H. II. to the end of L.H. III.^{4a} In five of the tombs a burnt layer seems to point to a purification of the tomb by fire before its re-use (in one case there were three such layers) rather than to cremation. In all these tombs bones untouched by fire were also found. The finds from the tombs—besides the two inlaid daggers mentioned in my last year's report—include about 200 vases ranging from L.H. I. to L.H. III., two gold necklaces, a fine chain and other gold ornaments, a quantity of weapons and a large basin of bronze, ivory objects, gems, beads and a curious, large carnelian pendant in the form of an elephant. An important find was an Egyptian glass paste scarab dating from the early years of the New Kingdom.

From other parts of the site came some splendid Geometric bronzes and Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery.

I have received no particulars of the results of Dr. Blegen's winter campaign at Nemea, in 1925-26, or of Miss Goldman's campaigns in the autumn of 1925 at Kolophon and during the summer of 1926 at Eutresis.

BRITISH SCHOOL ⁵

Sparta.—The third season's work since excavations were resumed in 1924 lasted from April 7th to June 5th, 1926. Our main activities were again devoted to the Theatre and the Acropolis. At the former we have now completed the uncovering of the stage-region, and have cleared a wide strip in front of the E. Parodos-wall as far east as the foot of the exterior staircase mentioned in the last report. This staircase, and the bastion supporting it, have survived in good preservation as regards the lower courses (Fig. 1): five courses of the marble facing of the latter are standing, above the torus-moulding, to a total height of more than three metres above the marble pavement, much of which remains *in situ*; and of the stairs, four complete steps and part of a fifth were found in position, with indica-

^{4a} I retain the term L.H. III. in this context and elsewhere, as used by the authors of the reports when summarised.

⁵ (Reprinted, by kind permission of the

Committee, from the *Annual Report* of the British School at Athens, 1925-26, with trifling alterations and omissions.)

tions of eight more, in the form of foundations, or of cuttings on the inner wall. We also found pieces of the coping from the balustrade of this stairway, and replaced two blocks of it in their original places. In clearing this region, which again involved the laborious removal of much fallen material from the retaining-wall, two hoards of small Byzantine copper coins, apparently all of the twelfth century, came to light near the surface; and at the Roman level several inscriptions, including seven more blocks, practically complete, and more than a dozen smaller fragments, from the series engraved on the E. Parodos-wall. Four more similar texts were found inscribed on the bastion close to the foot of the stairs, and an epigram, apparently



FIG. 1.—SPARTA, THE THEATRE STAIRCASE.

dating from the fourth century after Christ, on a rough columnar base, was found *in situ* adjoining the corner of the bastion. This relates to a Proconsul of the name of Anatolius, 'who saved all from doom, and rebuilt ruined Sparta' after some unnamed catastrophe. Lying further west, close against the foot of the wall, was a headless draped female statue, of more than life-size, in white marble, perhaps not later than the second century of our era; there is no inscription or other clue to aid in identifying the subject. Along the W. Parodos-wall we also cleared a wide strip, as far as the projection of the corresponding bastion, located last year, and found the *poros* foundations of some uncertain structure, possibly a colonnade. Excavating still further westwards we found that this west bastion did not after all carry a staircase; and it is doubtful if it was originally

marble-faced for its whole length. Apparently there was no regular approach to the stage-region from this side, where the original ground-level proves to have been considerably higher than on the east.

Although we have now completely cleared the stage, its architectural history seems even more complicated than was thought a year ago. There is little change to suggest in the relative order of the different structural remains, but we must recognise that they underwent more changes and modifications than was then realised. The early wall, thought to be possibly Hellenistic, now seems much more likely to be contemporary with the *cavea*, and thus of Augustan date, and was found to project westwards beyond the later stage-buildings. The *scenae frons*, as a result of further study, proves to have had alterations both in plan and level. Originally a straight wall, without returns, and pierced with a central doorway, which was flanked by five openings on each side, it was later turned into a solid wall by blocking up these openings; and on the side facing the Orchestra a ledge was made, at a height of about 1.40 metres above the old ground-level, to carry the colonnade which had been recognised in the previous campaign. Later again, it appears, two doorways, one to each side of the central portal, and wider than the openings of the first period, were cut through the wall, to communicate with the series of rooms built behind the stage proper. These rooms have been completely cleared, and work out according to our expectations; but a most surprising discovery was made in the east room, namely, an archaic *piithos*, complete, and with its surface scarcely damaged, bearing ornament in relief, representing two chariots, with armed drivers, and a hoplite on foot behind each (Fig. 2). Similar scenes are known on *piithos*-fragments from Sparta, but our example is not from a known mould, and has the additional interest of having survived in use down to early Imperial times. It was associated with the level of the stage foundations attributed to the Augustan period, and seems to have served then as a rain-butt, for it was fitted with two terra-cotta pipes leading from the neck towards the drains in the street behind the theatre. A portion of this street, with elaborate tile-drains, was also cleared, and a massive foundation on the far side of it, of which a corner was uncovered near the end of the season, may belong to some important building which we must investigate in our next campaign. Other discoveries of interest at the Theatre must be passed over more summarily. Two inscribed architrave-fragments, one with the name of Valerius Maximianus, the other with that of Honorius, are of value for the later chronology of the site; and the finding, just behind the *hyposcenum*-wall, of several extensive rubbish-pits, one of which yielded nearly thirty coins, mostly of the second and third centuries of our era, suggests that for some time the stage-region must have been abandoned—but long before the catastrophe referred to in the epigram quoted above.

The Acropolis.—In this region, where Mr. Tait was in charge of the work, we almost completed the excavation of the votive deposit in the area between the Chalkioikos Sanctuary-wall and the back wall of the *cavea*; and there only remain undug a narrow strip along the centre, left

as a barrow-track, and a rather larger piece at the south-west corner of the deposit, where the clay layer attains a formidable depth above the richer layers below. The principal discovery of the season was that of another building, to the south of the area concerned, of which we have now cleared portions of the north and west walls for a length of nine and two and a half metres respectively. Nothing is standing above the foundations, which rest on undisturbed clay, and are nowhere more than three courses

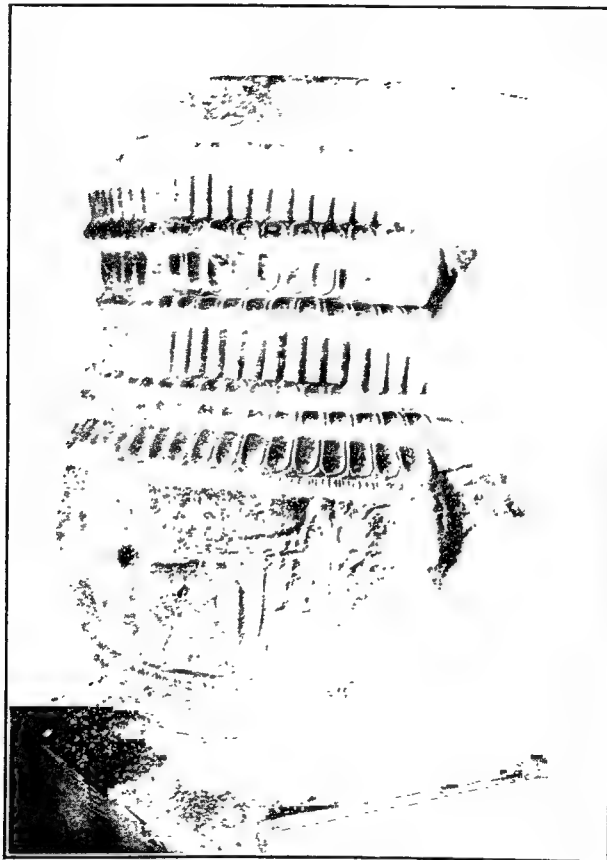


FIG. 2.—SPARTA; ARCHAIC PITHOS.

high; and except at the north-west corner, where roughly squared stones are used, they consist of small unworked stones and cobbles. As their thickness is little more than half a metre, they can have carried no very massive building: possibly their superstructure was of unbaked brick, and it may have been merely a Temenos-wall, but until the building has been fully cleared we cannot feel sure of its nature or its exact date. It was observed, however, that, whilst the stratification in general was confused, as in the deposit excavated further north in the two previous campaigns, the earth immediately north of the building contained an unusually high

proportion of Laconian pottery, including substantial remains of several fine painted vases of the Laconian II, III, and IV styles. It also appeared that these represent débris from our newly-found building, and are not part of the imported filling contemporary with the building of the Theatre. We may provisionally date the building as early as the seventh century, and regard it as having continued in use until the fifth, if not later.

Other interesting finds from the vicinity of the building included a piece of an archaic terra-cotta relief, showing Odysseus and the ram, a small gaily-painted votive shield of the same material, and two marble *halteres*, one of which bore an incised dedication to Athena. Fragments of sculpture in Parian marble include a piece from a male left arm, which must be ascribed, almost certainly, to the 'Leonidas' statue found last year; small pieces of drapery, of a shield, and a snake's head (from an *aegis*), all showing remains of paint, which suggest an Athena statue, of early fifth-century date, and rather less than life-sized; and a small relief-fragment, which shows the head of Athena in a charming style reminiscent of the base with the reliefs of the ball-players, etc., found in Athens in 1922. The full excavation of this building, which will be far from easy, as it lies partly beneath the back wall of the *cavea* at a depth of nearly twelve feet, is an urgent duty, and may be expected to yield further finds of considerable importance. The finds from the rest of this region are on the whole of minor interest, but several additions must be recorded to the range of pottery represented, which now includes for the first time a few small pieces which seem to be Mycenaean, and some coarse ware, apparently of local fabric, which we have provisionally styled 'Helot ware.'

Extensive trials were also made east of the Chalkioikos, with a view to testing the presence (1) of an entrance to the centre of the *cavea* direct from the Acropolis, and (2) of votive deposits or other indications of another sanctuary adjacent. Our results were mostly negative but showed that this region had been occupied in later Imperial times by a mass of houses, which had mostly destroyed the earlier levels, and had encroached even on the uppermost seats of the Theatre; and we found that a small (domestic?) bath was built up against its back wall, near the centre. An interesting clue to its date was obtained, for we found, in addition to various fragments of architectural marbles built in to it, a coin of Gordian III in the wall-mortar. In the immediate neighbourhood were other much-broken marbles, including a *voussoir*-block, and fragments of architrave, which make it possible that there was an arched entrance, presumably to the Theatre, hereabouts. Another important find was that of a large number of deliberately-broken fragments—not yet fully studied or restored—of a Latin inscription in monumental lettering, which includes the word *Aug.* repeated three times, the name of the Emperor Tiberius, and the phrases *Pont. Max.* and *Trib. Potest.*; this too might perhaps have belonged to our assumed entrance. Among other inscriptions found close at hand were six fragments of a decree, probably of the third century B.C. (to which joins a piece found in 1925 nearly 100 yards away), and an archaic dedication to Athena in three lines

on an ornate *stele*. For the presence of other sanctuaries our evidence was most disappointing; though we found some early wall-foundations in *poros* there were scarcely any finds associated with them, with the noteworthy exception of an incomplete ivory relief, of good style, like those from the Orthia-Sanctuary, showing a man leading a horse. This is of interest also as the first ivory relief which the Acropolis has yielded.

Further east, Mr. Cuttle successfully elucidated the plan of the Byzantine church (H. Nikon?) which he had partly cleared in 1925. He found that it was a Basilica, the roof having been carried on two rows of six columns each; two of the bases, which looked like re-used Roman work of fairly good period, were in position on the north side, and a fallen column belonging to the south side was also identified. The date is still uncertain, owing to the unusual combination of a nave with columns and a triple angular apse, but we have established the presence of two Byzantine periods in the church, represented by different floor-levels, and below the earlier floor were traces of an Hellenistic settlement, and of a more extensive Roman one. To the latter belong the numerous terra-cotta figurines, and moulds for their manufacture found in both campaigns, along with fragments of Arretine ware. This settlement, which seems after all to have been merely domestic in character, occupied only the southern half of the church-site, but a wall of apparently Hellenistic date extended nearly its whole width, almost in line with the position of the screen of the church above it.

Vardarovi.⁶—The excavation began on March 1st, and ended on March 31st. Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Assistant-Director of the British School, was in charge throughout.

(1) *The 'Toumba.'*—Virgin soil was reached at a depth of $17\frac{1}{2}$ metres. As the appearance of Mycenaean (L.H. 3b) pottery in the twenty-first half-metre gives a fixed chronological point, and also coincides with a change in the style of building, the strata can be classified as I. Pre-Mycenaean, II. Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean, III. Post-Mycenaean, IV. Hellenistic.

Stratum I.—Stratum I can be subdivided into I *a*, I *b*, I *c*. In I *a* several complete vases were recovered, which show close affinity with the pottery of Troy II. I *b* is a transitional stage between I *a* and I *c*, in which first occurs the chalk-filled incised pottery with simple designs (Class 2), to be distinguished from a still earlier and simpler type (Class 1), of which two specimens were found in I *a*, and also from the more elaborate spiral-meander-incised ware (Class 3) of the succeeding stratum (I *c*). I *c* marks the definite installation of new elements, the spiral-meander-incised just mentioned, 'purple-on-buff' painted pottery, and of large bi-conical vases in a smooth hand-polished fabric, which continues throughout the Mycenaean stratum. There is reason for dating the beginning of I *c* at about 1600 B.C. The whole of Stratum I was seven metres thick and may cover a period of 1,000 years (2300–1300 B.C.).

Stratum II.—Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean. Stratum II was $6\frac{1}{2}$ metres thick. It falls into two periods (II *a* and II *b*). Mycenaean sherds were

⁶ This seems a more correct form of the name than Vardarovca (as it was called in the last report).

numerous, beginning with L.H. III *b*: otherwise the pottery is a continuation of the preceding. Brick-terraces at various levels account for the rapid accumulation of the deposit. II *b* is a burnt layer ($1\frac{1}{2}$ metres thick) containing the débris of at least three successive settlements. It coincides roughly with the sub-Mycenaean age, but as typical sub-Mycenaean sherds occur in the half-metre above it, its end should be assigned to about 1050 B.C. Its beginning must be placed about 1100 B.C. or a little earlier. It indicates a period of violent disturbance, while the appearance of a new class of pottery provides evidence of the direction from which that disturbance came. One vase (which can be restored) may be taken as typical of the class. It is a large two-handled bowl with wide trumpet-shaped neck and low-spreading body, on a small conical foot. The sharp division between the two parts is accentuated by the vertical fluting on the body, and the handles also are strongly fluted. The fabric is badly-levigated black clay, firing to grey in places, and highly polished. There were fragments of five similar vases, some unpolished, and several handles and rims of bowls with the same fluted technique. Some of the vases have small knobs. Along with these were undecorated vases of rather similar shape with high vertical handles rising above the rim. There can be little doubt that this pottery is of Central European origin, though its exact provenance is uncertain. It has affinity with the 'bückel-Keramik' of Troy VII, and may be due to an earlier invasion of the 'bückel-Keramik' people whose home is generally located in Hungary. Its association on the mound with sub-Mycenaean pottery and with traces of violence affords striking evidence for the view that Northerners were on the confines of Greece at the end of the twelfth century B.C. At the same time it explains certain elements in the pottery of the next stratum (III *a*), which is now seen to be not the pottery of the invaders themselves, but to have been formed by a fusion of the local pottery with that of the invaders. There is reason to think that the invaders passed into Thessaly, taking this mixed style with them, out of which, as a result of further contact with sub-Mycenaean and with local Thessalian, arose the Thessalian Early Geometric style of Marmariani, Theotokou and other sites.

Stratum III.—The pottery of Stratum III was described in last year's report. There are two periods (III *a* and III *b*), the latter distinguished by stone house-foundations with *pithoi* and by the appearance of a few imported sixth, fifth and fourth century Hellenic sherds.

Stratum IV.—Stratum IV is a settlement (which must have been largely Greek) of the fourth century B.C. On the débris of this a few houses were built on the summit in the third century B.C.

(2) *The 'High Table.'*—Last year's excavations were followed up by the digging of a pit down to virgin soil, which was found at a depth of nearly eight metres. The earliest deposit belonged to a period when the Mycenaean influence had not wholly disappeared from the painted pottery; the earliest occupation of this part of the site seems to have occurred at the end of the period represented on the Toumba itself by the appearance of *kantharoi*—fragments of which occur on the Table—and post-Mycenaean incised ware.

Above this stratum, of which the sole house-remains consisted of a single row of stones, came two more pre-Greek layers, distinguished by remnants of daub-and-wattle houses; a beam-hole, 20 cms. deep, was found, with traces of wood adhering to the edges. There is little development in the pottery, but even at this time there was some importation from the South, while the precursors of the later 'scraped' ware make their appearance. At the end of the fifth, or the beginning of the fourth, century B.C. a mass of stiff yellow clay more than a metre thick was laid down on top of these earlier settlements, and on this a stout stone wall, of which four courses remain, was built, perhaps as a defence for the place. With this are associated, as well as much local pottery, numerous Greek imports, which increase until in the topmost levels they are characteristic, and date the last occupation to the course of the third century. An interesting find close to the wall was a little bronze bird in the tradition of the well-known Geometric birds that occur both in Macedonia and outside it. But this late example is of developed form. The 'scraped' ware referred to above is a local product that arose out of the primitive wares; it held its own for a time with the sophisticated imports from Attica, but finally Hellenistic mass-products drove it from the field.

Haliartos.—Mr. R. P. Austin carried out trial excavations, during four weeks commencing March 30th, at Haliartos in Boeotia, with the object of establishing the plan of the ancient walls of the city and testing the future possibilities of the site.

(1) The Acropolis, which is roughly rectangular, with sides between 200 and 300 metres in length, proved to have remains of fortification-walls of five distinct styles, the earliest being of the Mycenaean period, and the latest of uncertain date, perhaps Roman Imperial, or even later. The intermediate styles appear only in patches, sometimes replacing, sometimes built on top of, an earlier wall. The Mycenaean wall, which survives to an average height of a metre above the present surface, is best preserved on the south, and the southern portion of the west side, and a much-destroyed entrance was uncovered at the south-west angle, probably approached from the lower level outside by a ramp. The wall of the second period, which resembles in style the archaic walls of Orchomenos, is built of squared blocks, with the outer faces left rough; the lines of the courses are not strictly horizontal, and the upright joints are not always vertical. This wall, of which a well-preserved portion on the west of the Acropolis exhibits six to eight courses above the ground-level, is perhaps to be dated to the seventh century B.C. The third period is represented by a construction of massive polygonal blocks, carefully faced and well-jointed, set upright on one or more foundation-courses of large, flat, squared blocks, laid horizontally. The best-preserved portions are at the south-east angle, near which are the remains of two towers, and on the south slope. As a similar style of masonry, of less coarse execution, was found to be used for the Peribolos-wall of the Sanctuary (see below), which seems to date from the late sixth or early fifth century, we have a probable date for the fortification-wall also. To the fourth period belongs a wall of squared blocks of soft reddish or yellowish limestone, of which, owing to its friable

nature, none is preserved above the present surface. The most important remains of it consist of the foundations, eight courses high, of a tower which came to light near the south-west angle. Digging in front of this revealed a deposit of black-glazed sherds, including fourth-century types, and the style of the masonry is appropriate to this date. An interesting gateway of this period, which came to light in the west wall, has two of its three threshold-blocks *in situ*, and in one of them are cuttings for a door-stop, and the hole to receive the vertical bolt of the gate. This gateway was buried beneath the line of the wall of the fifth period, of which extensive remains are visible on the surface. It has an uniform thickness of about two metres, and is built of small stones with mortar-filling. A well-preserved stretch runs across the whole width of the southern height of the Acropolis, inside the older walls, and enough is preserved to show that it must have made almost, if not quite, a complete circuit of the Acropolis; there are the remains of several towers on the south and west sides. No evidence came to light to suggest an exact date for it, and Mr. Austin suggests that it must in any case be later than the sack of the city by Lucretius in 171 B.C., perhaps by many centuries.

(2) The Sanctuary. This area, situated close to the highest point of the Acropolis, could not be fully cleared with the time and means at the excavator's disposal. So far there have come to light considerable portions of a Peribolos-wall, of polygonal masonry, in the form of a flattened semicircle, whose greatest length is about 36 metres, and the foundations of the west end of the temple which it enclosed, consisting of four courses of massive limestone blocks, which show the width of the temple to have been just over seven metres. Much destruction has taken place, and the masonry seems to have been robbed from most of the longer sides; nor could the eastern wall be found. At the south-west of the area enclosed, a flight of four steps leads down to a narrow passage between the outer face of the Peribolos and the north end of another rectangular building, also built in the polygonal style, of which the dimensions are about 21 by 9 metres; the walls are preserved to a height of about a metre above the foundations. Its purpose is uncertain, but the remains of a large number of coarse jars suggest that it was a store-chamber used in connection with the Sanctuary. Of the Sanctuary itself, pieces of a Doric column-drum of *poros* with a stucco facing, and of mutule-and-gutta fragments in the same material, with traces of paint, help to give some idea of the architectural style; some pieces of terra-cotta revetment are unluckily too much damaged to help in this connexion. The evidence from the pottery and other small objects found points to an occupation lasting at least from the sixth to the fourth century B.C.; the former includes an unusual-looking sherd which may be an Ionian import, many small skyphoi of 'Proto-Corinthian' type, and a latish r.f. piece, and there are coins of the fourth century. Mr. Austin suggests, in view of the style of building and of the finds, that the date of the temple may be shortly before, or after, 500 B.C.

More excavation will be needed to identify the deity to whom the temple was dedicated, to discover whether an earlier temple preceded that found,

and to account for the presence of the Mycenaean pottery, of which large quantities were found towards the east of the Sanctuary-area.

Knossos.—The following report has been received from Sir Arthur Evans, who most kindly prepared it at my request for inclusion in this article.

‘The work undertaken by me at Knossos this year was altogether on a considerable scale and lasted from the middle of March to the end of July. From fifty to sixty workmen, including masons, were employed. The main objects in view were of a threefold nature: (1) continuance of the work of reconstitution and partial restoration in the Southern part of the West wing of the Palace and in the Royal Villa; (2) the excavation of a Town area, West of that containing the House of the Frescoes; (3) further exploration, which resulted in the discovery of early rock tombs on the slope beyond the Kairatos, about 500 feet up, while on a terrace just below there came to light the wall of a colossal structure, which could be only imperfectly investigated. I was also able to revisit and partially re-explore a very interesting Minoan site called ‘Hellenikò,’ on the border of the upland plateau of Omales, about three hours inland from the village of Mallia. Small beehive tombs with M.M. III. pottery occur there, built into the megalithic walls of houses.

‘Unfortunately Dr. Mackenzie was prevented by illness from assisting me in these undertakings, but Mr. Theodore Fyfe, F.R.I.B.A., who was able to come out for a month to Knossos, rendered valuable service in superintending the work at the Royal Villa. Mr. E. J. Forsdyke during a visit that he paid in July gave timely help in the exploration of the tombs. Mr. Piet de Jong was able to execute some plans for me at the close of the excavations.

‘1. Preliminary investigations in the South Propylaeum led to important results regarding its earlier and later plan, and showed that it originally possessed four column bases and that it supplies, in fact, the prototype of the entrance halls at Tiryns. More serious work of restoration than had as yet been attempted in the South part of the Palace was here carried out. A copy of the Cupbearer fresco, executed by Monsieur E. Gilliéron, was replaced under his skilled supervision on the West wall of the Propylaeum, in the place from which the original had fallen, two further figures from the processional series being set above it. To protect the whole, a section of the roofing was reconstructed above, the massive S.-W. column being restored to support it. The result gives a real idea of the past splendour of this entrance hall. A similar restoration has also been carried out in the neighbouring “South-North Corridor,” a revised copy of the relief fresco of the “Priest King” with the lily crown being there set up under cover.

‘The upper gallery of the Palace façade facing the S.W. section of the Central Court has also been restored, and the sunken upper door jambs of the Southern continuation of the Long Corridor have been raised to their original position. The whole system of the upper floors on that side can now be completely followed.

‘The work of reconstituting the upper floors of the Royal Villa led to some new results as to its structure, a passage-way having been discovered

between the inner section of the "Megaron" and a small light area of great convenience to the household.

'(2) A vast mass of earth was removed by contract labour to a depth of about twelve feet down to the Minoan level, West of the House of the Frescoes, and extending to the "Royal Road." The Southern Section of this was then fully excavated, disclosing the basement plans of Middle Minoan houses on either side of a built drain, dividing above into two branches, which had served the early Town on this side. This had ceased to function at the beginning of M.M. III., and was found to contain a mass of ceramic relics of the earlier Middle Minoan Periods, chiefly M.M. I. Among these were some beautiful bowls imitating metal work, and a polychrome example with fine barbotine decoration and crocuses in relief, in a new style. The upper stratum showed the basement plans of two small houses with quantities of M.M. III.*a* pottery on their floor levels, including a new class of red glazed ware. The later house remains had been mostly destroyed by the building operations of Classical times.

'A continuation of the built drain was found crossing the Royal Road at a lower level. Another drain, moreover, was struck following part of the course of the road. An interesting discovery bearing on the early water-supply was made about half a mile North-West of the site, above the upper part of the Vlychià ravine. Here, making for a point above a well-known spring known as Mavrokolymbos, or the "Black Bath," was found the remains of a Minoan stone conduit, branching above into two channels. The earliest sherds in it were of M.M. III. date, and the conduit pointed in the direction of the Palace. This supply of good water ran then at a higher level and in greater abundance than the modern spring, one of the many indications of a higher rainfall in Minoan days than at present.

'(3) Six rock tombs were explored on the steep referred to beyond the Kairatos. All of them had been re-used in L.M. III., but in all cases there were relics of original interments dating from the earliest Middle Minoan phase (I.*a*), otherwise so well illustrated by this year's discoveries. The tombs were rock chambers, in their simplest form, with short *dromoi*, identical with those that make their appearance at a somewhat later date in Mycenaean Greece, but in several cases showing rock projections dividing the interments. Amongst the original relics were some elegant stone vases, including a "rhyton" executed in a beautifully veined material, and a polychrome ewer of a type very characteristic of M.M. I.*a*. Among the objects belonging to the Secondary interments was a painted clay image of the Minoan Goddess resembling those found in the "Shrine of the Double Axes," bronze implements and personal ornaments. The most interesting relic, however, was the remains of a bronze balance with large scales and, in company with it, three leaden weights. It was clearly intended for commercial purposes.

'The discovery of what may prove to be an extensive early cemetery on the height opposite the Palace opens out a prospect of finding untouched tombs of great importance beneath the accumulations on the slope below. That Chamber-tombs cut in the rock, of the same form as those of Mycenae, existed in Crete at a considerably earlier date is itself a fact of great interest

'The structural remains that came to light here on a lower terrace, in connexion, apparently, with a built Minoan way running above the stream on that side, proved to be on too great a scale to be adequately dealt with at the end of a campaign. A wall of massive blocks, about four yards thick, ran some thirty feet into the hillside and then took a turn North, which was partly followed by tunnelling. The character of the masonry pointed to the earliest Age of the Palace.

'The earthquake of June 26 was a severe test for the works of restoration carried out at Knossos. Happily they resisted the shocks well, the ferro-concrete of the floors serving a useful purpose in holding together the fabric. Little more damage was, in fact, experienced than the horizontal cracking of a few shafts of columns. The building of the new Candia Museum suffered much more seriously, but, considering the amount of fallen material within, the injury done to the contents was remarkably small. Among the relics from Knossos the beautiful little "Jewel Fresco" was completely pulverised, but it will probably be possible to mend most of the broken specimens in a satisfactory manner. The faience figures of the Snake Goddess and her Votary were broken across the middle, which was easily rejoined.'

FRENCH SCHOOL ⁷

No fresh excavations were carried out in 1925 at *Delphi*, but thanks to the researches of various members of the School, useful progress was made towards the completion of the material for inclusion in the remaining sections of the *Fouilles de Delphes*. At *Delos*, the decision to fill in the lower lake adjoining the 'Agora of the Italians' (as an anti-malarial measure) was carried out by removing the earth from a quarter hitherto almost unexplored, the belt of terraces adjoining the Agora and the fortifications of Triarius. This work was rewarded by the discovery of a large and important Sanctuary, possibly that of Artemis Soteira. This had been much destroyed, presumably by Athenodoros and his pirate-raiders in 69 B.C., and Triarius when restoring the buildings of the island did not rebuild the temple, but carried the line of his fortifications through it, actually making the Cella into one of his bastions. On removing his defences the excavators have thus been enabled to uncover the building practically as Triarius found it. His name appears on a re-used architrave-block, which gives us the fifth, and most complete, example in *Delos* of a dedication to him, and adds the interesting fact that contingents from Miletus aided in the campaign against the pirates. The temple, which measures 10.45 by 6.65 metres, faces east, and has no opening at the back, where it abuts on the street running along the east side of the Agora of the Italians. It is of the Doric order, *in antis*, with tetra-style porch; the walls of gneiss, on a *krepis* of granite, still stand in places to a height of 2.60 metres, and the inner walls of the Cella are stucco-faced; the side-walls are coloured white, the back-wall red, to show up the cult-image, of which only a fragment

⁷ From a report kindly furnished by M. Pierre Roussel, Director of the French School. Cf. *B.C.H.* xlix. (1925), pp. 462 ff.

of drapery has survived. In front of the temple stood a large rectangular altar, from which the inscribed slab has, unfortunately, been stripped; on the north and west was an extensive portico, of which only foundations remain. Among the finds of sculpture, a relief representing Artemis, as huntress with torches, dedicated by the Roman Stertinius Sporius, is a likely clue to the identity of the Sanctuary. The inscriptions found include several interesting documents, notably a list 58 lines in length, dated to 119-18 B.C., and drawn up by the Gymnasiarch, which gives the names of the Epheboi of the island, the *παρεύτακτοι* and the Hieropoioi of the Apollonia, and sheds valuable light on the composition of the population, notably on the presence of natives of Asia Minor, at that period. We may also note the discovery of two long fragments of accounts of Hieropoioi (late third century B.C.), three proxeny-decrees, and two dedications, one to Hermes and Aphrodite, the other to the Muses.

Further progress was also made at the 'Tyrian (?)' Sanctuary at Phourni,⁸ but no details have reached me, and the Phoenician text of the bilingual inscription found there in 1924 has now been published by Dussaud.⁹

Thasos.—I can now add a few more notes on the discoveries of 1925. At the north-west angle of the Agora the foundations of an Ionic portico, of Roman date, with a monumental entrance, came to light resting on the stepped substructures of an earlier building, slightly differently orientated. It yielded three marble heads, a pleasing Hellenistic head of a young faun, reminiscent of Lysippos, a helmeted head on a large scale, perhaps a Caryatid, and an unidentified male head. At the south-east angle of the Agora a large triangular base, of the third century B.C., was uncovered; it has the form of a ship's prow, with stylised waves in relief on the sides, and must have carried a statue (of Nike?). Thirty metres south-east of the arch of Caracalla, a trial trench revealed important remains of a building which may prove to be archaic. Various marbles belonging to it were found rebuilt in an adjacent Byzantine structure, adjoining which was a monolithic lintel, 3.50 metres long, with carved ornament at each end suggestive of the style of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. Two more gateways have also been located in the city-wall, one between the present village and the gate of Sotas, the other in the ancient part of the wall near the Sanctuary provisionally identified as that of Poseidon (*J.H.S.*, 1925, p. 220), which proves to lie alongside the Dionysion excavated in 1923-24. Near the former gate were found three bases of inscribed *stelai* of the fourth century B.C., and part of a distych epitaph of the sixth century, important as one of the earliest examples of the local alphabet.

No work was done in 1925 at *Philippi*. In Samothrace, certain supplementary researches in the Sanctuary of the Kabeiroi¹⁰ indicate that the 'building with wings' found in 1923 is contemporary, and perhaps was founded simultaneously with the Ptolemaion. Foundations of a third building, similarly orientated, and of an altar near the beach, perhaps referred to by Diodorus,¹¹ may also be mentioned.

⁸ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1925, p. 219 f.; *B.C.H.* 1924, p. 487.

¹⁰ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 270.

¹¹ v. 47, 5.

⁹ *Syria*, 1925, p. 270 f.

At *Mallia*, in Crete, important progress has been made with the clearing of the rooms north and east of the central court.¹² In the former region the principal discovery was that of a great square hypostyle hall, with sides ten metres long; it had six rectangular pillars, in two rows, unevenly spaced, and communicates, through a smaller room with one central pillar, with the portico of the court. Further north, beyond two deep narrow rooms, the excavators came upon a small court, with a circular column, on which opens another room, on the walls of which were remains of red stucco. This part of the palace was served by two staircases, one of which opened on to the small northern court. An adjacent room, orientated obliquely to the main plan, seems to be a later adjunct; on its walls is carved the branch sign. The colonnade on the east of the central court is represented by the remains of twelve columns, alternately rectangular and circular in section; a wooden screen or paling extended between each, and access to the court would have been only at the north and south ends. East of it lies a group of magazines, some of which have lateral footwalks, liquid-containers and rows of *pithoi*. These give place, further north, to rooms which show traces of re-modelling, and contain smaller vases—perhaps the kitchens of the palace. In all this area the finds of pottery were very plentiful, and some steatite vessels, including two mortars (one in the form of a water-lily), are the first which the site has yielded. The pottery belongs to the following periods: M.M. I., M.M. III.b, and L.M. I. Nothing earlier than M.M. has yet come to light,¹³ and M.M. II. wares seemed almost entirely lacking; the excavators conclude that this is due to an abandonment of the site, followed by rebuilding, and they place the final destruction of the palace early in L.M. I. times. It is hoped in another campaign to clear the rest of the east wing and the entrances to the magazines. No considerable extension of the palace is expected to the north-east, but outlying villas, perhaps even a Royal villa, may well lie in this direction.

In the little island of *Christos*, Mlle. Oulié and her helpers again worked for a month in the autumn of 1925, finding a M.M. I. cemetery less than two metres below the surface of the sand in the centre of the island. The finds of pottery were in good preservation, and included typical tomb-deposits—lamps, jugs and cups—and some good specimens of *Kamares* ware also occurred. Contemporary with this necropolis were the houses cleared by the same party, at a short distance from the palace, which also yielded important finds of pottery.

At *Teos*, in Asia Minor, the campaign was resumed in 1925.¹⁴ Whilst the main objective was the comprehensive survey, with a view to a detailed general plan, some more work was done at the temple of *Dionysos*, which obtained the data necessary for a restoration.

¹² Cf. *J.H.S.* 1924, p. 269; for 1924, *B.C.H.* 1924, pp. 492 ff.; for 1925, *B.C.H.* 1925, pp. 470 ff. and Figs. 8–10.

¹³ *I.e.* in this area. E.M. pottery was reported among the finds of 1923, *J.H.S.*

1924, p. 270.

¹⁴ The results of the campaign of 1924 are now published, *B.C.H.* 1925, pp. 281–321.

GERMAN SCHOOL ¹⁵

The German School in 1925 resumed its excavations at three sites, *Amyklai*, *Aegina*, and the *Heraion* in Samos. At *Amyklai*, where Professor Buschor and Dr. W. von Massow worked for several weeks in the spring, the earliest occupation of the site was found to date far back into prehistoric times, with pottery ranging from Early Helladic down to Mycenaean. Especially noteworthy were a local imitation of Minyan, and a local 'Firnisware' of Late Helladic date. It could not be determined whether this is débris from a settlement only, or from a Sanctuary, for, though Hyakinthos, whose grave was venerated here, is admittedly a pre-Hellenic name, it was not necessarily a cult-centre from the earliest times. The cult is, however, established for the late-Mycenaean period, by numerous terra-cotta idols of female type, and animal-figurines with Mycenaean ornament. With the latest types of Mycenaean and sub-Mycenaean pottery appears simultaneously the beginning of the interesting early-Geometric ware with patterns of hatched triangles and even more frequently with the whole surface painted in a metallic black glaze. Bronzes belonging to this period also came to light.

This rich stratum was succeeded by one distinguished by the developed Geometric ware of the Dipylon stage, and votive offerings representing all periods thereafter, down to Hellenistic times, were abundant. Among the more outstanding finds of early archaic date may be mentioned a female statuette in marble, and an inscribed mirror-handle; and among the Hellenistic objects, terra-cotta female statuettes including pieces of figures half life-sized. Of the Bathykles throne, the portions *in situ* were strengthened or re-erected, and further important fragments were uncovered and put together. Internal angle-geison blocks prove that the throne was built in horse-shoe form round the colossal statue of Apollo, not as a base for it. The jambs of two door-openings are preserved, and new types of capitals found provide more problems for the ultimate, but still obscure, restoration of the monument. The throne was supported on a massive terrace, of which the supporting-wall for a length of about 100 feet was incorporated in the older Peribolos-wall; the line of its large, carefully dressed blocks shows a continuous curve.

At *Aegina* the excavations at the Aphrodite temple (carried out by Professor Paul Wolters and Dr. F. G. Welter-Mauve) have now been concluded. They have established that the earliest of the prehistoric settlements lay to the west of the temple, and dates from Early Helladic times, during which epoch it underwent considerable rebuilding; and that towards the end of it a southward extension was made, leaving the entrance approached by a narrow passage between two walls. In Middle Helladic times the outer wall was extended eastwards, so as to include the area subsequently occupied by the temple of Aphrodite, and against its inner face extensive remains of dwellings, built in two rows, came to light; the upper storeys, which have collapsed, were of sun-dried brick. With this region was associated a large quantity

¹⁵ From a report kindly furnished by Professor Buschor, and subsequently printed in *Gnomon*, ii. (1926), pp. 120 ff.

of the local 'Mattmalerei' ware with linear ornament, Minyan ware, and imported Kamares-ware together with local imitations of this style. On the ruins of the Middle Helladic stronghold rose that of the Late Helladic (I. and II.) period, with its approach on the east; but only scanty and disconnected traces of walls survive from it. In the ruined gateway, however, the remains of numerous vessels of the 'Palace Style' came to light, some of which could be entirely restored; and here again local imitations accompanied the imported articles. Of the L.H. III. settlement, a few traces of walls, accompanied by well-preserved deposit, were identified, and yielded many late Mycenaean clay idols, and proto-Geometric vase fragments. Though the limits of the site have been accurately determined on the east, this was found impossible on the west, as this quarter had been rebuilt in Roman and Byzantine times right down to undisturbed rock. A M.H. Pithos-burial had nevertheless escaped destruction; the narrow aperture of the vessel justifies the suggestion that the corpse had been placed in it in a prepared condition, perhaps trussed up.

At the *Heraion*, in Samos, Professor Buschor, with Drs. Welter-Mauve and O. Reuther, started by clearing the portion of the site which was uncovered by Wiegand and Schede in 1910-14, from the silt and vegetation which had accumulated in the interval, and extended their excavation in various directions. At the north-east angle of the temple the northern edge of the extensive stuccoed courtyard (70 × 50 metres) was laid bare. This lies below the great temple, and belongs to one of its predecessors. It is bordered by two steps, on which perhaps a low Temenos-wall originally stood. The foundations here consist largely of cut-down, unfinished, column-drums, which had no doubt been destined for a temple on the site. The architectural sequence inferred from these discoveries is accordingly Peripteros-plan; stuccoed courtyard; older temple (foundations unknown); later temple (never completed).

In front of the temple the earlier excavations had laid bare an area nearly 150 metres square, with the altar and numerous remains of votive monuments and of buildings belonging to the Sanctuary, above which a small town arose in Byzantine times. No trace was found of a Peribolos-wall, but a Sacred Way, running east-north-east was located, following which, in 1925, the excavators found a small Peripteros on the north side of the street, which had been rebuilt without a peristyle in Hellenistic and Roman times and was unmistakably a temple. Two other small temples were found immediately adjacent, and remains of archaic Treasuries (?) and votive-offerings were particularly extensive here. Of the latter, the Geneleos-basis is the most important. It bears traces of six statues, two of which were found by Wiegand, and a third in 1925. At the left end of the monument sat Phileia (with the signature of the artist Geneleos inscribed below); in the middle stood Philippe with three other maidens; and at the right-hand end —oche the dedicatrix was represented lazily reclining on a cushion, with a dove in her hand. She is presumed to have been a priestess of Hera, and it is her figure that was found in 1925. The group is to be dated not far from the Cheramyes statue from Samos (in the Louvre), in the first half of the sixth century. In this area important evidence was obtained for the raising of the ground-level in

archaic times, for not only was the accumulated deposit full of early *ex-votos*, but a pit was also dug here, subsequent to the building of the Geneleos-basis, into which were thrown numerous votive-objects of great interest. The terra-cottas begin with nude primitive types and extend down to late archaic times, when the favourite type is a figure holding a dove. Most of these are to be identified with Hera herself. Among the archaic bronzes special mention must be made of a flute-player (·42 metre high), of superb style, but in bad preservation; the forepart of a lion with a Spartan dedicatory inscription; a bronze bowl, incomplete, of the same pattern as the gold 'Kypselid' bowl now at Boston; numerous cauldron-fragments, including gryphon-heads, ornamental handles, a swan-protome, etc. The pottery is almost all local, but Rhodian, Laconian and Corinthian imports occur.

The Sacred Way was again found some 150 metres east-north-east of the great temple, and further evidence was obtained of its use, in its latest classical form, as a street of the Byzantine town. Below the houses on its level was a thick stratum with Hellenistic and Roman pottery, glass and wall-plaster, which in turn rested on remains of earlier buildings; among them also archaic objects came to light. North of the road was one of the rectangular bases for a circular altar, so common in the great temple, and alongside it the foot of an archaic colossal Apollo, perhaps to be connected with it. South of the street lay a building *in antis*, in the foundations of which was an archaic bronze statuette of a man carrying a vessel. Still deeper in this region, as elsewhere, particularly near the chief altar, was a stratum with prehistoric pottery.

The finds of inscriptions partly obtained during the excavations, and partly by Dr. A. Rehm, in his travels about the island, are noteworthy. An Hellenistic decree in honour of a physician belongs to the former class, and to the latter belong a rock-cut text, found below Neochori beside a gorge which must have had a bridge in antiquity where it has one to-day; and a document built into a chapel near Chora, which records in Aeolic dialect a list of gifts, offered as tithes (to Hera?) by two men of Perinthos. Dr. Rehm's epigraphical 'bag' in the islands of Icaria, Chios, Patmos, Lepsia and Patmos is shortly summarised by himself in his report ¹⁶ appended to that of Professor Buschor, which is the source of my information.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE ¹⁷

Dr. P. Kastriotis has continued his work on the Odeion of Pericles, and has completed the excavation of the north wall, which reaches a total length of 67 metres. The building seems to have been square, as was the Thersileion at Megalopolis, which is known to have been modelled on the plan of this hall. The wall at the west end comes very close to the east retaining-wall

¹⁶ *Gnomon*, ii. p. 123 f.

¹⁷ I am indebted to Dr. K. Kourouniotis (who has replaced Dr. K. Romaïos as head of the Archaeological Department in the Ministry of Education) for the generous

loan of various reports submitted to himself. The report by Dr. G. P. Oikonomos, Secretary of the Archaeological Society, on the excavations undertaken on the Society's behalf has also been invaluable.

of the Theatre of Dionysos, leaving only a passage half a metre wide. This was not for pedestrians, but only for rain-water flowing down the slope. A similar arrangement is also seen in buildings in the Agora at Pergamon, where it is referred to in an inscription as the *περίστας*. On the wall was a facing of well-preserved marble slabs. In the vicinity of the Propylon of the Odeion¹⁸ part of a well-built wall of *breccia*, 1.50 metres wide, with the interstices packed with small stones, has been uncovered, as well as the foundations of a small semi-circular structure of rubble-masonry with mortar, possibly an Exedra. Not far to the south-east of the Propylon the aqueduct of the Enneakrounos was found at a depth of two metres, running in a direction which agrees with the indications found by Dörpfeld in 1902—namely, from the south-east angle of the Acropolis westwards.¹⁹

A project which caused great consternation in archaeological circles in Athens was mooted actively early in 1926. This comprised cutting clean through the north-west angle of the Peribolos of Zeus Olympios in order to facilitate the traffic-problem, by giving a directer access, with a less awkward curve, from the Amalia Boulevard to that of Syngros. This would have left Hadrian's Gateway as an island in the widened roadway, and have inflicted irreparable damage on the fine masonry of the Olympieion-wall. The Directors of the Foreign Schools, in consultation with the Greek Archaeological authorities, made urgent representations to the Government, and a personal interview between Professor Dörpfeld, on their behalf, and President Pangalos saved the situation. A Committee was appointed, with Professor Dörpfeld as one of its members, to find a less destructive solution of the difficulty. It is to be hoped that the original project has been completely abandoned.²⁰

No progress has yet been made, to my knowledge, with the expropriation of the property north of the Acropolis under the American scheme for excavations in this quarter, but building operations in another part of Athens have led to important archaeological discoveries. The removal of the old Royal Stables on Stadium Street in August 1926 was the cause of the discovery in the yard, close to, and nearly parallel to, that thoroughfare, of a long stretch of wall, identified provisionally as that of Themistokles. The presence of numerous marble Corinthian capitals, used as building-material in it, is a proof of repairs in the Roman era, on some occasion not yet determined. Immediately outside the wall, various notable finds came to light, including a draped female figure in marble from a tomb, of fourth-century style, sculptured reliefs and inscriptions, and sarcophagi of *poros*, of which one at least appears to date from the fifth century in view of a vase which it contained.²¹ The presence of a cemetery in this region was quite unsuspected, and further important finds are not unlikely. I hope to be able to give more particulars, in any case, in my next report.

Attica.—Various minor discoveries, due to the energy of the Ephor,

¹⁸ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1925, p. 221.

¹⁹ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 23. Dr. Kastriotis also found it east of the Odeion in 1914, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1914, p. 153.

²⁰ Cf. a letter, accompanied by a sketch-plan, in *Έλευθερον Βήμα*, July 25th, 1926.

²¹ Cf. *The Times*, August 7th and 21st, 1926.

Dr. Arvanitopoulos, must be passed over, in order to mention at greater length the interesting identification, on the promontory at Vouliagmeni, of the temple of Apollo Zoster. Following up a clue given by a fragment of an inscription on which occurs mention of the Shrine of Apollo, a scholarly local resident, Mr. A. Tanágras, found the site of the temple, which has since been excavated by the Department of Antiquities.²² A rectangular building of Roman date, orientated east and west, and measuring about ten metres by five, was uncovered. Its walls are built with mortar, and stand to a height of about a metre. The door is in the east wall, and the interior is divided into two compartments by a cross-wall, making the eastern portion about twice as long as the other, on the middle of which stands part of a column. In front of the wall, on the floor, which is paved with carefully-fitted, squared blocks, stand three bases (presumably for statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto), two of which are inscribed, in early-fifth century lettering, 'Αλαεῖς ἀνέθεσαν. In front of the central base is a massive marble altar, with an inscription of the fourth century B.C. inscribed on its face. This consists of a long decree of the Deme of the Halaieis honouring the priest of Apollo Zoster, Polystratos by name, and some of his fellow-demesmen who aided him in the repair of the temple, the adornment of the statues and the performance of sacrifices at the Zosteria. Other finds in the temple include a fine marble throne, an archaic elegiac dedication, inscribed in the flutes of a small votive column, to 'Golden-haired Apollo,' and a fine young male head of the early fourth century B.C. The site of the Greek temple had not been located when this report was written, and it remains to be seen if it occupies the same, or an adjacent, site. In any case the presence of these important objects of Hellenic date in a temple of Roman construction adds greatly to the interest of this valuable topographical discovery.

I have no news of any results obtained at Eleusis since my last report, nor has—to my knowledge—any other object been found in the sea at the spot where the bronze boy was dredged up last year.²³

At the *Amphiareion*, Dr. B. Leonardos continued his excavations in 1925, on the left bank of the stream, in the men's bath, and near it has found four rooms with the walls well preserved, built of large, regular, *poros* blocks, on which the plaster is still in position. At the Theatre he has re-erected some of the columns, and the passage between it and the Stoa has been cleared more fully. In the Stoa parts of a bench were found, running the length of the north wall, and in front of it a marble table.

Northern Greece, Thessaly, etc.—Dr. K. Romaïos's researches in Aetolia comprised both topographical studies and excavations. Under the former heading he has identified the site of ancient Agrinion, which previously had been placed at Spolaita, where there are traces of an ancient wall. This, however, now seems to have been merely a small outlying settlement belonging to the main city, which he has proved to have lain at Vrakhori, three kilometres north of the modern Agrinion, above Zapanti. Here there is an ancient

²² A report by Dr. Kourouniotis appeared in *Εστία*, July 19th, 1926.

²³ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1925, p. 222.

wall, over two kilometres in circuit, besides many traces of an important city. On Mt. Varassova (called in antiquity Chalkis, after the town which lay close to the modern Vasiliki) he has discovered an ancient wall defending the harbour of Krioneri. It probably dates from the time when Tolmides took Chalkis in 457 B.C.

In his excavations at Kalydon, Dr. Romaïos cleared further the remains of the fifth-century temple outside the city-wall, which Dr. Soteriadis had partly dug in 1908. It is now established that it was dedicated to Artemis Laphria and Apollo Laphrios by the discovery that this was the original provenance of the *stele*, inscribed with names of enfranchised slaves sold to Artemis Laphria, which was brought from Bokhori to Thermon by Dr. Soteriadis. The temple, which measures 31.80 by 14.50 metres, was Doric peripteral, with 13×6 columns; the bases of the two columns of the Pronaos are preserved. The upper portions of the building were of *poros*, with marble roof-tiles. Near it there came to light a four-sided peristyle structure, each side measuring 18.50 metres, and bearing eight unfluted columns. On the north side were the remains of numerous marble seats, marked with letters of the alphabet. It must be some public building, perhaps a small Bouleuterion, and since it lies, like the temple, outside the walls of Kalydon, it possibly belongs to some separate community, called after the Temple of Artemis Laphria; this would account for the place-name Laphron or Lophrion, mentioned in Delphic inscriptions as near Kalydon.

The campaign of 1926 was rewarded by a most important discovery, namely, a large quantity of architectural terra-cottas, richly coloured and mostly in excellent preservation. The presence of incised inscriptions, in the archaic Corinthian alphabet, on many of the blocks is an indication of great value for their place of manufacture.²⁴

At *Pherai*, in Thessaly, Dr. Arvanitopoulos continued work on the temple of Zeus Thaulios, having the help, for his autumn campaign, of M. Béquignon of the French School. Inside the temple, at a depth of *ca.* 2.30 metres, he found over twenty Geometric graves, rectangular in shape, built of, and covered with, large stone slabs. They contained a few vases, small bronzes and iron weapons, but were not rich in finds. South-east of the temple some fine Mycenaean sherds and pieces of terra-cotta figurines came to light. A further study of the site and the finds led to the conclusion that there have been three temples on the site. A fragment of an early Doric capital is all that remains of the earliest (seventh century) temple, to which must belong the mass of early votive offerings in bronze, silver, gold, ivory and other materials. Of the second temple, built in the second half of the sixth century, numerous remains were found underneath the south-east corner of the later temple. These consisted of *poros* columns of the Doric order, capitals and other architectural fragments; many of these were used as foundations for the third temple,²⁵ of which, except for the foundations and portions of the first and

²⁴ Dr. Romaïos most kindly showed me these splendid terra-cottas in the workshop of the National Museum, soon after their

arrival there. I hope to describe them more fully in my next report.

²⁵ Cf. *B.C.H.* 1925, p. 459, Fig. 3.

second steps of the *krepis* preserved on the east side, not much has survived. This temple, which is dated to the first quarter of the fourth century, seems to have stood till 200 A.D., and then to have been deliberately destroyed. To the west of the temple was found a further deposit of bronzes and ivories, which together with the previously-found deposit are probably votive débris from the first temple, thrown in with the earth as filling, for a retaining-wall for the later temple. Other finds include parts of a female marble statue, half life-sized, of good fifth-century work; and, in the second temple, the inscribed base from a bronze statue, unfortunately lacking the beginning of the artist's name.²⁶ Many more inscriptions were found, including another dedication to Zeus Thaulios and further bronze tablets with proxeny-decrees.

Peloponnese.—At Stymphalos, Professor Orlandos has continued the excavation of various buildings found in 1924, and has also explored some new ground. The city-wall has now been traced running up on to the Acropolis, and a gateway to the road leading to Mantinea or Pheneos has been located; the round building found in his first campaign proves to be a tower on the wall, and at the southern angle of the *enceinte* three square bases belonging to a portico have been uncovered. Adjacent to the Hellenistic temple has been found a wall (of a *Temenos*?), and in the 'great quarry' the remains of a large rectangular structure, of unknown purpose. The back-wall of the latter is placed less than a metre in front of the face of the rock-cutting, and formed one side of a basin faced with stucco. Outside it, various statuettes of marble and terra-cotta came to light: a complete example, and several fragments, show a female figure advancing to the left; she holds a shield in her left hand, and in her right the locks of her hair which fell on her shoulder. These no doubt have fallen from the Acropolis above. Other buildings discovered include foundations of a temple (?), near which are two small square altars, a large *poros* statue-base and a rock-cut *bothros*.

At *Messene*, Dr. G. P. Oikonomos resumed, on behalf of the Archaeological Society, the excavations which he had commenced in 1909. He has now cleared and planned an important building, which is to be interpreted as a Synedrion, of the type of a theatre. It has four stairways and a *Diazoma*, with eleven rows of seats (found in good preservation) below it; of the upper seats only isolated foundations survive, and it is surmised that the seats here consisted merely of wooden benches. The Orchestra formed a complete circle, and there was a *Proskenion*-wall with three openings. This seems to be later than the rest of the building, which is of Hellenistic date, and offers analogies with the Bouleuterion at Miletus. Near one of the *Parodoi*, which forms a stepped passage descending from the street to the Orchestra, was found a large base for an equestrian statue, with which Dr. Oikonomos associates a fragmentary inscription, found in 1909, in honour of the Helladarches T. Claudius Saithidas. Not far away he also explored an *Heroön*, consisting of four tombs with an altar in their midst.

No particulars have reached me of excavations in Macedonia or the islands

²⁶ . . . {ov μ' ἐποίησ[εν] is alone preserved of the fifth century B.C. The discoverer in lettering indicative of the second half would restore the name Strongylon.

of the Aegean. The serious damage sustained by the Museum at Candia has been described above by Sir Arthur Evans. It was announced that the Museum would not be open to the public again before the end of the year. Loss of another sort is reported at Athens, where the Acropolis Museum has been robbed of certain small archaic heads.²⁷ On the other hand, the 'Atalanta' head from Tegea, which disappeared more than ten years ago from the local museum, has been recovered, and is now exhibited in the National Museum at Athens, alongside the famous Skopas heads from the same site.

ITALIAN SCHOOL

The Italian School was intending to commence excavations in Lemnos in August 1926, but I have had no information as to their results. I hope to give some particulars in my next report.

OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSIONS

The Swedish Mission, which excavated at Asine in 1922 and 1924, was again active there in 1926,²⁸ the recent campaign being largely devoted to excavating the domestic region north-west of the headland between the modern chapel and the foot of the rocky slope. A large area has now been cleared, revealing a complex of Early Helladic houses reaching up to the foot of the rocks, with many intramural burials, and overlaid in places with houses of the M.H. period. A well-preserved Roman bath lies immediately on top of a part of the later settlement. Further excavations have also been carried out on the Acropolis, in the gateway at the foot of it, and along the base of the massive wall on the north side; and still more tombs in the Mycenaean cemetery on Mt. Barbouna have been cleared. A group of modest tombs with scanty contents and traces of food-offerings has been found, alongside the more elaborate chamber-tombs, and appears to be contemporary with them.

For a fuller description of these discoveries we must await the publication of the official report, but important as they are they have been over-shadowed by the magnificent finds obtained from the excavation carried out in July and early August 1926, at Midea, a rocky citadel about midway between Mycenae and Tiryns. Here the Swedish excavators, in conjunction with Dr. Bertos, Ephor of Antiquities for the Argolid, etc., found an un plundered Tholos-tomb with the richest finds in gold objects yielded by any Mycenaean burial (not excepting, apparently, the Vaphio tomb) since Schliemann opened the Shaft-Graves at Mycenae fifty years ago. I can only refer readers to the admirable account in *The Times* of September 10th, from the pen of Mr. A. J. B.

²⁷ Dickins, *Acrop. Mus. Cat.* i., Nos. 643, 644, 645, 648, 661, 663.

²⁸ A preliminary report on the results of the campaigns of 1922 and 1924 is now published, in French, in *Årsberättelse* (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*), 1924-25, pp. 23-93, with forty-

eight plates. A reference must suffice to the outstanding excellence of the photographs, and to the authors' important discussion of the Early and Middle Helladic pottery from the site. Cf. a short summary of all three campaigns in *The Times*, August, 6th, 1926.

Wace, based on a report sent him by Professor Axel Persson, Head of the Swedish Mission. We may note here that the tomb contained four grave-pits, two of which had perhaps been disturbed in antiquity, but in the third lay the skeletons of the 'King and Queen,' and in the fourth that of the 'Princess,' with their treasures of gold and other precious substances about them, untouched since their interment. The finds of pottery seem to indicate a later date than that implied by the style of the great gold cup with a splendid seascape design, which lay on the King's breast (very possibly an heirloom), but pending the cleaning and further study of all the finds, discussions of their exact dating must be deferred.

Kyme, in Aeolis, was the scene of interesting discoveries made by a Czechoslovak expedition under M. Ant. Salač. The site was little known, apart from some partial explorations in its necropolis by Professor Salomon Reinach in 1881, and later by a resident, D. Baltazzi Bey. The new explorers have located on the Acropolis a small Ionic temple, not later than the fourth century B.C., in which the earlier cult, of some goddess of fecundity, was replaced in the second century B.C. by the Egyptian rites of Isis and Osiris. A prayer to the former is contained in an inscription of that date. Other buildings now uncovered include a colonnade of Roman date, some 200 metres long, near the beach, and a portion of the Roman Agora; and the theatre, among other structures elsewhere on the site, has been identified, and awaits excavation.

A. M. WOODWARD.

AN ATTIC DINOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

(PLATES XII, XIII).

B.M. B46. The catalogue describes this vase thus :—

Acquired 1867 : Blacas Coll. Dinos. Ht. 13 in. Diam. 12½ in. Slightly restored, imperfectly fired. Around rim, chain of lotus and buds; on shoulder, tongue-pattern. Two friezes : above, banquet scene, of seven couches, on each of which two male banqueters; between the two end couches, group of five servants, in attendance on the banqueters; below, animal frieze. Beneath this a broad zone of black, and on bottom, polypus pattern.

The principal scene shows a series of seven couches, on each of which recline two bearded male figures, facing to l.; seven of them wear wreaths. Alongside each couch stands a table, bearing viands for the banquet. From l. to r., the first, fourth, sixth, tenth and thirteenth hold out phialae in varying attitudes; the third, eleventh and fourteenth hold out kerata, in the act of drinking, or to have them refilled, while the seventh and eighth also have each a kera; the fifth holds out a kantharos; the twelfth raises an apparently empty r. hand; the second also raises his r. hand, but the object he holds is hidden by the first figure; the ninth plays the double flute. From the wall are suspended above, between the third and fourth couches a lyre, before the fifth an elongated alabastron, before the second, third and seventh couches a wreath. Beneath the first, fourth and fifth couches are dogs, three in all; alongside the others low, broad, flat-topped, four-legged stools. To the l. of the banqueters stand five servants; the first, facing r., bears an oinochoe; the second, also to r., two wreaths; the third, to r., fills an oinochoe at a large, column-handled krater; the fourth and fifth face to l., the fifth bearing two wreaths. Between the second and third run vertically the remains of an imitation (?) inscription. The first and second are nude, the other three clad in short chitons, with bordered and patterned edges. The first two are exaggeratedly tall and slim, the legs in particular, from hip to foot, being excessively long.

The animal frieze consists of two groups : (1) panther, to l., regardant, between two stags, either facing him; (2) siren with spread wings, between two lions roaring : both face her. In field, above panther and above one lion, a rosette.

The present vase has hitherto been classed along with a series of dinoi whose Ionic origin was argued by M. Pottier (*B.C.H.* xvii. 1893, pp. 423 sqq.), and to which George Karo (*J.H.S.* xix. 1899, p. 144) added several more speci-

mens, of which our dinos was one. It seems worth while to correct this error of long standing, and show that in this case at least he was wrong, probably being misled by the passion for Ionic attribution then prevalent.

The banquet scene on the principal frieze is one of liveliness and interest, which, however, is in itself no proof of Ionic origin. It has been compared with the banquet of Herakles and Eurytos (*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi. 33), but it will be seen on comparison that the expressions on the faces of the feasters on the latter vase are decidedly more wooden-looking and conventional. Here on our vase we have continual variety: there is no sameness in the attitudes of the fourteen banqueters; and even the actions and postures of the dogs beneath three of the couches are represented with engaging variety, and lend a touch of humour to the scene. Compared with the Louvre dinoi, which form the bulk of M. Pottier's series, it shows much more freedom of design, skilful spacing and elaboration of detail, having two broad friezes which cover by far the greater part of its surface, whilst the subject frieze itself shows considerable overlapping of figures, and is generally much more complex than anything to be found on the other vases.

But it is not on merely stylistic grounds that the onus of proof rests. The chief argument for the Ionic attribution was that from technique, which, it was said, exhibited both white painted lines and incised lines to render details; this at once would connect it with Samian ware, on which incised lines are very rarely found, details being painted on instead. Accessories also were added in purple, *e.g.* purple spots to indicate the breasts, and similar markings on the coverlets of the banqueters; there was also a narrow outline of purple round the edges of most of the figures. Such features are very characteristic of Ionic pottery, occurring especially on the cream-slip amphorae of, *e.g.*, the 'Fikellura' type. In addition, the eyes of the figures (all men) were said to be of the typical Ionic oval form. The proof seemed reasonably complete.

On a closer examination of the dinos, however, it will be observed that it has suffered extensive 'restoration'; and not only so, but many entirely modern additions have been made¹; the upper and principal frieze, in especial, has been generously retouched, and the actual surface of the clay restored in considerable patches, *e.g.* in one place the greater part of one man's leg. Thus the white painted lines and the purple spots and outlines are of modern origin, or (in a few places) are quite fanciful, being nothing more than slight defects of workmanship or firing. Moreover, out of all the eyes of men represented on this vase, all with one exception are most evidently of the pure round Attic shape, and incised; the single exception (that of the first figure from the l. on the l.-hand couch in Pl. XII., top) shows a clumsily painted dull white Ionic oval eye, on a ground formed of a daub of reddish-brown paint obscuring the original eye. Whoever restored the vase must have been entirely without any artistic sense and impervious to the most elementary rules of technique, to combine thus incongruously manners so opposed.

The vase must be Attic and nothing else. The lower frieze is pure Attic;

¹ Mr. F. N. Pryce first drew my attention to this.

so is the tongue pattern on the neck, and the lotus on the rim; it is only the upper frieze which can ever have cast a doubt upon the question of its origin; and this, too, as we have seen, shows nothing but evident Attic work when once the modern accretions are removed.² Walters was for regarding the dinos as an Attic imitation of Corinthian style [*Cat. of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the B.M.*, Vol. II (1893)]; and it might be granted that there are certain resemblances to Corinthian to be found, in the animal frieze especially. But it is only to later Corinthian, when it has, in fact, almost reached the epoch of true B.-F. ware. 'Horror vacui,' so prominent on the earlier Corinthian wares, is here conspicuously absent. It may also, perhaps, be possible to see an indication of Corinthian influence in the column-handled krater represented on the principal frieze, for this type of krater was very much in favour with Corinthian potters. But it was also well known amongst Naucratic ware³; and it would thus be just as permissible to argue from this circumstance for its Ionic origin, which we have seen to be untenable.⁴ The comparison with that other banquet scene of Eurytos and Herakles on the late Corinthian (so-called) kelebe, already referred to, can only apply to the respective subjects; with its excellence of technique and fine details, the present vase must certainly be grouped along with the very latest precursors of the B.-F. style. Granted now the Attic origin of our dinos, we can record with more profit a former conviction, that in this technical skill and fine detail are to be read the signs of that development which Exekias was to carry to its perfection in excellence of drawing and elaborate precision of ornamentation.

J. H. ILIFFE.

² We may admire the devotion to a theory which lighted on the one Ionic eye amongst the nineteen persons represented.

³ Cf., e.g., E. R. Price, *J.H.S.* xliv., 1924, p. 200.

⁴ On the relation between E. and W. styles in general, see some apposite remarks of Professor Beazley, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* iv., p. 586.

‘THE TOMB OF ASPASIA’

[PLATE XIV.]

IN the literature of the Elgin Collection there is not infrequent reference to the ‘Tomb of Aspasia’ and its contents, which are of interest. The name, however, as I show below, has not even such measure of authority as may be supposed to attach to a local tradition.

During Philip Hunt’s stay at Athens, his attention was called to a large tumulus in the Attic plain, and he made arrangements for its excavation. ‘The Calmuck,’ he wrote to Lord Elgin, November 28, 1802,¹ ‘is to begin his excavation of a Tumulus near the Piraeus to-morrow.’ When Lord Elgin visited Athens in January, 1803, on his homeward journey from Constantinople,² he sent men from the *Diana* frigate to continue the excavation, the *Diana* being the man-of-war in which, as a returning Ambassador, he made his passage.

Nothing apparently was found at this attempt. Indeed the tumulus was much too large an undertaking for such cursory treatment. Fifteen months later the work was taken up again by Lusieri, who reported to Lord Elgin (May 18, 1804) that while he was for the time being excluded from the Acropolis, he was employing the workmen ‘in excavations in various places, not without success.’ This is followed by the account of the excavation ‘du grand tombeau dans les vignes pour aller au Pirée,’ which has been already printed in this *Journal*.³ I reprint fully the abridged sentences near the end of the extract. After the description of the big alabastron: ‘Your Excellency is no doubt expecting a description of this excavation, which resembles at least in part that which has been published elsewhere [?], but I can only give you a poor account of it. The tomb, which has a height of about 80 feet, and a circumference of 250, and which has the form of a mound, has been formed with sand

¹ *J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 237.

² *Memorandum* (1815), p. 30, speaks of ‘a tumulus, into which an excavation was commenced under Lord Elgin’s eye during his residence at Athens.’ This confuses the residence at Athens in 1802 with the visit of the *Diana* in 1803. Cf. *J.H.S.* xxxvi., p. 253.

³ *J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 258. The *Memorandum* describes the tumulus as ‘situated on the road which leads from Port Piraeus to the Salaminian Ferry and Eleusis.’ It is

difficult to reconcile this description with that of Lusieri, and the position must, it would seem, be regarded as doubtful. Lusieri’s account is more nearly contemporary, and that of a resident, while Lord Elgin’s in the *Memorandum* is more detailed. It is taken verbatim from Hunt’s letter, written from Pau, in the beginning of 1805. See *J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 296, and Col. Nisbet Hamilton Grant’s *Letters of Mary Nisbet, Countess of Elgin*, p. 343.

brought from the different torrents which cross the plain of Athens. From its top to a depth of 14 feet below the level of the ground, to a distance of 10 feet all round the vase, the sand was extremely fine, and tightly pressed. The vase merely rested on the sand. I did not think there was any interest in keeping the bones, etc.' (cf. *l.c.*, p. 258)

It must be noted that Hunt in 1802, Lord Elgin in 1803, Lusieri in 1804, and Hunt in 1805 speak of an unnamed tumulus.⁴ It is only in the *Memorandum* of 1810 (p. 19) that the description of the tomb and its contents, based on the letters of Lusieri and Hunt, is followed by a tentative suggestion, probably due to Lord Elgin himself: 'May it not be the tomb of Aspasia?' By this name it was afterwards known.⁵



FIG. 1.—MARBLE URN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The finds made in the tumulus must now be discussed.

A. Marble vase (Fig. 1), now in the British Museum.⁶ This is a plain urn on a foot (ht. 2 ft. 2 in.). It is too spherical for an ordinary vase, and may be supposed to have been made for the special purpose of containing the bronze vase. It has a plain torus moulding round the foot. Fragments were also found of a plain marble cover. I have not identified these in the Museum, but they are shown in *Mus. Marbles*, ix., vignette. As stated in

⁴ Compare Dodwell's *Tour*, i. p. 446.

⁵ For instance, Visconti's Catalogue, in *Report*, 1816, *Appendix*, p. xxxvii.: Elgin to Hamilton in 1820 (*J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 288); Hamilton to Elgin in 1824 (*ibid.*, p. 289).

The name is rejected by Hawkins, *Mus. Marbles*, ix., text to vignette.

⁶ Smith, *Cat. of Sculpture*, iii. No. 2415; *Mus. Marbles*, ix., vignette.

Lusieri's letter,⁷ the marble vase was broken by the superincumbent weight of the tumulus, and it is described in Visconti's *Catalogue (l.c.)* as ‘broken in pieces.’ Its repair must have been undertaken immediately after the purchase of the collection, since we see it complete in Archer's painting⁸ of the temporary Elgin Room in 1819.

B. The large alabastron. Lusieri reported, ‘on the outside and beside the vase, there was another, very fine indeed, of alabaster, much bigger than anything I have seen in that style, with a length of 1 ft. 7 in., and 1 ft. in circumference.’ Hunt,⁹ writing from Pau, speaks of it as a ‘smaller vase [*i.e.* smaller than the marble vase] of alabaster, beautifully ribbed.’ This must be a mistake. The dimensions indicate a typical alabastron of large size,



FIG. 2.—THE GOLD SPRAY.

19 in. long and $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. Lord Elgin,¹⁰ more correctly, describes it as ‘a lachrymatory of alabaster, of exquisite form,’ but makes the mistake of saying that it was found inside the bronze vase. I have not been able to find any record of the alabastron having reached this country.

C. The gold spray. This was described by Lusieri as ‘a branch of myrtle in gold, with flowers and buds.’ Hunt and Lord Elgin (who had not seen it) speak of it as a wreath, but it is, in fact, at any rate in its present condition, a graceful spray of myrtle (Fig. 2). The present Earl of Elgin has recently been good enough to deposit it in the British Museum, and it can be seen in

⁷ *J.H.S.* xxxvi. p. 258.

⁸ *J.H.S.* xxxvi. pp. 352, 353. I take this opportunity of correcting a mistake, *ibid.*, p. 354. The artist's signature is on the large box and not on the portfolio.

The vase is also shown in Prior's drawing, *ibid.*, p. 350.

⁹ *Letters of Mary Nisbet, etc.*, p. 343.

¹⁰ *Memorandum* (1810), p. 19.

Case E of the Room of Gold Ornaments.¹¹ It consists of a tubular gold stem, with three pairs of leaves, graduated in size, and one myrtle flower. It measures 3½ in. in its extreme length.

D. The bronze vase (Plate XIV.; Fig. 3). The most important object in the group is a *lebes* of thin beaten bronze, 12¼ in. in height, and 16¼ in. in diameter. Two parallel bands pass round its greatest circumference. On the shoulders are reeded flutings which narrow in to the neck of the *lebes*. It is difficult to see how work of such delicacy was produced, either by hammering or repoussé work, with or without the aid of a chasing tool. The thin metal of the body of the vase is turned out to form a narrow lip, and to this a massive fluted and beaded rim, cast and finished with chasing, is attached. The junction of the two can readily be seen in Fig. 3.

For nearly a century the bronze urn stood in a corner of the Elgin Room, within its original marble case, to which a glass cover had been closely fitted, and so it was but dimly visible under the glass, whose inner surface had a secular coat of dirt. When the Elgin Room was being reconstituted after the Armistice and the return of the marbles from their retreat, the cover was removed, and the urn was taken out to be washed. After a very short application of the sponge, Mr. Herbert Sharp, who at that time was in charge of such work, discovered a punctured inscription round the lip of the vase, and was able to recover a considerable part of it without difficulty. The letters on the left are interrupted by the blistering of the bronze. At the right they are in good condition, and include the characteristic Argive lambda \vdash (Fig. 3). I have therefore suggested in my transliteration an Argive origin:—

[h]é[paç] 'A[ρ]γε[ί]ας ἐμὶ τῶν ἀφέθλων

I am one of the prizes of Argive Hera.

The initial aspirate is quite uncertain. There are a few punctures that are perhaps traces of the aspirate Θ . The use of punctures instead of strokes tends to obliterate the characteristics of the alphabet, but we have Λ for Γ , Ξ for H , Φ for digamma. The theta has a dot instead of the normal cross strokes, and perhaps as a consequence there is no central dot in the Θ . The Λ , as already said, is of the exclusively Argive form \vdash . On the whole the inscription is not greatly different from that of the Argive allies of Athens, who fell at the battle of Tanagra, 457 B.C.,¹² but it is perhaps somewhat later, since M and N have more vertical strokes. Kirchhoff conjectures that the special Argive alphabet died out, like other special forms, about the close of the Peloponnesian War.¹³ The period of the vase would therefore seem to be about 440 B.C.

I do not think that materials exist for assigning the vase or the spray to a period necessarily inconsistent with the foregoing attribution, though

¹¹ The deposit also includes several other pieces of jewellery of various periods, but there is no evidence to connect them with this tomb.

¹² Hicks and Hill, No. 28. The fragment

b (*ibid.*) is now in the British Museum, to which it was given by Mr. Dumville Botterell in 1923.

¹³ Kirchhoff, *Studien*, 4th ed., p. 100.

Prof. Marshall¹⁴ is inclined to give a somewhat later date, say fourth century, to the more elaborate gold wreaths.

The penultimate edition of Liddell and Scott could only conjecture the digamma of ἄFεθλον, but Prof. Stuart Jones is able to quote an inscription in the Tegea Museum¹⁵ :—

[σεμνὰ λαβὼν Χρόμ]ιος χαλέαι μ' ἀνέ[θηκεν ἄ]Fεθλα.

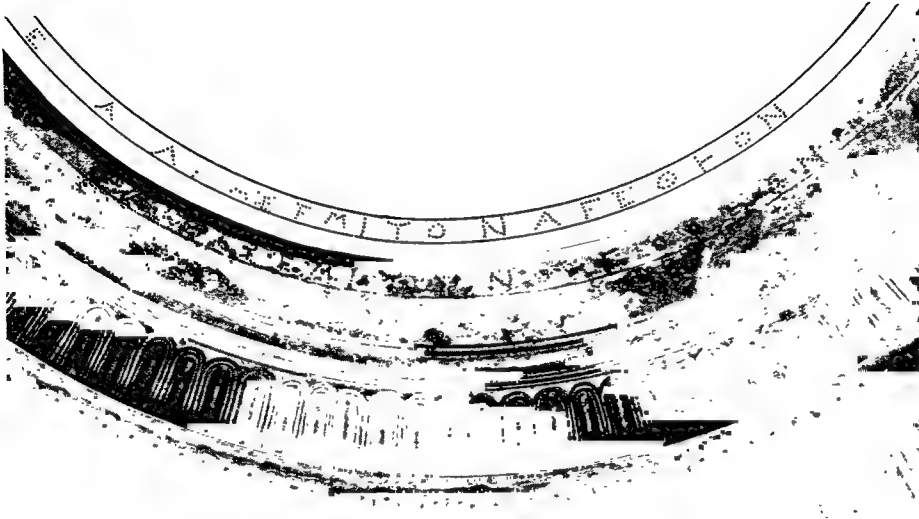


FIG. 3.—RIM OF THE BRONZE VASE.

Whatever view be taken of the opening words of the inscription, this much is certain, that it was won as a prize in an Argive contest.¹⁶ Subsequently the winner, or perhaps his son or his grandson, filled it with the remains of an incineration, and placed it as the central object, carefully guarded, in a mighty tumulus,

ἀντ' ἡνρορσ σποδοῦ γεμίζων λέβητας εὐθέτου.¹⁷

A. H. SMITH.

¹⁴ *Catalogue of Jewellery, passim.*

¹⁵ *I.G. v. 2, 75.*

¹⁶ For a vase similarly inscribed with an indication of its origin, compare the *lebes*

from Cumae : ἐπὶ τοῖς Ὀνομάστου τοῦ Φειδίλεω ἀθλοῖς ἐθέθην.—*Cat. of Bronzes in Brit. Mus.*, No. 257.

¹⁷ Aesch. *Ag.* 429.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek (in Usum Doctorum).

By J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A. Pp. x + 96. Liverpool University Press, 1924. 10s. 6d. On Ancient Greek Accentuation. By the same. (*Proceed. Brit. Acad.*, Vol. XI).¹

The courage and frankness of this important 'Guide' to a thorny subject are no less conspicuous than its learning and insight. Since the days of Chandler half a century ago, when it was thought to be sufficient to enumerate the complex facts of usage without any attempt to provide an explanation of how they grew up, or even to ascertain the real phonetic meaning of the signs, no English-speaking scholar has faced the problems which the subject involves. Those of us who have had occasion to try to put before beginners some of the rules which have a practical value, *i.e.* those which help to distinguish the meaning of words, have done our best to avoid as remotely as possible any pretence of completeness, save in the comparatively simple matter of the verb; and no one can read even the result of Dr. Postgate's devoted labour without feeling that there are strong reasons for such deliberate silence. Indeed that Dr. Postgate himself was conscious of this is clear from the phrase which he set upon his title-page; though the ambiguity of the Latin word *doctorum*, which no doubt he playfully intended, leaves it uncertain whether his book is meant for 'teachers' or only for 'the learned.'

In this review it will be assumed that the book is written for students of philology and for persons who are concerned with the correct printing of Ancient Greek. Nothing, therefore, need be said on the practical question, which, in a very interesting concluding chapter, the author left open, though he begged for some authoritative inquiry on which the policy of Greek teachers might be founded. He clearly realised that the mass of information which the book contains, and for which the two classes of readers just mentioned will be profoundly grateful—for it is brought nearer than ever before to at least the semblance of a system—cannot be inflicted on the schoolboy as a condition of his approach to the great Greek authors. That there is another way by which the schoolboy can acquire a knowledge of the results of the 'Rules,' *i.e.* can come to accent Greek nouns, adjectives and adverbs correctly (verbal accentuation being an easy matter), some teachers hold to be possible; but on this question experience appears to differ widely; and as it is not seriously discussed in Dr. Postgate's book, it will not be discussed here. But no one interested in the study of Greek, and in its extension to wider classes of the community than at present enjoy it, can read even so admirable a treatise as Dr. Postgate's without feeling that Greek accentual theory is altogether too difficult and, in some important aspects, altogether too uncertain a subject for school-teaching; though for these very reasons it is one of fascinating interest for philological inquiry.

In his *Short Guide* Dr. Postgate has laid all classical scholars under a great debt by the thoroughness with which he has faced the problems involved, by the care and lucidity with which he has set forth the evidence, and by his continual effort to solve difficulties by applying rational and scientific explanations drawn from the history of language. For example, the apparent anomalies in the accentuation of the Augment are cleared away when it is treated as a Preposition (§ 135); so the treatment of the ancient accent of certain Aorist Imperatives in § 133; where, however, it might perhaps be added that these five

¹ This review was sent in shortly before the tragical accident by which Dr. Postgate's brilliant work was ended; and it seems right that it should appear substantially as it stood then.—R. S. C.

(εἰπέ, ἐλθέ, εὔρε, ἰδέ, λαβέ) were probably the commonest of all Imperatives in everyday use, and hence the old accent persisted in them, defying the general system. The brief history of our record of the Accent is clear and most valuable, especially the evidence adduced for its musical character, down to at least the first century B.C., from the musical scores preserved in inscriptions at Delphi and elsewhere (p. 17); though the disregard of it by Euripides in his Chorus-libretto, as Dionysius fully describes, is startling and important from more than one point of view. Again, the evidence for the change in its character to a Stress-accent by the time of Babrius in the second century A.D. is most convincing, and I know no other accessible handbook in which it is so clearly stated. Certainly right also is the explanation (§§ 241-4) of the (only apparent) absence of the word-accent in such forms as οὐ(κ), being merely a conventional method adopted by scribes to distinguish more easily οὐ from οὔ, and εἰ from εἶ, εἰς from εἷς. Whether this is the only consideration which applies to conjunctions like ὥς and εἰ and to prepositions like εἰς (with ἐς), ἐν and ἐξ (with ἐκ) I am not quite sure, since such words might conceivably have been proclitic in the majority of cases, i.e. unless some special stress was laid on them. In English, for instance, there is only one accent in the phrase *in Lóndon*, and only two in the clause *if Álfred cómes*, unless we wish to contrast *in Lóndon* with, say, *néar Lóndon*, or to emphasise the uncertainty of Alfred's movements by saying *if Álfred cómes*. This, however, is not Dr. Postgate's view, and the writing of the accent in a preposition like ἐν shows that at all events the proclitic character of the words in question, even if it was, in fact, frequent, was not the only reason for the non-writing of the accent in them.

Two new technical terms that the book introduces will be most useful: 'Recessive' for the principle of putting the accent as far back as possible (e.g. in verbs); and 'Retraction' (§ 81), to denote a change by which the regular place of the accent (e.g. in certain nouns) has come to be one syllable further back than that on which at first it stood, e.g. the abstracta in -σις, older -τις (πίστις, βάσις), which in Sanskrit and Indo-European were accented on the last syllable.

One of the most difficult questions is that of the meaning of the grave accent on final syllables. This, as Dr. Postgate rightly says (p. 64), is an ambiguous sign. The passage from the Latin grammarian Sergius hardly does more than show 'the need of investigating,' as Sergius himself says. At any moment some papyrus may bring further evidence to support the ingenious theory of the German scholar Laum (of a mere miswriting by early scribes), which *a priori* seems, perhaps, more attractive than the identification, which Dr. Postgate approves, of this grave accent with the 'middle accent' mentioned by Aristotle. The whole matter calls for further study.

The book, as I have implied, is indispensable to every serious Greek scholar. But there are, as might be expected in a subject of appalling complexity, a certain number of omissions and obscurities which the author would certainly have removed in a second edition. The gravest of these is the absence of any Index of words. In face of so valuable a gift one feels reluctant to make an additional demand; yet it is difficult to think of a book to which an Index of words would in itself be a greater addition to the service which the book renders. The additional labour would be well spent. In view of the high price which the publishers have set upon it, it may be conjectured that their attitude in the matter was discouraging; if so, they were additionally foolish.

One particular kind of omission is so frequent that it is clearly deliberate; and I hope a somewhat worn teacher may be pardoned for warning the reader in advance of a practice which often leads to misconception. The omission is merely that of the phrase 'except in the cases mentioned below.' It is, no doubt, intelligible that an author should expect his readers to master the whole of two or three pages at a time before they think that they have the whole of his mind on any topic. Nevertheless, human frailty is such that if a categorical statement is made without any mention of exceptions until a subsequent section or a subsequent page, it is quite certain that a number of readers will go away thinking (or even quoting) things that are not so. For the benefit of such readers § 153 ought to have been foreshadowed in § 152; §§ 136 and 137 ought to have been foreshadowed in § 135; and § 154 ought to have warned the reader to look to § 155, which is not even printed on the same page.

One omission in the generally careful scheme of definitions is that *Enclitomena* (§§ 236 and 246) are nowhere completely defined, though by putting these two sections together it seems that Dr. Postgate means by them Oxytone words which become Barytone in the middle of a sentence. Nor does the definition of *Enclisis* (§ 261) prepare us for the statement in § 278 (which rather takes one's breath away), that ἦμας and ἦμων and ἦμιν or ἦμιν are enclitic. Recessive their accent may well be called; but surely not enclitic in any sense worth the name. They do not affect the accent of any preceding word.

In §§ 63-4 the fact that final syllables ending in a short vowel followed by a consonant (ἀγαθός, λύομεν) are counted short for accentual purposes, and not long (as they are on the author's view of syllabic quantity), is explained by the rather surprising statement that 'the quantity [of the syllable] was determined by that which it appeared to have in the great majority of cases, that is to say, in those where the division was between the Final Vowel and the Final Consonant'—*e.g.*, according to the author, in 'ἀγαθὸ σάνηρ' as contrasted with ἀγαθὸς παῖς. But where is the evidence to show that words beginning with a vowel were 'the great majority of cases' in Greek? None is offered, unless it is meant to be implied in a rather cryptic reference to what Hephaestion found in 'his Homer.' What Homer was that? A count of examples over 50 pages of Thucydides' narrative would be more relevant. Until such evidence, and a good deal more of other kinds, can be produced, most of us will continue to doubt the theory of the pronunciation of final syllables which Dr. Postgate maintains, due, I believe, originally to Sievers.

The division of the letter-press into short numbered sections is so admirable that one regrets all the more the frequent absence of cross-references. The first chapter, which deals with the history of the Greek Accent, inevitably lapses into a multitude of particulars, where history is hardly distinguishable from the statement of usage. Hence, *e.g.*, in §§ 72-3 a forward reference should have been inserted to § 219 (especially as that does refer back to § 72). Again, § 298 should have been mentioned in § 290, and the first line of § 290 should end with a comma, not a most misleading full-stop. § 130 is misleading as it stands for want of reference back to § 73. Similarly, § 101 might well be connected in some way with § 94, with which it seems to overlap; and the whole distinction of 'base-accent' and 'case-accent' (Chap. I. § 91) ought to be connected with Chapter II, because many of the rules which the title of that chapter would lead one to expect to find in it, are, in fact, given in the concluding portion of Chapter I. Thus §§ 118 and 170 might have been linked by reference; different but connected information about the same words is given in the two places.

It is perhaps worth while to warn the reader of the abundant use of capital letters in the middle of a sentence (*e.g.* when a consonant Followed a short vowel (§ 23): printed Without Accents § 61; Tragic Actor § 78; Two Oddities § 46; Last But One § 30), which gives to the otherwise dispassionate exposition a quaint (though not wholly unpleasant) flavour of the seventeenth century. The phrase 'our language' (§ 87) would naturally be taken by most readers to mean English, but the author means Greek. In § 196 the quite monstrous term *Decompounds* (for compounds which consist of more than two components) ought surely not even to be printed (Dr. Postgate gives it with reserve). On p. 82, l. 4 from below, for 'not' read 'there'; in § 270, last line, for 'contain' read 'are descended from.'

There are, further, a certain number of slips which no author can completely avoid, but which a competent Press-reader always removes. A book with so many Greek words and so many special signs is no doubt difficult to print; but the number of slips that remain is by no means creditable to Messrs. Constable's Readers. They ought, for example, to have avoided the absolute and all-pervading chaos of Clarendon and ordinary type in Greek (*e.g.* in §§ 153, 163^e, 164, 165-168, and 169^b and ^c; in § 153 the word ζυγόν appears twice in the same list, once in Clarendon and once in ordinary type!). A similar riddle is the use of Roman and Italic type in § 126. On the same page (l. 5) 'the accentuation of so many unaccented syllables,' instead of 'the accumulation of,' etc., is just the kind of mistake which an author is likely to overlook but which no competent Press-reader ought to leave. On p. 6, if the old-fashioned term 'vocal chords' was to be retained ('vocal edges' is preferable), at least it should be so printed, not as 'vocal cords,' which implies

directly what is not the case. On p. 85, l. 11, for 'another rule' read 'another Latin rule.'

But however one may regret these occasional defects, they cannot obscure the debt which every Greek scholar owes to the author for the long labour and thought which the book has involved and the most valuable help that it brings, for the first time, to serious study of the subject.

In the technical philological discussion which the British Academy has published, Dr. Postgate has smashed, destroyed and pulverised the supposed 'Wheeler's Law' (of the paroxytone accentuation of dactyls). This theory must be abandoned; its assertion has provoked some useful research, and many of Dr. Postgate's own suggestions are likely to be fruitful. But they cannot well be discussed except in a journal expressly devoted to linguistic inquiry.

R. S. C.

Aristotelianism. By JOHN LEOFRIC STOCKS. Pp. vii + 165. 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome,' No. 20. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1925. 5s.

Aristophanes: his Plays and Influence. By LOUIS E. LORD. Pp. xi + 183. 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome,' No. 4. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1925. 5s.

Homer and his Influence. By JOHN A. SCOTT. Pp. vii + 169. 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome,' No. 1. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1925. 5s.

Something like four-fifths of Professor Stocks' essay is taken up with an exposition of the cardinal points of Aristotle's own doctrine under the headings 'form and matter,' 'the simple bodies,' 'the animal kingdom,' 'the life of man,' 'the city,' while the concluding sketch of Aristotelianism traces rather the rise and fall of Aristotle's reputation through the ages than the actual modifications undergone by his philosophy. There is, however, every justification for Professor Stocks' plea that this was the only practicable method of dealing with the subject in the space at his command, and his account, which succeeds remarkably in being concise without turning difficulties into obscurities, can be well recommended to the general student prepared to read it with attention and intelligence. Only, it seems a pity that no more than one paragraph (on p. 9) could be given to Aristotle's biological research.

Of the other two volumes under review, Professor Lord's tract on Aristophanes, if unexciting, may at least claim to be fairly informative. After an elementary sketch of the Greek stage and an analysis of the extant comedies, it proceeds to an account of the position of Aristophanes in antiquity, during the Renaissance, in Germany, in France and in England, from which the reader gathers that the ages have given the Old Comedy an even more mixed reception than that vouchsafed to Euripides. Incidentally, one would hardly expect to find evidence that Aristophanes has been more frequently imitated (as well as misunderstood) in Germany than elsewhere. Professor Scott's book is a puzzle: to what class of public is it intended to appeal? It appears to have been thrown together anyhow from notes and jottings, and remains a mere scrap-heap of casual and largely worthless information. Its critical standard may be gauged from the following (p. 25): 'Somehow Homer was able to reach poetic effects which seem easy and natural but which have been reached by none besides. Virgil was a great and conscious artist who also wrote dactyls, but many of his dactyls seem slow and laboured when compared with Homer's.'

V. S.

The Odyssey of Homer. Translated by SIR WILLIAM MARRIS. Pp. x + 438. Oxford University Press; printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1925. 8s. 6d.

Choric Songs from Aeschylus. With a translation into English rhythm. By E. S. HOERNLE. Pp. 87. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1925. 5s.

Sir William Marris's blank verse translation of the *Odyssey* has the light-heartedness of a task carried through *con amore*, and this is in itself a good qualification for rendering Homer.

The version is very decidedly readable, conveying a sense of Homer's limpidity and directness and even to some extent of his movement: a new-comer to the *Odyssey* would, one fancies, find his interest continuously held by it. Although the blank verse is loose, with plenty of feminine endings and every now and then a broken line, it has not been allowed to get out of hand. The occasional fallings away seem to be mainly due to negligent use of the vocabulary, which follows the line of least resistance rather more often than is good for the total effect. The volume is very pleasant to look at and hold, and both type and press-work are far above the average of Indian-printed books.

Mr. Hoernle's renderings are from the *Persians*, the *Seven against Thebes* and the *Prometheus*. He is in general agreement with Mr. Trevelyan's principles of translation as laid down in his version of the *Oresteia*, but rightly deprecates their too rigid application; his own specimens are happiest when they are most free, but the lover of poetry who has no special knowledge of the originals will need, as usual, to make a call on his good-will in the reading of them. There is more of general interest in the introduction, which has a number of good things to say on the choric rhythms of Aeschylus.

V. S.

Ephèse et Claros ; Recherches sur les sanctuaires et les cultes de l'Ionie du Nord. Par CH. PICARD. Pp. xvi + 786. Paris: de Boccard, 1922.

This exhaustive and learned work will be of the greatest value to students of Greek religion. It is mostly fact with little theory, and is a mine of information. The main purpose of the author is to demonstrate the interconnexion of the two great sanctuaries of Apollo at Claros and Artemis at Ephesus. This he does with the aid of a vast mass of epigraphical and literary evidence.

The Hieron of Claros was first uncovered in 1913, so that the evidence here set forth is mostly new. Only one important preliminary report on the excavation was published before the war intervened. The author describes the history of the Clarian sanctuary from the earliest Mycenaean traces (p. 46), and shows how the site was known and important in the time of the Trojan war. The problem arises as to the destruction of the sanctuary. We know that Ephesus was spared by both Darius and Xerxes; perhaps Apollo's sister saved his Clarian home for him. It is known to have been ruined by pirates in the time of Sulla, and may have been damaged at an earlier date as well.

M. Picard gives a most interesting account of the service of the oracle at Claros which may well elucidate the problems of the same type which concern the Delphic oracle. We learn fully of the origins and methods of the priests and of the rites of consultation in the sanctuary. Full information is available about the hierarchy of the priests, their festivals, liturgies and myths. We know the titles of a very large number of the officials of the temple.

M. Picard has done his work well and thoroughly, and our knowledge of the methods and organisation of a Greek sanctuary and its relations with a sister-sanctuary is definitely enriched. His scholarship and industry are astonishing.

S. C.

Index to the Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1902-1916. By G. R. KAYE. Pp. 169. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1924. Rupees 6½.

This model index, the work of a scholar, forms a most helpful guide to the first fourteen volumes of what is virtually the Government of India's archaeological journal; it does not, however, deal with the contemporary Reports issued by each district, which included much of purely local or ephemeral interest and have since been discontinued. Its contents are largely familiar through Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, published in 1911, and some of the later finds of classical importance are illustrated too by

Sir John Marshall in his *Guide to Sanchi* and *Guide to Taxila*: a significant piece is the bronze statuette of Harpocrates (*Report*, 1912-3, p. 26, Pl. XX. *f-h*; *Guide to Taxila*, Pl. XV.), which obviously originated in Egypt. Its period can be ascertained within reasonable limits, as the type is frequently met among terracottas of the early Empire (Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägypt. Koroplastik*, Pls. XVIII., XXIII.; cf. Petrie, *Roman Egypt*, Pls. XLVI.-II.), yet does not occur among the Harpocrates figures from Qalyub, which can scarcely be older than the first century B.C. (the earlier dating proposed by Ippel, *Bronzefund von Galjüb*, cannot be maintained, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, x., 1925, p. 188). The Syrian and Palmyrene architectural forms and ornament noted on Gandharan sculptures point, of course, to cultural as well as commercial intercourse with the Hellenised East, which must, on the ground of the Taxila Harpocrates, have been established at the very rise of the Kushan (Gandharan) Empire. It therefore becomes more probable that such Greek features as differentiate Gandharan from earlier work of the district (e.g. the Bimaran casket) were drawn straight from the eastern edge of the Roman Empire, than that Eurasians should have independently evolved such an art in the declining Greco-Bactrian kingdoms of N.W. India.

An event too recent to be mentioned by Vincent Smith was the discovery at Mathura of some headless statues of Kushan rulers, including one of Kanishka which looks exactly like the figure on his coins; the style of all of them is distinctly un-Greek (*Report*, 1910-11, p. 123, Pls. LIII.-LV.), which Dr. Vogel takes as evidence for his view that the best Gandharan sculpture is earlier than Kanishka and contemporary with the Bimaran casket, before the time of Christ instead of after. But he does not explain why these statues show no Greek influence, as they surely ought to do if they fell at the end of the great period of Indian Hellenism, and a more plausible explanation is that Mathura was too distant for local sculptors to be affected by a school that had already arisen on the frontier, but whose output remained inconsiderable. The stiff dress to some extent dictates the Mathura statues' style, but it may be sound to trace a Parthian element (comparing coins and small sculptures besides the Nimrud Dagh monument); a survival of Parthian influence at Mathura will surprise no one who has seen the double lion-capital of a century earlier.

The compiler has arranged most of his classical matter, with the aid of cross-references, under main headings: *Coins, Excavations, Gandhara, Greco-, Greek, Hellenistic*. For other points bearing on early intercourse with foreign civilisations see under: *Alabastron, Alexander, Aornos, Apollonius, Arrian, Asoka, Assyrian, Capital, Demetrius, Eucratides, Eudemus, Foucher, Harpocrates, Kushan, Mathura, Mauryan, Persian, Perso-, Philostratus, Pottery, Seleucus Nicator, Terracotta(s), Titans, Tritons*.

A. W. L.

The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilizations. By WALTER ADDISON JAYNE, M.D.
Pp. xxxix + 569. Oxford: University Press, and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925. £1 3s.

The great defect of this book is, that Dr. Jayne, evidently a physician of much learning and experience, and with a sympathetic interest in the history of his profession, insists on writing about what he does not fully understand, instead of about what he does. The book covers nearly as wide an area as Chantepie de la Saussaye. It being obviously impossible for any one man to have first-hand knowledge of the antiquities of a dozen different peoples, Dr. Jayne has gone to secondary authorities, and usually has chosen good ones. But unfortunately he contents himself for the most part with setting down at considerable length what he has found in their works concerning deities more or less connected with medicine, such as Isis, Ishtar, Rudra, Asklepios, Salus, Grannos and so forth, or charms, incubation and the like. What he seldom or never does is to comment, from the point of view of enlightened modern medical theory and practice, on the value or lack of value of the cures prescribed, and the effects, especially psychological, of the methods used. In particular, little or nothing is done by way of interpreting the numerous miracles of Asklepios. Such comment, had Dr. Jayne seen fit to provide it, would have immensely increased the value of his book.

Another omission, and a somewhat annoying one, is that he apparently did not consult experts on the various branches of learning concerned. The result is that the book is full of errors of detail, arising from misunderstanding or miscopying, and that more than one author is cited in a very poor translation.

H. J. R.

La Religion de la Grèce Antique. Par THADÉE ZIELINSKI; traduction d'ALFRED FICHELLÉ. Pp. viii + 191. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926.

This is an amiable little book. Professor Zielinski lays down the undoubtedly correct principle that to interpret a religion one must oneself be capable of religious feelings; but it may reasonably be doubted whether his own sentiments are of exactly the right kind for the interpretation of Greek religion. In a succession of brief but eloquent chapters he discusses the divinisation of Nature in Greece, the relations of their religion to work (here he rightly rejects the absurd idea that the Greeks supposed labour to be degrading) and to the social structure, and what he terms the revelation of God in beauty, in goodness and in truth, this last chapter being led up to by a brief discussion of religious philosophy. All this is very well; but it seems to the reviewer that the exposition is marred by a vein of sentimentality which is not Greek at all. Is it really the case, for instance, that a Greek built shrines to the Nymphs because 'à une caresse, il faut répondre par une caresse' (p. 16)? Or is there any proof of 'la profonde pénétration des Hellènes' in the fact that Hestia is a goddess, not (like Agni) a god (p. 71)? A certain amount of space is devoted, rather needlessly, to expressions of mildly anti-Jewish feeling. On the other hand, he makes many good points, as, for instance, on p. 99, where he points out the prominence of the feeling of affection towards the gods.

In a number of matters of fact the book embodies peculiar views of Professor Zielinski's own, or ideas taken from other writers, with which the reviewer is not in agreement, and some of which are now generally rejected. In reviewing so short a work, these matters clearly cannot be argued; but such statements as that on p. 40, that the *μορίαι* are 'trees of fate,' or (p. 85) that Aphrodite was an ancient Greek goddess, invite contradiction; while it is at least doubtful, in view of the evidence that statues were commonly painted, whether the pediments of temples really showed a series of white figures (p. 66); and the account of Stoicism on p. 143, which confuses its different periods, or the sketch of divination on p. 153, which exactly reverses the history of its development, ought not to pass unchallenged.

H. J. R.

Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander. By F. M. CORNFORD. Pp. xxxvii + 252. London and Toronto: Dent & Sons, 1923. 5s.

This book has now been before the world some three years, and has won not a little approval from those qualified to judge. Whether it sells among the Greekless as well as it should I do not know. If they do not read it, it is their loss. Mr. Cornford has picked out a number of passages containing religious thought, including philosophical discussions of religious matters, and either translated them himself, or used the translations of others who, like him, have the power to render Greek into something like adequate English. He has added a few headings and notes, and an excellent introduction, which seems to clear away just those difficulties which are most likely to trouble the intelligent non-specialist.

The selection has on the whole been made with great judgment. It may perhaps puzzle some, at first sight, to find a passage of Herodotos (i. 30 foll.) in a section labelled 'Early Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic poets,' but it is in its right place nevertheless. No doubt every Grecian who uses the book will find omissions (why is there nothing from the *Choephoroe* or the *Eumenides*, for instance?); no doubt, also, others will wish some of the less edifying passages away (as, for instance, the beating of Artemis by Hera, from the *Iliad*). But the latter objection is easy to meet; Mr. Cornford set out to give a fair

picture, not merely a selection of the highest Greek thought. It is well to let the public realise that the same nation produced this burlesque and the proof of the existence of God from the *Metaphysics*, also the Second Olympian Ode, both of which are included. So did mediaeval Europe produce the *Summa Theologica*, the *Divine Comedy* and *The Bitter Withy*.

H. J. R.

Les Saracatsans, une Tribu nomade grecque. Vol. II. Textes (Contes et Chansons), Vocabulaire technique, Index Verborum. Par CARSTEN HÖEG. Pp. 212. Paris and Copenhagen: Pio-Poul Branner, 1926.

This is the second, and final, volume of a book, the first part of which, dealing with the ethnography and dialect of this nomad Greek people in Epeiros, has already been reviewed in these columns (*J.H.S.*, xlv. p. 137). In this volume we have sixteen folk-tales, two other short prose-texts, sixty songs, of which many are quite short, then a series of technical vocabularies, giving the words used in pastoral and domestic life, and lastly, appendices on proper names and borrowed words, and an *index verborum*. The texts, which have been taken down by the author himself, are recorded in Latin letters: for the tales he has added a transcription in common Greek, which enables anyone who does not wish to study the dialect to read them easily. For the songs this help is not provided, but as parallel versions are easily accessible, it is hardly missed. There are important notes on the transmission of the tales, and, on pp. 74, 77, interesting remarks on rhythmic accent and the language of the songs. The very rich vocabulary of words dealing with pastoral life is probably the best that has yet been made: it ranks with Xanthoudides' collection of such words from Crete. And here we see a great difference between Epeiros and Crete: in Crete these words are prevaillingly of Greek origin; amongst the Saracatsans we find large numbers of Albanian and Roumanian words, and some which, for lack of any obvious derivation, the author ascribes to some unknown *langue préromane non-grecque*. Still more numerous than the words from Albanian and Roumanian are the words of Latin or Italian origin—Dr. Höeg does not attempt the often very difficult task of discriminating between them—and the words taken over from Turkish. This part of the book is particularly important, as all the words come from one single dialect, and will need to be used in conjunction with such lists of loan-words as those made in 1894 by Gustav Meyer in his *Neugriechische Studien*. But room should have been found among the loan-words for *φάρος*, a horse, which is used especially in the songs: it is not Greek, but an Arabic word which made its way early into Byzantine Greek; the diminutive form *φapί* is commoner than *φάρος*, and the fem. *φάρα*, a mare, is also found.

We would make one suggestion. The fifty-third song on p. 102 concerns the love of a Christian girl for *ton silámaga*, and for this man, called also *ton Janasáki*, she wants to desert her Christian husband, *Dáki ton Garúni*. Dr. Höeg in his note queries *silámagas*: to us it seems likely that it is *Selim Aga*, and that *Janasáki* means a young Janissary, and that the girl wants to leave Dakis, probably a diminutive for Dimitrios, for the sake of her Turkish lover.

This second volume is a worthy successor to the first, and is heartily to be commended to all interested in folk-lore, in Modern Greek studies, or in the ethnography of the Balkans.

R. M. D.

Χιακὰ Χρονικά. Τεύχος Ἑκτον. Pp. 224. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1926.

The sixth volume of the interesting periodical devoted to the history of Chios is issued at the expense of K. M. Bitiades, an Egyptian Chiote, and contains valuable contributions by Professor Amantos on the dialect of the island, by the late scholar of Syra, K. Zerlentes, on its ecclesiastical history, by K. Kyriakides on the battle between the French admiral, Duquesne, and eight Barbary corsairs in the harbour of Chios on July 23rd, 1681, and

by K. D. P. Petrokokkinos on the important letter of Jakobos Palaiologos about the condition of Chios seven years after the Turkish conquest in 1566. The letter, here published in a Greek translation, was printed by Legrand in the original Latin twenty years ago. The author, an adventurer from Chios, married in Prague, was seized by the Inquisition as a heretic, beheaded in Rome in 1585, and his corpse burned in the Campo di Fiore, like that of Giordano Bruno. His letter contains an interesting allusion to Joseph Nasi, the Jewish Duke of Naxos, who offered him 'one of his seven islands' as a residence. A collection of Turkish inscriptions completes the volume.

W. M.

Ἡ διπλωματικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως τοῦ 1866. By GEORGIOS PAPANTONAKES. Pp. 84. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1926. 30 dr.

This treatise on the 'great' Cretan insurrection of 1866-69 is part of a larger unpublished work in German on the 'diplomatic history of the Cretan question from 1830 to 1912.' It is based on the official publications of the various Governments, especially the Austrian, on the 'Memoirs' of Parthenios Perides, and on the work of the French diplomatist, M. Charles Roux, on *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff et Napoléon III*. To these might have been added the works of Ballot and Stillman and the unpublished history of this insurrection by Finlay, which exists in proof among his unprinted contributions to *The Times* in the Finlay library of the British School, and which I have described elsewhere.¹ The author arrives at the conclusion, true but not very consoling to us, that the Turkish 'triumph was not due to Turkish but to British policy.' Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, when he refused the Greek crown in 1830, had the foresight to see that the union of Crete with Greece was necessary; recent history has shown it to be inevitable. But sixty years ago our Foreign Office, in the late Lord Salisbury's phrase, 'backed the wrong horse.'

W. M.

Vizantiske Printseze u Srednjevekovnoj Srbiji. By MICHAEL LASKARIS. Pp. 139. Beograd, 1926.

This is the first historical work written in Serb by a Greek—a hopeful symptom of a better mutual understanding of these two neighbouring peoples. The author, a nephew of the eminent economist, Professor Andréadès, has studied at the Belgrade University, and one result of his studies is this account of 'Byzantine Princesses in Mediaeval Serbia,' which he justly calls a contribution 'to the history of Byzantine-Serbian relations from the end of the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century.' The 'Princesses,' whose married lives he traces, are six: Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III, who successively married Stephen 'the first-crowned' about 1190, Alexios V, and the defender of Akrocorinth, Leon Sgouros, in 1205, and is last mentioned, after his death, in the Florentine Manuscript of Niketas, as having gone 'to the East,' i.e. to Nicaea; Anna, daughter of Theodore Angelos of Epeiros, who married Radoslav, shared his exile at Ragusa in 1234, and died a nun in Serbia; Simonis, daughter of Andronikos II, the child-wife of Milutin, sacrificed to check the Serbian advance to the south at a time when the Turks were advancing in Asia Minor, who returned to Constantinople after Milutin's death in 1321 and is last mentioned in 1336; Maria Palaiologina, great-niece of Andronikos II, wife of Stephen Dechanski and mother of Tsar Simeon, who died a nun in Serbia and was buried at Skoplje in 1355; Irene Cantacuzene, married to George Brankovich in 1414, and said to have been poisoned by her son Lazar in 1457; and Lazar's wife, Helene, daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, Despot of the Morea, married in 1446, who, after the fall of Serbia, died a nun at Sta. Mavra, the possession of her son-in-law, Leonardo III. Tocco, in 1473. The author has collected from Greek, Serbian and Ragusan sources all the evidence relating to these six marriages; he has read all the modern Serbian historical literature on his subject,

¹ B.S.A. (1926).

and is so well up to date as to quote the recently issued third volume of Lampros' *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*. If he had wished for a motto for his work, he could not have chosen one more appropriate than the famous line: *Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube!* For these marriages were political; they were due rather to the weakness of Byzantium than to any pretence of affection. The Byzantine Court looked upon that of Serbia as barbarous; the Serbian monarchs, by a form of snobbishness, thought that a Byzantine marriage and Byzantine titles conferred recognition by an old-established institution upon themselves. Consequently, both parties gained something, the Byzantines the substance, the Serbs the form; the only loser was the exiled princess, banished to make a diplomatic triumph. All well-wishers of both countries will welcome this painstaking book, like the recent study of Professor Amantos on 'Greece's Northern Neighbours,' as *auspicium melioris aevi*, when Athens and Belgrade will know one another better.

W. M.

Griechische Geschichte. By KARL JULIUS BELOCH. Zweite auflage: vierter Band: erste Abteilung. Berlin: W. de Gruyter & Co., 1925. Pp. xiii + 734. 30 Rmk.

At first sight there would seem to be little that is new in this second edition: there are only a score or so of passages which have been substantially rewritten. But closer inspection will show that there are many minor alterations, sometimes of a word or two only, which are significant, as well as numerous added references in the footnotes. As the volume deals with the first century after Alexander, a good deal of the fresh matter naturally comes from Egypt, and it is mainly the Ptolemaic papyri and Delian inscriptions which have furnished the data for an extensive revision of the section on prices in Chapter VIII: as Beloch suggests in a note, a history of prices in ancient times is a crying need, though it is to be hoped that anyone who undertakes it will have some practical knowledge of Oriental bargaining. Egyptian sources, again, have been drawn upon for the revision of the account of the 'Laodicean war' in Chapter XIX. But the history of Greece itself has received due consideration, as the extensive alterations in the sections relating to the Chremonidean war and the operations of Aratus show; and some fresh matter has also been brought into the description of the First Punic War.

Milet. Edited by THEODOR WIEGAND. Bd. I. Pt. 8. *Kalebaktepé, Athenatempel und Umgebung.* By ARMIN VON GERKAN. Pp. 125, with 29 plates and 56 figs. Berlin: Schoetz and Parrhysius, 1925. M. 120.

The Miletus publication pursues its unbroken course with a volume on the large mound known as Kalebaktepé, which lies south-west and outside of the circuit of the Hellenistic Roman city. Here were found more remains of a pre-Persian and even of a pre-Hellenic Miletus than anywhere else. They are in part remains of houses, and in part of an early temple underlying a later shrine dedicated to Athena. The publication of the architectural remains of the latter is the main purpose of this latest volume. It appears that much in the way of terracottas, bronzes and pottery was found in this part of the excavation, but that the objects, having been left on the spot, have largely disappeared or been destroyed, presumably during the anarchical period succeeding the Greek landing at Smyrna. Herr von Gerkan's account is therefore limited to the architecture, and is not relieved by publication of any inscriptions. Everyone will deplore the misfortune which has thus divorced publication of the portable objects from that of the architectural remains to which they were related, for no more interesting site was explored at Miletus than that of Kalebaktepé, which may well have been the centre of the original Carian city.

D. G. H.

Homer : The Origins and the Transmission. By THOMAS W. ALLEN. Pp. 357. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1924. 18s. 6d.

Mr. Allen's book, as the title professes, falls into two parts, the first dealing with the early evidence for the antiquity of the Homeric poems, the second with the way in which they have come down to us. Much of the book consists of earlier papers, which have now been revised and reissued. Although, as he tells us in the preface, this is not the book on Homer which he once intended to write, scholars will be grateful for this reissue of Mr. Allen's papers, which, published together, form a distinct unity and carry us a big step forward towards a solution of the Homeric problem and the re-establishment of the belief in a personal Homer. If Mr. Allen will allow it to be said, teachers also will welcome a book which may be put into the hands of advanced students, to serve as a critical antidote to certain works, which will always possess their own attraction ἄλλ' ὅσῳ ποιητικώτερα τοσοῦτ' ἦτιον ἀκουστέον παῖσι.

The first part of the book deals mainly with the traditions, a detailed examination of which enables Mr. Allen to put forward definite views as to the origin of the poems and the existence of an actual Homer. The traditions of the *Homeridae* take us back to Chios and to a date in the sixth century—earlier than Acusilaüs—a date which is put further back by Mr. Allen's treatment of the Cycle, whose content, as preserved to us, presupposes the existence of the two Homeric poems. (The genuineness of Proclus' abstract is completely re-established against the attacks which have been made on it.)

The tradition which speaks of the school of Homer as at work in Chios at an early date is strikingly reinforced by the evidence of the language of the Homeric poems themselves. In his earlier work on the *Catalogue*, Mr. Allen stated it as his view that Homer lived about 950–900 in Chios or Smyrna. A place on the border-line between Ionia and Aeolis seemed to be postulated by the language of the poems. Mr. Allen has now definitely adopted Dr. Giles' theory of a Chian origin. The theory is based on the character of the Chian dialect, which, although the epigraphic material is not extensive, shows that the Ionic spoken in Chios in the fifth century had still in some particulars close resemblances to Aeolic. A mixed dialect of this character existing in Chios is sufficient to account for the Aeolic element in the poems on which Fick based his theory of an Aeolic origin. Tradition and linguistics point equally to the island.

It is impossible to deal here with the interesting view, which we now find fully stated, that in Dictys of Crete we have an independent tradition of the Trojan war, a pre-Homeric version of the saga from which Homer drew his own material. Mr. Allen's views have an important bearing on the historical character of the legends of the Trojan war, the general truth of which is becoming more and more clearly established.

The second part of the book is largely a statement of facts, and the evidence put together will be of great value to students who for long have been led astray by distortions of the facts in question. In view of what has been written regarding the 'evidence' of papyri, Mr. Allen's Chapter XII is to be particularly recommended. It is to be hoped also that after his examination of the flimsy basis on which the Peisistratean theory rests we shall hear no more of it.

An appendix containing corrections and additions to the author's *Homeric Catalogue* provides some useful additional notes to the former work, and answers various objections raised by critics.

La Musique Grecque. Par THÉODORE REINACH. Pp. 208. 8vo. Paris : Payot, 1926. Fr. 10.

M. Reinach was the first transcriber of the Delphian Hymns to Apollo; and this popular handbook carries the weight of undoubted authority, besides containing a great amount of information in a small space. We are glad to see that use is made of Mr. Mountford's article (*J.H.S.* 1920, p. 13) in the very clear and adequate section on the Modes. Like many French scholars, Reinach is a keen metrist; and his long chapter on Rhythm will be appreciated even by the unmusical. A discussion on musical instruments can

never be satisfactory without diagrams, but the remarks on Musical Practice are lucid and valuable. It is certainly rash to assert that a melody with accompaniment used to be played by a single performer on the cithara or that the double flute gave two moving parts; but otherwise, apart from the lack of an index, there is little to which we would take exception. Reinach's account of the ancient notation is sufficient for most readers. The specimens of Greek melodies form a most welcome addition. The texts, as here given, agree in the main with the Teubner of Carolus Janus, except that the latter took the Orestes fragment as Chromatic instead of Enharmonic. This fragment, in either case, does not carry conviction as a piece of music. But in the longer passages we may fairly consider ourselves in possession of the composer's intentions; and, although the epitaph of Sicilus and the hymns of Mesomedes are dull scholastic exercises, yet the Odes to Apollo are real works of art and may be enjoyed by anyone who can hear them rendered. Reinach includes several papyrus fragments not easily seen elsewhere, among them the Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus. In ancient Greek music the theoretical data still largely outweigh the actual specimens—a state of things favourable to wild hypotheses. The present little book gives a sane as well as stimulating introduction to the subject.

H. J. W. T.

Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte. By WALTHER KOLBE. Pp. 174. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1926.

Chronology has long been the central point of dispute in the history of the Seleucid period, especially in connexion with the rise of the Hasmonaeen house in Judaea and the critical problem of the books of Maccabees. Professor Kolbe of Greifswald therefore commences his study of these questions with an exhaustive examination of the material available for fixing the dating of the kings from 311 to 129 B.C., and a criticism of views previously advanced. In this study he has been able to use material either not available to his predecessors, or neglected by them, from Babylonian sources. The mistaken view of Strassmaier and Epping that the Seleucid era in Babylonia was reckoned from the autumn of 312 B.C. has now been finally disproved by the researches of Father Kugler in the astronomical texts, and Professor Kolbe (without acknowledging Kugler's services in this matter) has been able to use the few but important chronological data for his period with the certainty that the era in Mesopotamia actually commenced with the 1st Nisan, 311 B.C. The Babylonian sources have been thoroughly used, owing to assistance from Ungnad, and Kolbe's results, so far as they are based on them, are reliable and sometimes new. The main thesis is that the Seleucid era used in the books of Maccabees was the Babylonian, not, as a number of writers have assumed, the autumn era; and Kolbe has proved this point beyond doubt, to the writer's mind. The comparison of this reckoning with the Macedonian dating further permits of placing certain important events, hitherto only vaguely dated, within the summer or winter of the year. It is possible that further study may correct here and there a small detail, but broadly speaking, the date-list given should prove correct. A noteworthy, and welcome, corollary follows; the credit of Eusebius is defended against some rather wild attacks. Eusebius made mistakes, owing to the complicated calculations involved by the different systems of dating in his sources; but he was a scholar and an intelligent man, not the ignoramus he has sometimes been considered.

The author then turns to a special study of the books of Maccabees. He holds that the letters in II Macc. 11 are forgeries, as also the letter (not letters) in the introduction, due to a recasting of II Maccabees, which in its original form was an epitome of the work of Jason of Cyrene. He proceeds to discuss the relation of I and II Maccabees, and is able to show that both used one source (probably Jason), and that the differences are due to opposite tendencies. The study closes with an historical account of the time when Judas and Jonathan led the resistance to the Syrian government.

The merits of this book are very considerable. The arguments are well put, the views of others fairly stated and countered, 'advanced' critical views, when they run contrary to sane judgment of general issues, are rejected. It will be an indispensable work for reference for those interested in the period for many years. In general, the position

taken is conservative. Not everyone will accept Kolbe's conclusions on much-disputed questions; but all will admit that his very clear discussion has advanced matters, and that much learned nonsense can now be consigned to oblivion. The weakest point in the book is the bibliography.

S. S.

Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine. Tome I. (1) *Le Rovine e i Monumenti di Canopo*; (2) *Teadelphia e il tempio di Preferôs*. By EV. BRECCIA. Pp. 135 + pl. LXXVI. Officine dell' Instituto d'Arti grafiche, Bergamo, 1926.

Signor Breccia has entertained for many years the project of a publication of a larger format, with more illustrations, than the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*, which should contain special memoirs on the more noteworthy discoveries and the more significant monuments of the classical period in Egypt. The realisation of this project has been partly due to the interest of H.M. King Fuad and the municipality of Alexandria; and the author has deserved the thanks of all interested in the study of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Two very important sites are described, and the objects from them are catalogued with a scholarly care which will render the volume invaluable. The dilemma with which such a work is continually faced is not satisfactorily solved; for completeness' sake, much that has little value for the general reader has been included in the illustrations, yet the book is intended for the general reader as well as the specialist. Since this difficulty has never been satisfactorily solved, we must be grateful for what we are here given. One wish may be expressed: in the list of plates, might not references to the letterpress have been included? The use of the volume as a book of reference would have been considerably enhanced.

The greater part of the material illustrated presents no new features: it serves rather to reinforce the argument of those who find nothing in the art of the period peculiar to Egypt save the adaptation of certain Egyptian types. But some few objects have an interest of their own. The white marble bas-relief of Hermes from Canopus, now in the British Museum (Plate XXVII, No. 1), shows an archaising tendency which used to be attributed entirely to the Roman epoch; but Ed. Schmidt, *Die archaische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom*, has shown that the style began as early as the fourth century. The present instance is noteworthy because of its provenance. The fine lower fragment of a male statue of white marble (Plate XXIX, No. 4) reminds one, in the treatment of the drapery, of the 'Apotheosis of Homer,' and is perhaps to be dated in the first century on that ground. It is to be hoped that the new undertaking will prosper, and that fresh volumes may speedily follow.

S. S.

La Civilisation Phénicienne. By G. CONTENAU. Pp. 396 + 1 pl. Paris: Payot, 1926. Fr. 25.

Modern historians have for the most part ceased to regard the Phoenicians with the respect and interest once accorded them; while flights of fancy still find in that magic name the key to nearly all the problems that puzzle the archaeologist and ethnologist. The subject is surrounded with considerable difficulties. The towns of the Mediterranean sea-board must always have shared the cosmopolitan character of good ports. In the Amarna and Boghaz Keui documents some of the rulers do not appear to have belonged to a people of Semitic speech. Though the land was directly under the influence of Egypt apparently so early as the time of the Old Kingdom, there are yet marked and indubitable resemblances to Babylonian and Assyrian cults and arts. In later times problems which had once seemed simple have not been rendered more so by excavation and research, and some fresh account of this people, on more general lines than has of late been attempted, was required. M. Contenau has unusual qualifications for his task. A sound cuneiform scholar, with a special knowledge of the art of the cylinder seal in Syria, he has been able to add

much to the account Movers was able to give of the early history; and, as the excavator at Sidon, he has been brought into close contact with the latest results of the French missions at work in the coast cities. This popular account of Phoenicia is written with a specialist's knowledge; and it has been compiled with a patient care shown by the references, and the discussions of different views. The book may be heartily recommended to all who wish to acquaint themselves with the latest and best information on the subject.

S. S.

The Songs of Sappho, including the Recent Egyptian discoveries; **The Poems of Erinna**; translated with Rimed Verse by MARION MILLS MILLER, Litt.D. Greek Texts Prepared and Annotated and literally Translated in prose by DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Pp. 436. Lexington, Kentucky: The Maxwellton Co., 1925.

This edition of the Sappho literature is based upon the Loeb Series edition (*Lyra Graeca*) for its text and Wharton's last-century *Sappho* for its plan. The very lengthy title-page shows that the book has been compiled by two hands, Dr. Miller being responsible for the verse renderings, or, as the editors prefer to call them, 'renditions,' and Dr. Robinson for the more useful part, where the text of the fragments is given, their sources indicated, and critical notes with a prose translation added. The prose versions were absolutely necessary for the understanding of what Sappho wrote, and it is difficult to see what useful purpose many of the verse renderings serve. Some in the case of the more complete poems are adequate and successful, such as that of the Ode to Aphrodite, though 'the lovely legions of bright-hued doves,' called in to rhyme with 'regions,' are sadly out of place. Still more so are 'the languid hours' and the 'bees among the flowers,' of the first Stanza of the great lyric of passion. Even the prose translation surely fails in translating λεπτὸν πῦρ by 'languid' fire. If there is one word more than another inapplicable to this ode it is *languid*, and yet both translators bring it in. But are two forms of translation really necessary? Could not a verse translation be verse and yet give the meaning as literally as prose? It would have been worth trying. Let us take a test case. Perhaps no lyric in the book shows such ease, inevitableness, utter simplicity and economy of words, combined with technical skill, as the Night Vigil. It is a gem indeed, though Lobel wishes to tear away this 'captain jewel' from Sappho's carcanet.

Δέδυκε μὲν ἃ σέλαννα
καὶ Πληιάδες, μέσαι δὲ
νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχεται ὥρα,
ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθεύδω.

It runs literally in English :

The Moon and Pleiades have set,
Midnight is nigh :
The time is passing, passing, yet
Alone I lie.

But this is how Dr. Miller thinks fit to present it to her non-classical readers :

With young Endymion
To dream has Dian gone.
The sisterhood of seven
Pleiads have left the heaven,
To snuggle close, 'tis said,
Within the ocean's bed.
'Tis midnight; time goes by,
And I alone must lie.

The last couplet alone reproduces the original. The preceding two lines are as bad as they can well be, and have no right to be present at all.

In some cases several fragments and even single words are taken together and combined into a conflated English poem, which could not by any miracle be like anything that Sappho wrote or could conceivably have written. It reminds one rather of a game of our youth called 'Conglomerations,' to which each member of the company contributed a word, and these had to be worked up into a connected poem. Dr. Miller goes so far 'for the sake of uniformity,' she says, as to turn the fragment of a prose life of Sappho, found in Egypt, into verse, but it is difficult to see what useful purpose is served thereby. However that may be, we cannot forgive her for identifying the sensual courtesan of Silentiarius' Epigram with our Sappho, and the inadequate condemnation of *Les Chansons de Bilitis* by Pierre Louys, whom Wilamowitz so satisfactorily trounces, moves our astonishment, if not our indignation.

The format of the book is excellent, and the illustrations so good that we would gladly have had more. There are some misprints, e.g. *γραφυρός* for *γλαφυρός* on p. 84; Critius for Critias, p. 56, and role for roll on p. 40. A rather bad false quantity appears in Pandion (p. 125); and in the poem to her 'Virginity,' 'Maidenhood, whither art thou going?' is not *ἀποίχῃ* mistranslated? In our young days it always meant 'hast thou gone' or 'art thou gone.'

The poems of Erinna which are included in the volume are too slight to call for mention.

It has been no wish of ours to write an unkindly notice of this book, which in spite of such blemishes as we have noticed has much to commend it to those who come new to the study of one whose achievements in the field of literature place her intellectually at the head of womankind.

Ancient Greece at Work. By GUSTAVE GLOTZ. Translated by M. R. DOBIE. Pp. xii + 402; 49 illustrations. London: Kegan Paul, 1926. 16s.

In this volume Professor Glotz takes four cross-sections in Greek history, viz. at the Homeric, the Archaic, the Athenian and the Hellenistic periods, and at each of these stages presents a tableau of the Greek economic world. He excludes professional men from his survey, but reckons in every kind of entrepreneur among the 'workers,' and describes each productive class with unsparing wealth of detail. His pictures are extraordinarily vivid and animated, and they furnish further proof, if this be required, that economics need not be dismal.

In his anxiety to press all available facts into his service, Professor Glotz sometimes seems to overstrain his evidence. Thus he states, as if the point were definitely proved, that land in early Greece was usually in the collective ownership of the *γένος*, that Milesian looms were worked by slave labour from Phrygia, that the *ἐκπημόροι* paid over five-sixths of their produce (a most unlikely supposition), that Attic peasants in Solon's time contracted loans in money, that usury prevailed at Sparta in the fourth century, that cotton as well as linen was spun in Egypt under the Ptolemies, that Pytheas sailed round Britain and explored Norway. In a number of cases he appears to anticipate the true march of events. He dates back bottomry loans to the archaic age, the use of cheques to the Athenian period, and the boom in Egyptian banking to the Ptolemaic (instead of the Roman) epoch; he assumes that watermills, of which we first hear in connexion with Mithridates, were in common use among the Hellenistic Greeks, and that the Sinope-Tarsus route (which may not have been completed before the Roman annexation) was open for traffic in the seventh or sixth century B.C. In the interests of accuracy the following corrections may also be suggested. (1) Homeric smiths would have no difficulty in working the soft iron that is produced on primitive smelting hearths. Their trouble would be with steel, which they could harden but probably not anneal, so that it remained too brittle for purposes of war. (2) It is not quite fair to the Athenians to say that they took no hygienic precautions at Laurium, for their ventilation shafts and flues have been discovered. (3) The term 'public bank,' as applied to Ptolemaic Egypt, is misleading.

The βασιλικαὶ τράπεζαι were probably nothing more than receiving offices; the τράπεζαι τοῦ δέινα were private firms under government licence. But considering the mass of facts which Professor Glotz handles, we shall find that his general standard of accuracy is exceedingly high, and that his judgment is unusually sane. Altogether, he is to be congratulated on a really good piece of work.

A word of praise is due to the translator, who has written in real, not in class-room English, and has exercised care in converting French into English measures. The following points invite comment. (1) On p. 39 n. the English acre is reduced to 4000 sq. yds. (2) The Maiden portrayed on p. 78 is 'by,' not 'of' Antenor. (3) The tetradrachms of Athens 'avaient cours,' i.e. were accepted, all over Greece, but they did not become legal tender, if at all, until the first century B.C. (4) For 'glu de la démocratie' (κόλλα), plain 'glue' is better than 'birdlime.' (5) On p. 324 Teos is misprinted 'Tenos' (*do.* in the index).

The Business Life of Ancient Athens. By G. M. CALHOUN. Pp. x + 175. University of Chicago Press, 1926. 10s.

This pleasantly written book is intended for the benefit of the growing multitude of intelligent laymen. Beginning with a rather meagre historical sketch, it proceeds to deal in some detail with three staple trades of the Athenians—grain-importing, banking and mining. It leaves out of account other characteristic Attic industries, such as olive cultivation and ceramics. In his description of corn- and money-dealers Professor Calhoun makes good use of his expert knowledge of the Athenian dicasteries; he is careful to point out that the probity of the average Athenian man of business, which he rightly extols, must not be judged by the *ex parte* pleas of the litigants among them. A special word of praise is due to the chapter on the Laurium mines, which gives an excellent idea of ancient metallurgical technique.

Professor Calhoun argues (pp. 51, 103) that Athenian bankers were loth to finance shipping enterprise, because their loans were usually secured on real property. But this does not prove that they supported agricultural ventures rather than commercial ones: it merely shows that when they made advances to a shipper they would require other security than his ship. On p. 110 mention is made of a moratorium at Miletus. Should this not be Ephesus? (Hicks, *Inscriptions*, No. 205, l. 36 ff.)

The Formation of the Greek People. By A. JARDÉ. Translated by M. R. DOBIE. Pp. xvi + 359. London: Kegan Paul, 1926. 16s.

The title of this book is enough to suggest that M. Jardé had a very stiff task to fulfil. Not only are the facts concerning the embryonic period of Greek history difficult to ascertain, but in view of their extraordinary diversity they stubbornly resist being reduced to order. It must have been a standing temptation to the author to stifle his doubts and to cut his way through to sweeping conclusions. The outstanding merit of his book is that he has nevertheless assumed no delusive airs of certainty or let himself and his readers off with facile generalisations. In the first section of the book, which contains a detailed description of the Greek lands, he is at pains to show that the Greeks defied as well as obeyed the dictates of geography. Proceeding to an analysis of the racial constituents of the Greek people, he refuses to follow the philologists or the anthropologists save where they travel on firm ground, and while he accepts the evidence of material remains with greater readiness, he refuses to commit himself on some crucial questions, *e.g.* the origin of geometric pottery. In his concluding chapters, in which he sketches Greek political history from a 'League of Nations' standpoint, he forbears to play off Athenians against Spartans or Philip against Demosthenes. M. Jardé's work consequently does not leave many clear-cut impressions. He might perhaps have given his readers a stronger lead by emphasising more sharply certain factors of Greek union, the colonial movement, the Homeric poetry, the oracle

and Amphictyony of Delphi, which he duly mentions but does not throw into sharp relief. But on the whole M. Jardé is to be congratulated for not sacrificing truth to effect.

Here and there the author's statements on points of detail evoke a query. On p. 8 he mentions 'exhalations' at Delphi, the evidence for which has been rather discredited by the French excavations. On p. 34 he speaks of helot 'drives' and massacres; but Plutarch, to whom he refers, merely mentions stalkings by two-legged cats. On p. 157 he assumes that pre-Solonian Athens enjoyed a rapid commercial expansion, which is contrary to all probability. On p. 190 he describes the climate of Aeolis as 'cold and wet': for a contrary view see Leaf on Strabo's Troad, p. xx. On pp. 223-4 he states that the Phoenicians merely followed the Greeks into Sicily, which conflicts with Thucydides. Lastly, M. Jardé takes no account of the excavations at Sparta, and therefore fails to see the true importance of the sixth century as a turning-point in Spartan history. Nevertheless his work as a whole is eminently trustworthy, and it should prove thoroughly satisfactory to readers who do not want everything made 'so simple.'

Ancient Furniture: a History of Greek Etruscan and Roman Furniture.

By GISELA M. A. RICHTER. Pp. 191; frontispiece and 364 figs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. £5 5s.

Some time ago a reviewer in these pages complained of the cost of a book by Miss Richter, and the criticism applies equally to this work. It is a beautiful book, lavishly illustrated and expensively printed. From vase-paintings and elsewhere Miss Richter has collected material for reconstructions of the principal types of ancient furniture. In doing this she has filled a gap in our literature, and she has filled it well. If her conclusions are not strikingly novel, they are well emphasised and thoroughly documented. She has gone far to recreate a lost world of beautiful forms, and few books have been published more calculated to appeal at once to the narrow circle of classical scholars and to the wider audience of art lovers of all ages. Her little monograph could be read with profit alike by the specialist and the popular world; the keener is our regret that its grandiose format will, in this country at least, inevitably limit its usefulness. We gather from the preface that the book is intended to be of service to 'the present-day craftsman'; it would be well if a second edition could bear a price more suited to his pocket; and if at the same time the archaeological jargon such as *Kylix* or Br.-Br., *Denk.*, unintelligible to all but a Museum expert, could be excised, or at any rate explained.

Arkona, Rethra, Vineta. By CARL SCHUCHHARDT. Pp. 102; 29 figs. Berlin: Schoetz & Co., 1926.

An account of explorations in the Baltic area: Slav sanctuaries and a lost trade-centre of the Vikings. To discuss it at length would be to go out of the province of the Hellenic Society, but it is suggestive to find so far north a type of temple known in Gaul and a deity with a drinking-horn who recalls the Roman Lar.

Le Dessin chez les Grecs, d'après les vases peints. By EDMOND POTTIER. Pp. 46 + 16 plates. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926.

A little book such as only a master of the subject could have written. Into a few pages M. Pottier condenses a wealth of observations on the evolution of Greek vase painting and on the lessons it has to teach the present day. Of the plates the series illustrating the development of shapes is wonderfully complete; but those illustrating the styles of drawing are too small in scale; still for a small popular introduction to the subject the book is a marvel of compression and completeness.

Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe A.: Regesten. Abt. I.: Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches. 2 Teil. Regesten von 1025-1204. By FRANZ DÖLGER. Pp. xxi + 108. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1925.

The first part of this important collection was reviewed in *J.H.S.* XLV. p. 144; the second part, which is now published, continues the work down to the taking of Constantinople and the Fourth Crusade. As before, it consists of summaries arranged chronologically of the Imperial documents of the Eastern Empire, to which is prefixed an elaborate bibliography of sources. The value of such an index to students of Byzantine history is obvious.

Platon, Oeuvres Complètes: Tome IV, I^{re} Partie—Phédon. Text établi et traduit par LÉON ROBIN. Pp. lxxxvi + 120 leaves. **Tome X, Timée, Critias.** Text établi et traduit par ALBERT RIVAUD. 120 leaves.

Lysias, Discours, Tome II. Text établi et traduit par LOUIS GERNET et MARCEL BIZOS. Pp. 7 + 564 + 19.

Bucoliques Grecs: Tome I, Théocrite. Text établi et traduit par PH. E. LEGRAND. Pp. xxxiv + 223.
Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 95, Boulevard Raspail.

Marc Aurèle. 'A Moi-même.' Vol. I. Traduction en Français par G. LOISEL. Pp. xxxiv + 325. Paris: Les Presses universitaires de France, 1926.

Of these five French editions of important Greek texts the first four are produced by the Association Guillaume Budé, and follow the general plan of this well-known series—introduction followed by text and translation interleaved. The *Theocritus* volume contains a general introduction as well as notes at the head of each Idyll. The last contains no text, but adds a useful bibliographic index. The translator has divided the text of each book into twelve chapters for reasons which he explains in the introduction.

Aristides, Libri Rhetorici II. Edidit W. SCHMIDT. Pp. 146. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. *M.* 6.

Euripides, Ion. Erklärt von U. V. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Pp. 163. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1926. *M.* 5.70.

Historische griechische Epigramme. Ausgewählt von FRIEDRICH FRHR. HILLER V. GAERTRINGEN. Pp. 64. Bonn: Marcus and Webers, 1926. *M.* 3.40.

Three German editions of texts; the first, in the Teubner series, contains text with brief critical notes and short introductions on the MSS. and the printed editions. The second comprises the text with brief critical notes and a lengthy introduction and commentary, dealing mainly with the literary interpretation of the play. The third is a collection of a hundred and thirty-four Greek epigrams illustrative of historical events; they are drawn alike from the anthology and archaeological discovery, and range from 600 B.C. to A.D. 527. Full references are appended and the whole makes a singularly attractive little booklet.

Some Notes on the Text of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo.' By W. L. LORIMER. Pp. ix + 148. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, 1925.

This is a continuation of the detailed study Mr. Lorimer has made of the text of the curious little treatise which has had the fate of being fathered on Aristotle (see *J.H.S.* XLV. p. 152). Mr. Lorimer begins with some fresh evidence about the MSS., in connexion with which he has collated seven more examples, and gives us some further groupings in the complicated

pedigree of the documents. The remainder of the book is devoted to an examination of various difficult or obscure readings; and at the end some problems of the relation between the *De Mundo* and other works are discussed in appendices.

Γεωργίου Γενναδίου βίος, ἔργα, ἐπιστολαί. 'Τπὸ Ξενοφώντος' Ἀναστασιάδου.
2 vols. Pp. xviii + 543. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. Fr. 50.

The life of George Gennadius was one of unostentatious but unflinching devotion to duty, and Modern Greece owes much to him. He showed a lifelong enthusiasm for education, but with him, as with Koraes, the passion for teaching was combined with the fire of patriotism. Part of the lives of both men fell in the stormy period of the Greek Revolution, and while Koraes fought with the pen, Gennadius took his share in the actual combat, and by his example revived the drooping spirit of his countrymen after the fall of Missolonghi. But the chief debt owed by Modern Greece to Gennadius is on the score of his inspiration as a Christian teacher, and in his enthusiasm for teaching he never flagged, despite innumerable discouragements. This is well brought out in the present exhaustive work, which is based upon a study of all available documents. It shows how Gennadius devoted himself to the task of teaching at Odessa, Bucharest (where he was the inspirer of the ill-fated 'Sacred Band'), and, after the interruption caused by the War of Independence, at Aegina and Athens. He took a leading part in the organisation of the Gymnasium, the formation of a National Printing Press and Library, and an Archaeological Collection. His example, as the author remarks, was Socratic, and herein lies the secret of his influence on succeeding generations. The life of such a man is well worth telling, and a plain narrative, with sufficient documentation to attest his spirit and activities might perhaps have proved more effectual than the somewhat wearisome repetition of evidence to show that he was slighted and that others strove too often to appropriate the credit of his labours. This strikes a controversial note which is rather discordant in the biography of so disinterested and single-minded a patriot. The book, however, which must have involved much labour and research, will be indispensable to all who are interested in Gennadius and his influence on Modern Greek education.

Troy and Paeonia, with glimpses of ancient Balkan History and Religion. By GRACE HARRIET MACURDY. Columbia University Press, 1925. Pp. xi + 259. 20s.

The fifteen chapters which compose this book are, the author tells us, largely based on articles which she has contributed to learned journals in England and America. There is a certain percentage of extremely useful material, but a much larger residuum of highly conjectural work, mainly on religious and etymological topics. The first seven chapters keep us in the main in touch with reality. The oldest legends of Troy are correlated with her oldest remains in Chapter I in a slight but interesting study. The next chapter raises some important questions concerning the proper classification of North Greek place-names, particularly those ending in -ων or -δων. The examination of the name Sarpedon is fruitful, and the establishment of a group of names derived from natural objects of local importance is a contribution of no little value to the philological problems of North Greece (p. 35 ff.).

Chapter III is, perhaps, the best in the book. The author establishes the conclusion from the evidence of Homer, supported by a variety of other material, that the ancestry of the Macedonian phalanx is clearly found in the methods of fighting employed before the walls of Troy. The term ἀρχιμαχηταί, she maintains, is applied chiefly to tribes of North Greek origin, or, if one prefers it, 'Danubians,' such as Dardanians, Mysians, Myrmidons. For the most part the term seems to be applied to the Trojans, who were by race of more recent Danubian stock than their opponents.

The whole of this analysis seems convincing; conclusions of this type are obviously of great value. The discovery of the ancestry of the phalanx before the walls of Troy must clearly suggest further research on these lines. The author should follow up her own

additional suggestion that 'the Macedonian *πεζέταιροι* preserved the name and the function of the Homeric *ἔταιροι*' (p. 49). Her further postulate, that 'close-fighting' or 'mass-fighting' is a military invention peculiar to 'Danubians,' has even more evidence to support it than she adduces: Geometric vases almost show us the measured tramp of disciplined Northern troops; in fact military discipline as such may have been at the bottom of the success of Northern invaders. Certainly there is no trace of any such thing in Bronze Age Greece, except on the Warrior Vase from Mycenae, which is assigned to Northern influence. The contrast the author makes between the prevalence of 'close-fighting' on the Trojan side and its absence on the Greek side is not really a true contrast. She provides her own refutation by the discussion of the word *πυργηδόν*. This as applied to Greeks is but a poetic variation of *ἀγχιμαχηταί*. Each word indicates the serried ranks of properly disciplined forces. The presence of the Myrmidons, who were *ἀγχιμαχηταί*, on the Greek side makes it really impossible to suggest that Trojans fought in an essentially different way from Greeks.

The chapter on the Trojan names of the *Iliad* is suggestive and useful, but Chapter VI on Paeonia has little original in it and reads more like a chapter in a Geographical Dictionary than as an original study. Had the author a knowledge of the land she talks about she might have found that her book research would have proved fruitful. Chapter VII deals with Paeonian etymologies; it is a discouraging chapter. The peony is an interesting flower from many points of view, but deserves, I think, less attention than it gets here. Certainly the discussion of it would be helped more by the omission of Pliny's puerilities on the subject.

The remaining chapters are confined to religious topics. They lead us into a strange land where nothing is as it seems, where conflation leads to inflation, and a single word is the spark that sets vast haystacks aflame, with the consequent loss of the needle which lurked there. Sequences like *Μῶς*-moss-mire-muses lead to the equation Moesians = Moss-troopers, Muses = Moss-nymphs (p. 216 ff.). We have seen the same sort of thing recently in a series of similar studies by Professor Elderkin. Research on etymologico-religious lines tends to warp the judgment.

The following criticisms in detail suggest themselves. The author is not quite happy in her standardisation of names; in one line on p. 83 we find Pangaeon and Paion; on p. 202 we read Solavic, while on p. 201 it is Slavic. The author wonders how early Nordic influence reached Troy (p. 9). Probably it arrived with the founders of Troy I. On p. 42 we are told that the archaeological evidence indicates 'an old caravan route from Dardania-Paeonia as far as Aenos and connecting with Troy.' I should dearly like to see this evidence, particularly for the Aenos section. I doubt if the author has it up her sleeve. On p. 58 and elsewhere the author refers to the 'kurgans' of the Steppe-folk. Here she is using a most misleading term, and the fault is not hers, but belongs to those who first introduced the term. 'Kurgans,' or more simply, mounds, are built by people of the 'Painted pottery culture' of the Chalcolithic Age, by Danubian Bronze Age people, by Thracians and Sarmatians of the historic periods and by mediaeval folk. The plains of Macedonia, Bulgaria, the Dobrudja, the Caucasus and South Russia are littered with them. The 'Steppe-folk' certainly built 'kurgans' or mounds, but all who built them are not Steppe-folk. So that a mere mound is almost useless as evidence before it is dug. Areas rich in mounds might prove to be wholly Sarmatian, or Petcheneg, or heaven knows what. Easy generalisations about mound-builders are most dangerous.

The following printing and spelling errors were noted. On p. 13 a note reference is omitted. 'Dusseaud' occurs for Dussaud on p. 30 in text and note, and two accents are omitted in the title of that author's book there referred to. On p. 46, note 5 has a wrong number in the text. On p. 75 Douripos should be Douripos. The chapter heading to Chapter VII is correct, but the page headlines throughout read 'Paeonia Sun-Worship.' This non-inflexional headline habit is out of place in a learned work. There is another instance of it on p. 23, where we read of a 'Pangaeum tribe.' On p. 193 we are told that the coins of Thessaly 'testify to the worship of the great Thessalian god Poseidon.' Unfortunately only the coins of three places (Cierium, Crannon and Magnesia) do this: the majority testify to the worship of Zeus.

There is much repetition. We are told three times of the same method of sun-worship by placing a disc on the end of a pole (pp. 88, 98, and 105), and are given twice a long list from Hesiod of river names (pp. 12 and 125). Meaningless modernisms like 'Earth-mother-complex' (pp. 152 and 155) should be avoided.

As a piece of library research the book is undoubtedly interesting. But the author's entire inability to handle archaeological evidence or to criticise the dogmas of others makes it uneven reading.

S. C.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of W. D. Ross. *Ethica Nicomachea.* By W. D. Ross. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. (Pages not numbered.) 7s. 6d. net.

The issue of Mr. Ross's translation of the Nicomachean Ethics completes the ethical volume (Vol. IX) of the Oxford translation of Aristotle's works. A better guide to the student than the version of F. H. Peters, first published in 1881, has long been needed; and those who know the quality of Mr. Ross's work on Aristotle will be glad that he has himself undertaken the duty of supplying it. A comparison on any page of the new version with the old shows a great advance in accuracy and conciseness, which is, of course, especially noticeable in the more technical passages (*e.g.* Book VI). But the worst defect of Peters' version is the half-hearted attempt to usurp the place of a commentary by means of foot-notes and bracketed interpolations in the text. Now that commentaries are easily accessible these notes and interpolations have become a positive nuisance. Mr. Ross has, of course, rigorously confined himself to the office of translator; and that office he has performed, as usual, with skill and judgment. On all accounts, therefore, this translation is assured of the welcome which it deserves.

J. L. S.

Comparative Philosophy. By PAUL MASSON-OURSSEL, with an Introduction by F. G. CROOKSHANK, M.D. Pp. 212. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1926. 10s. 6d.

M. Masson-Oursel is impelled to protest against the narrowly limited outlook of European philosophers, who for the most part are content to restrict their investigations to the thought of their own civilisation. No survey of the human mind, he justly argues, can be even moderately complete unless it embraces at least the peoples of India and China as well as those of Europe. 'Positive philosophy must be comparative philosophy' is his favourite aphorism. Positive philosophy must take its facts from history, not from introspection, and the wider its net is thrown and the more comparative it becomes, the more permanently valuable its results are likely to be. M. Masson-Oursel has no great faith in philosophy as affording much knowledge of the real, but metaphysical systems 'do at least bring into the full light of day the assemblage of postulates that at a given period, or in a certain intellectual environment, would have been spontaneously set up as necessary or universal conditions of being.' This is not the place to discuss the philosophical implications of the book or the somewhat unconvincing theory that 'positive' results are best expressed in the form of a proportion, *e.g.* 'Confucius was in China that which Socrates was in Greece: he who frees the speculation of his own time from a generalised sophistry; he who by application of a new organon prepares new dogmatisms'—a theory largely due to the enormous importance which the author rightly attaches to the study of the inter-relations of thought and environment. Moreover, as the bulk of the book deals with Indian and Chinese philosophy, it would more properly be reviewed by an Oriental expert. The writer of this notice can hardly venture further than to recommend it to the student of Greek thought, as calculated to broaden his outlook and to afford him interesting parallels and contrasts with Hellenic doctrines.

It is a remarkable fact that the sixth century B.C. saw the beginnings of philosophical

speculation not only in Europe but also in India and China, and, without attempting to explain this singular phenomenon or to impair the autonomy of the three cultures, M. Masson-Oursel argues that at times there was much closer contact and much greater sympathy in things spiritual between Hellenism and Indianism than there is between Europe and Asia to-day. The course of intellectual evolution in East and West is in many respects extraordinarily similar. Thus the sophist 'with no conviction save that of the relativity of all convictions and of the supremacy of reason' is at least as supreme throughout Chinese and Indian antiquity as in Hellas in the times of Pericles'; and we have the diverting spectacle of a Greek king of Bactria in the second century B.C. arguing with the Indian sophist Nagasena. When we read of Kung-sun Lung maintaining that a white horse is not a horse, or Confucius holding that the names of things strictly represent their nature, or of mind in the Samkhya ruling over a nature with which it has no concern, or of the attributes of the inexpressible Tao, or of Buddha passing from the relative to the absolute and back again, we might imagine ourselves dreaming about Antisthenes, Cratylus, Aristotle and Plotinus under strange names. On the other hand, M. Masson-Oursel is no less concerned to point out differences. Thus India, he says, never placed spirit and body in antithesis as two substances, nor did the East ever invent a philosophy of concepts, 'distilled from common speech and vulgar opinion.' 'Will is a European invention,' and a late one at that. Confucius thought moral degradation the consequence of intellectual disorder, and is thus in agreement with Socrates, who had no doctrine of will. And here we may remark by the way with what careful limitations M. Masson-Oursel's ideal proportional formulae require to be hedged; for however much Socrates may resemble Confucius in his unconsciousness of will, he is utterly unlike him in his preoccupation with concepts.

Besides an interesting and judicious introduction by Dr. Crookshank, the book contains useful bibliographies and an elaborate comparative chronology of philosophy. It certainly cannot be called easy reading, but that is doubtless due partly to its being a translation and partly to the difficulty of much of its subject matter.

J. H. S.

Die Anfänge der europäischen Philosophie. By ERNST HOWALD. Pp. 119. München: C. H. Beck, 1925.

This book traces the history of the 'thought-forms' or 'thought-symbols' which Dr. Howald finds in the Greek philosophers from Thales to Plato. He strongly upholds the view that philosophy originated in the atmosphere of the mystery religions. 'Anaximander needs the harmony of the macrocosm, since his own microcosm lacks it. He tries to disguise the rift in his own nature by taking the Cosmos as a symbol of harmonious being' (p. 15). In the famous fragment of Anaximander 'the notions of sin and punishment are transferred to the macrocosm, which is the symbol for the microcosm' (p. 21). These quotations illustrate what Dr. Howald means by 'thought-symbol,' a right understanding of which is the clue to his somewhat intricate argument. It cannot, we think, be denied that his treatment is at times highly subjective. There is no evidence that Thales was afflicted with 'Zweispältigkeit' of nature, but none the less Dr. Howald thinks it probable that he too sought in the outward world what he could not find within himself, and that he actually employed the word 'harmony.' But we do not know that even Anaximander used the word (pp. 14, 16). In an interesting and trenchant criticism of Parmenides we are told that that sage, unable to discover any unity or harmony in outward things, dreamed it and made his dream into the sole reality (p. 63). Dr. Howald is nothing if not dogmatic, and his dogmatism becomes particularly marked in the latter part of the book. He is quite certain that the 'Zahlenmystik' of the Pythagoreans, especially its wholesale application to cosmology, arose under Platonic influence in the middle of the fourth century, and that most of Aristotle's evidence thereon is derived from Pythagorean literature written subsequently to the *Timaeus*, in particular from the pseudo-Philolaüs, who imitated Plato (pp. 42, 43). Socrates he regards as simply an exaggerated individualist, whose aim was not to teach or discover anything, but merely to humiliate his sophistic opponents, because 'the *libido excellendi* is the true Antichrist of the individualist' (p. 108). After his death

the pupils of Socrates, naturally enough, found his programme unsatisfying and his thought without content; so they struck out on lines of their own (p. 109). Dr. Howald entirely leaves out of account the manysidedness of Socrates' character and the real contributions which, whether we believe Aristotle or Professor Burnet, were made by him to philosophical method. Again, we are told that though Socrates had great influence on Plato's life, yet he contributed nothing to his thought (pp. 110, 111). These positions, startling enough to the English student of Greek philosophy, are merely stated, not argued. Nor does Dr. Howald give any references to current literature on such questions. There are some good things in the book, but many of Dr. Howald's statements are tough and indigestible.

J. H. S.

Vitruv und die Poliorketiker: Vitruv und die Christliche Antike. By W. SACKUR. Pp. xii + 191; figs. 71. Berlin: W. Ernst and Son, 1925. M.15.

This is a noteworthy book. It makes difficult reading; much of it is occupied with the sheer detail of joinery and carpentry. But the layman who, disregarding its forbiddingly technical aspect, dares to plunge into the argument, will find the way made plain for him by adequate assistance in the shape of diagrams and illustrations and will be rewarded by some very definite results.

The work falls into two parts, each centred upon the figure of Vitruvius, who thus provides a connecting link. The second and smaller part is purely architectural, arguing for an absolute continuity of building tradition between Vitruvius and the Middle Ages. The open-work roof of the Christian basilica is traced back to the Vitruvian basilica; and the tradition remained intact until the Renaissance mistranslated its author while pretending to restore the genuine practice of his art.

The larger part of the book is a comparative study of four texts—Vitruvius, Apollodorus of Damascus who bridged the Danube for Trajan, Athenaeus Mechanicus and the Anonymus Byzantinus. Here again the practical point of view is uppermost; behind all obscurities and corruptions of texts, the writers are referring to mechanism that must have worked. In carrying out this principle, much new light is thrown on the history of the Vitruvian text in its later rehashes. Athenaeus Mechanicus is finally dissected into a contemporary of Archimedes and a very late compiler; and the Anonymus of Byzantium fares even worse. Incidentally, our author vigorously defends Vitruvius from the charge of being himself a compiler. As he says, every text-book must be in some measure a compilation; the point is, did Vitruvius understand what he was talking about? The later writers did not.

The whole leaves us with an enhanced sense of the powers of ancient engineering. The Renaissance thought it a marvel to move the Vatican obelisk three hundred yards, whereas the ancients seem to have taken its transport all the way from Egypt as a matter of every-day practice (in this country we may recall the fuss made over Cleopatra's Needle last century). The battering-ram of Hegetor was as great an achievement in its way as the big gun of a battleship. The restoration of this cumbersome mass of beams, ropes, windlasses and creaking wheels is particularly imposing; and this is only one of the good things the book contains for students of ancient warfare.

Space forbids us to linger on other points discussed (among them Caesar's Rhine bridge, that friend of our youth); but enough has been said to indicate the suggestiveness and general historical interest of this book, which at first glance seems intended only for a specialised audience. Rarely have technical knowledge and literary scholarship been so happily blended.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol. III. Pp. xxv + 821. Cambridge University Press, 1925. 35s.

The editors of the Cambridge Ancient History have now got thoroughly into their stride. The careful cross-references, the accurate standardisation of fact and theory in the different

articles, give some small indication of the enormous labour involved in the production of each volume. The generous allowance of maps is an improvement on the previous volumes.

The period dealt with in this volume is that which is the prelude to the swift strides in culture and racial movement which begin in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries to reshape the course of events with unprecedented rapidity and to lay the basis of the world as it became known to Greeks and Romans. We are shown the setting of these events. Greece, soon to become the focus of attention (and as a result occupying the historic limelight more and more in these pages), is an uneasy centre with a periphery of shifting and uncertain peoples and empires. We are shown by Mr. Wade Gery the gradual evolution of the newly-moulded Hellenic race in its first cities, and by Prof. Adcock, in a most illuminating chapter, the way in which the city-state as such developed. Prof. Myres, with his customary fluency, explains the gradually increasing centrifugal movements of the Greeks into colonies and new domains. Dr. Minns shows us one aspect of the background in his analysis of the barbarians of the Pontic regions, while Dr. Hogarth gives us the situation in Anatolia. The more stable parts of the periphery are dealt with faithfully by Mr. Sidney Smith, Prof. Sayce, Dr. Campbell Thompson, Dr. Hall, Dr. Cook and others. Of the contributions of these latter the reviewer is not competent to express more than his appreciation; Dr. Hall's stimulating chapter on Oriental Art of the period and Dr. Campbell Thompson's very readable account of Babylonia seem to be exactly the sort of article best suited to works of this type.

In the chapters which deal with the development of Greek culture Mr. Wade Gery seems to have provided at once the most original and the most interesting section. His constant reference to contemporary literature and his really attractive style make what might be a dreary record of confused chronology into an absorbing narrative that compels the reader to read on to the finish. He has mastered the difficulties of handling the archaeological evidence (as pp. 531 and 538). A few criticisms suggest themselves. On p. 533 he seems to attribute the invention of the phalanx method of fighting to Euboea. Recent investigation and a re-reading of the *Iliad* may suggest to him that such methods are much older. The Lelantine war (p. 535) seems to be magnified into an international affair of vast proportions (see also p. 622), whereas there is little to show that it was more than a local dispute in which other states took sides that implied sympathy but little co-operation. Perhaps the most interesting part of this section is the account of Argos under Pheidon (pp. 539 ff.). Mr. Wade Gery might have increased the scope of his paper by an account of the arts in Argos and Sikyon. After all, there is every reason to think that in mainland Greece the art of painting arose in the latter and sculpture in the former.

Dr. Cary's brief account of the states of Northern and Central Greece is clear and sufficient, a most useful preliminary to the full tide of Greek history in these parts. He is, I think, wrong in correlating the Cretan myths of Delphi with the Minoan relics (p. 625). This is, in fact, often done, but it is illusory; the Cretan myths are wholly post-Mycenaean, probably of Cretan-Dorian origin. The description of Tempe as an 'earthquake fissure' (p. 598) is wrong; it is a typical 'erosion valley,' as T. H. Huxley long ago pointed out. The story of Poseidon's earthquake is what Tylor called an 'observation myth,' and the observation was faulty. The author's reference to the 'promise of Boeotian sculpture' (p. 610) is unhappy. It was one of the few regions of Greece where native sculptors showed none.

The article by Prof. Myres on the period of colonisation is full of good matter. Beyond a tendency to make the areas of colonisation a little too clean cut, there is nothing that could be criticised. 'Stryme Island' I do not understand (p. 654), and it seems dubious to attribute the temple at Segesta to the influence of Megarian culture (p. 632). Dikaia (p. 651) should have been shown on the map.

Dr. Minns raises many points of interest; if the Budini are, as he says (p. 192), more civilised than their neighbours, it seems strange to place them as far inland as Kazan, where no influence could reach them that was not utterly savage. But his whole account crystallises recent work on Scythia into convenient compass.

The account of early Athens is also a useful summary. But there should have been some account of the organisation of the great families of Attica, and a fuller account of

Proto-Attic art. It is perhaps worth noting that the Neolithic pottery from the Acropolis region is *not* 'Aegean' in type but Central Greek, a very different matter (p. 572).

The bibliographies and chronologies make the volume a permanent work of reference.
S. C.

La Céramique des Cyclades. By CHARLES DUGAS. Pp. viii + 290; 17 plates + 123 figs. Paris: De Boccard, 1925.

Prof. Dugas's new book is the first comprehensive treatment of the history of Cycladic pottery from the earliest times down to the sixth century. To the published material, which has been carefully collected, important unpublished finds are added, and the value of this study is therefore manifest. We cannot, however, feel that our knowledge of Cycladic pottery after the prehistoric period stands on a firm basis until the long-delayed publication of the Mykonos Museum, which contains the finds from the Catharsis Grave at Rheneia, has been accomplished, and it seems a pity that Prof. Dugas did not think fit to whet the appetite for that event by including more of the Mykonos material. Of the photographic illustrations in this book, considerably more than half are already familiar from other works, and that though several entirely unknown fabrics and hundreds of individual specimens have been awaiting publication in the Mykonos Museum for many years. None the less this is a useful study, and though there are many questions which it does not settle, it makes a very convenient basis for further investigation.

Alexander und Aegypten. Von VICTOR EHRENBURG. Pp. 59. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926. Rmk. 2.00.

This monograph is essentially an analysis of the motives and principles which underlay the policy of Alexander in regard to Egypt and their relation to his theory of empire as finally developed. It is an interesting piece of work and worth reading, though it would seem that the author's natural enthusiasm for his subject has led him to push his search for spiritual rather than material explanations of facts further than is necessary. For instance, it is no doubt true that Ptolemy I was one of the first of the Successors to aim at breaking up the Empire, or at any rate at carving out a separate domain for himself (p. 56), but it may be doubted whether the delay in moving the seat of government of his kingdom from Memphis to Alexandria was due so much to the development of his ideas in this respect as to the fact that the administrative machinery would have to remain at the old capital till provision could be made for housing it at the new one: the difficulties of transfer would be greater than in the move from Constantinople to Angora, which offers some parallels.

Another example of the same kind may be found in the account of the journey of Alexander to the oasis of Ammon; and, as this is regarded by Mr. Ehrenberg as giving a keynote to the imperialist ideals of Alexander, and its military significance has been generally disregarded, it may be worth while to examine the position a little more fully. Alexander, as Mr. Ehrenberg recognises, was bound to secure his right flank before advancing into Persia, though the occupation of Egypt proved to be little more than 'mopping up'; and, having occupied the country, he had to safeguard the frontiers. He held the northern and eastern approaches, and the southern gateway has always been easy to close by a competent military Power; but the western desert was a more evasive element. He doubtless knew that more or less serious raids were made on the valley from this quarter at intervals, and he may have heard accounts of the occupation of Egypt by Libyans: the oases were the gathering grounds for these raids, and the oasis of Ammon the chief among them; and it was in full accord with his usual practice, as shown on other occasions, to make a personal reconnaissance. A large body of men could not cross the desert without serious difficulty, and a small one, if professedly going for scouting purposes, would probably have been opposed by the natives: so, though Alexander would no doubt have been pre-

pared to take a risk if necessary, he adopted the prudent plan of camouflage, and, by cloaking his real object under an elaborate fiction of religious motives, he was able to reach the oasis and survey the situation as a welcome guest. There is no evidence that Alexander gave any further thought to Ammon—the proposed funeral in the oasis seems to belong to the same family of disguises, in respect of which Alexander's generals had learnt his art—but, as he was presumably satisfied that the western frontier could be guarded without the occupation of the oases, there was nothing in subsequent events to destroy the illusion which he had created so successfully that it imposed not only on the inhabitants of the oasis, but on contemporary and later historians.

J. G. M.

Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage. Von HELMUT BERVE.
Band I., Darstellung. Pp. xvi + 357. Band II., Prosopographie. Pp. vii + 446.
München: C. H. Beck, 1926.

The first volume of this work contains a summary, which appears to be fairly complete, of the evidence in ancient records concerning the life and surrounding circumstances of Alexander and the organisation of his army and empire, together with a certain number of references to recent literature on the subject, in respect of which it is less exhaustive. The bibliography is extensive in citations of German dissertations, but the writer's acquaintance with foreign works seems to be limited: for instance, except for a casual reference in a footnote, there is nothing to show that he has even heard of Ramsay. In the second volume the known facts concerning every man or woman whose name occurs in any connexion with Alexander are set out in a dictionary which reaches the total of 833 entries, besides 82 more persons whose claim to inclusion in the select circle is not sufficient. The book possesses value as an index of the material which has come under the writer's observation, and within these limits can serve a useful end.

Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period. By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.
Pp. xx + 208, with 39 plates. John Murray, 1926. 24s.

Mrs. Douglas Van Buren has again rendered a real service to students of Archaic Greek Art and Architecture. It has been no easy matter to compile a comprehensive account of the different sites in mainland Greece and the Greek islands at which archaic terra-cotta architectural remains have been found—and they number forty-seven, at many of which were several buildings so decorated—together with a description and an analytical table of the types represented at each, and this achievement by itself would merit warm recognition. Her latest book, however, which in format resembles her two previous ones on the similar material from Etruria and Latium and from Sicily and Magna Graecia respectively (reviewed in *J.H.S.* xli. p. 289 f., and xliii. pp. 199 ff.), and in arrangement approximates closely to the latter, gives us much more than a tabulation of sites and finds. It includes a critical conspectus of the extensive material from a number of the more important sites, much of which is unpublished or at least has been much neglected; and without in any way forestalling the ultimate publication gives us a most useful guide as to the types of terra-cottas found and their chronological classification. It is gratifying to learn that Dr. Buschor is making important discoveries in his re-examination of the material from the Athenian Acropolis, that Mrs. Hill, to whom the book is dedicated, is preparing a full publication of the rich finds from Corinth, and that Dr. K. Romaos has in hand an exhaustive account of the remarkably varied and interesting material from Thermon. In the meantime we warmly welcome Mrs. Van Buren's interim report both on this material and on that from the many other sites, and acknowledge no less gratefully her numerous suggestions as to places of manufacture, and as to the dating and interpretation of obscure and damaged pieces, and her parallels from many sites lying outside the scope of this book.

Full justice cannot be done in a short notice to the contents of a work so rich in detail,

J.H.S.—VOL. XLVI.

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but we may note the suggestion that the typical Peloponnesian disc *akroteria* (of which a fine example from Bassae is shown restored on Pl. XVII.) originated at Sparta (p. 18), and were introduced by Messenian colonists into Magna Graecia by way of Rhegion; that Theban craftsmen may have made the pieces found at Halae by Miss Goldman, and that Locrian emigrants took these traditions with them to Locri Epizephyrii; and the recognition that there is a strong Ionian tradition in the earlier material at Thermon, subsequently replaced, late in the sixth century, by increasing Corinthian influence. At the same time we must remember that until all the material is more fully studied and made available with large-scale illustrations, some of the conclusions here arrived at must not be treated as final. New evidence may be forthcoming at any moment, and Dr. Romaïos's important finds at Kalydon, in the summer of 1926, with their incised Corinthian inscriptions on many of the slabs, seem likely to provide much food for thought.

Where so much material is summarised and so extensive a bibliography handled, it is not surprising that a few minor inaccuracies in proof-correcting should remain. We note, among proper names, that Boeckh lacks his final letter (p. 1); that Dr. Papadakis appears on p. x as Pappadakis, though correctly elsewhere; that Mr. Stanley Casson's first name is given as Sidney (p. xv); that Dr. Papabasileiou appears in a nominative form (p. 43¹); and Mr. A. G. Russell as A. J. Russel (p. 58¹). A stray breathing should have been removed from Δῆλ. (p. xx⁸), and on p. 138 Fougères is wrongly accented. We are once again rather intrigued by the transliteration of Greek words and place-names. Is it mere pedantry to ask why *akroterion* and *cymation* are not equated; and why Halae is left as a latinised form where nearly all other places are given a literal transcription from the Greek? Alongside it, Sounion seems almost over-scrupulous. And in the otherwise admirable map (facing p. 1) a different system is followed, for we find there Epidaurus, Karystus, Sunion, and Ptoion (in contrast to Ptoon in the text).

The illustrations, which are plentiful, giving us 145 figures on 39 plates, are unequal, and a rather high proportion are distinctly out of focus. The best, admittedly, could not be bettered. But remembering the difficulty of securing anything like adequate reproductions of small fragments in remote museums in Greece, we would rather end on a note of gratitude for the labour which has brought so much scattered material into so attractive and handy a form. and, at the risk of insisting on the obvious, assure the authoress that her book will be absolutely indispensable to anyone who has to handle Greek architectural *terra-cottas*.

Henry Jackson: a memoir. By R. ST. JOHN PARRY. Pp. viii + 299, and a portrait. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. 15s. net.

This memoir of the late Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, by the Vice-Master of Trinity, will appeal mainly to his old friends, to whom no doubt it is chiefly addressed. To those who had not the privilege of knowing him, his peculiar charm, about which all are agreed, remains a little elusive in spite of Dr. Parry's biographical notes and the copious extracts from his letters, which begin with his school-days and continue to his death in 1921. But the sort of charm which Henry Jackson possessed is incommunicable, because it was kindled by human intercourse and did not depend so much on the kind of wit that can be preserved for the enjoyment of the future in the anecdotes of friends and in his own correspondence. The fact is that Henry Jackson was a born talker, and not a born letter-writer; interesting as his letters often are in disclosing his literary likes and dislikes, his ideas about philosophy and his political prejudices, one feels that they reveal only half his nature, and that perhaps not the most characteristic.

New Chapters in Greek Art. By PERCY GARDNER. Pp. xvi + 367; 16 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 21s. net.

The title and method of this book are alike somewhat misleading. There is little that can be called new about these papers, which are for the most part reprinted with slight

variations from articles contributed by Prof. Gardner to this and other journals during the past half-century. If he had left them in their original condition, adding only as a precaution the date of their first publication, the collection would have had a historical value as representing the state of archaeological knowledge at various points in the last fifty years; but he has attempted to bring them up to date without fundamentally rewriting them, by simply adding footnote references to recent publications. Moreover, some of Prof. Gardner's subjects have lost a good deal of their urgency through the mere lapse of time; for example, his criticisms of Furtwängler and Wickhoff, sound enough in themselves and salutary as they may have been a generation ago, seem a little irrelevant to the student of to-day, who is not very liable to fall a victim to these particular forms of seduction. Where Prof. Gardner leaves the general for the particular he does far better. His account of the Ashmolean statue from Deepdene is useful, and he has collected a good deal of interesting information about the Antioch of Eutychides and its spiritual progeny down to the Britannia on the reverse of our pennies. The chapter on the Greek stage contains material not easily accessible elsewhere, and the review of the archaeological discoveries of the last half-century, a subject on which Prof. Gardner is well qualified to speak from personal recollection, is very well worth having. About the format of the book there is not much to be said, except that it is rather heavy.

Classical Studies. By J. W. MACKAIL. Pp. viii + 253. London: John Murray, 1925. 7s. 6d. net.

This volume of studies is not an apology for the classics; for, as Prof. Mackail himself says in his preface, 'the classics require no defence.' Its object is rather to demonstrate how a knowledge and appreciation of the literature and thought of Greece and Rome are not so much a graceful 'extra' as a vital necessity in any liberal education worthy of the name. He urges us to read the classics in the original tongues, and to read them for their own sakes; but not in an idly aesthetic spirit, always rather for their unrivalled power to refresh our intelligence, to maintain in us a fastidious sense of values, and generally to quicken and fertilise our imaginative life. The subjects Prof. Mackail chooses with this end in view are taken from the whole range of ancient literature, from Homer to Ammianus Marcellinus, a fact which in itself will serve to show the catholicity of his tastes and the wisdom of his decision to break away from the old preoccupation with the so-called 'golden ages,' a bad habit which destroyed that sense of continuity and tradition whose importance alike to the general reader and to the specialist can hardly be overrated.

The Tale of Troy, re-told in seven books. By DELPHIS GARDNER. The pictures made and cut by Phyllis and Delphis Gardner. [Pages not numbered.] The Asphodel Press, 1925.

Homer is apparently too long-winded; he takes forty-eight books to describe the events of only twenty years. Miss Gardner, with a charitable regard for modern infirmities, summarises in about forty-eight pages the entire history of the Trojan race, from the judgment of Paris to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with brief accounts of Aeneas and Queen Dido (the index will not allow us to call her just plain Dido), Romulus and Remus, King Beline (who gave his name to Billingsgate) and King Bladud (who was not only the father of King Lear, but also the victim of an aeroplane crash on Ludgate Hill).

Das vorgeschichtliche Hallstatt: zugleich Führer durch die Hallstattsammlung des naturhistorischen Museums in Wien. By DR. A. MAHR. Pp. 67. Vienna: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag, 1925.

Curiously enough, no complete account of the celebrated settlement and cemetery that gives its name to the First Iron Age of continental Europe has ever been published.

Dr. Mahr's admirable brochure, considering its restricted scope, goes a long way to fill the gap and constitutes the best available introduction to a study of the site. The author gives a masterly summary of the excavations, the site and its history. Particularly striking is the vivid description of the method of the old salt miners. The climatological inferences are of great historical importance. In the early part of the Iron Age, mining operations were conducted by means of open shafts that would be impossible under present climatic conditions at a site where the mean annual rainfall is in the region of 80 inches, and confirms the conclusions based upon a study of German peat-bogs that Central Europe had once enjoyed a drier climate than rules to-day. The cessation of mining operations and the return to salt-boiling marks the end of that favoured epoch. Equally interesting to historians is Dr. Mahr's argument that the Hallstatt folk were Illyrians. His chronological table placing Early Hallstatt between 900 and 700 B.C. is a useful warning against the fantastic assertions of certain classical archaeologists, and any tendency to explain the Dipylon and Villanova by copious drafts on an unknown Central Europe. The book contains an exhaustive bibliography and eleven fine plates.

V. G. C.

Collectanea Alexandrina: Reliquiae minores Poetarum Graecorum Aetatis Ptolemaicae 323—146 A.C. Epicorum, Elegiacorum, Lyricorum, Ethicorum. By J. U. POWELL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Pp. xx + 264.

There has long been need of some such book as this, which should collect the remains of the poets belonging to the age which in history is called Hellenistic, but in literature may conveniently be termed Alexandrine. Not only are many of these poems not easily accessible, but their number has of late years been considerably increased by fresh discoveries, and many texts previously known have been improved by new readings. In this handsome volume, excellently printed and produced, Mr. Powell has given students a gift of immense value. Every page bears witness at once to the industry (and only those who have attempted such a task know how laborious it can be) and the erudition of the editor. It is perhaps to be regretted that he did not himself undertake a fresh examination of such papyrus fragments as were accessible, since experience shows that even the twentieth or thirtieth inspection of a damaged text may still prove fruitful in results, and an examination backed by such learning and so fine a scholarship as his should have been specially valuable; but he may have felt that the reading of a faded and only partially legible papyrus is work for the palaeographical expert rather than the scholar. It is certain that some of the newer texts are still in need of improvement; but it is equally clear that in some cases no amount of study is very likely to give a text which will be generally accepted. In the meantime we have here the results of the latest work on the fragments presented in a convenient form and with discriminating judgment. It appears from the preface that a second volume is to follow, which will include the work of most of the epigrammatists.

Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου. Τόμος Γ'. Μέρος πρῶτον. Τουρκοκρατία. By GEORGIOS I. ZOLOTAS. Edited by his daughter, ΑΙΜΙΛΙΑ Κ. ΣΑΡΟΥ. Pp. xxiv + 659. Athens: Τύποις Ἑταιρείας—Π. Δ. Σακελλάριος, 1926. Dr. 100.

This third, in reality fourth, volume of the *History of Chios*,¹ covers the Turkish period from 1566 as far as 1821, and consists of three sections: the Turkish conquest and its results down to the futile Florentine raid of 1599; the visits of travellers, the Candian War and the five months' Venetian occupation of Chios in 1694-95; and the history of literature and education with biographies of Chiote scholars down to 1886. The book shows that the Greeks preferred Turkish to either Genoese or Venetian rule. Under the Turks Chios enjoyed practically autonomy; no Turks were allowed to settle there; the

¹ *J.H.S.* xliii. 70; xliv. 116; xlv. 144.

Turkish garrison was small till after the disastrous raid of 1599, which led to the persecution of the Catholics and the exclusion of the Christians from the castle; taxation was lighter than under the *Maona*; Christian *Deputati* managed local affairs: a consul, called *ephoros*, resided at Constantinople; Greek was the official language till 1885; and a charter of Selim II in 1567 (of which a Greek copy, found by Zolotas, is here published) bestowed privileges upon the islanders, and was confirmed in 1578. Hence the Cretan poet, Bounialès, begged the Venetians not to attack Chios, because its people 'live more quietly than anywhere in the world'; hence the Catholics, not the Orthodox, welcomed the Venetian occupation, of which a long account is given, based on Venetian documents, mostly given in a Greek translation. The returning Turks consequently closed the Catholic churches, except the chapel of the French consulate, and the Catholic fugitives to Modon fled thence to the Ionian island of Megannesi when Modon, too, became Turkish. Successive travellers are cited to prove the prosperity of Chios, 'the paradise of the Greeks,' as Dallaway called it. Chiotes settled in London, and British consuls, and even a British resident in search of a climate, Bracebridge—perhaps an ancestor of the Athenian Bracebridge—are mentioned. A memorial of 1815-18 in French, taken from Mr. Gennadios' MSS., concludes the descriptions of the island. 'With the Turkish conquest,' we are told, 'begins a new era of letters': and the Chiote scholars of this period include Leo Allatios and his rival, George Koresios, Alexander Mavrokordatos, 'the Exaporite,' a clever diplomatist, Paisios Ligarides, the theologian, and Constantine Rodokanakes, who studied at Oxford and wrote poems to Charles II, whose chemist he became. Many Chiotes studied in Rome at S. Atanasio, and we have a full list of them from 1591 to 1791. Chios possessed during the eighteenth century and down to 1822 what became the best school in Greece; Koraës and Neophytos Bambas were both interested, and the latter taught, in it, and in 1817 a library was added. The present work proves that love of learning still distinguishes the Chiotes.

W. M.

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1. **Poems by Kostas Palamas.** Selected and rendered into English by THEODORE PH. STEPHANIDES and GEORGE C. KATSIMBALIS. Pp. 143, with 1 plate. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1925.
 2. **Modern Greek Poems.** Selected and rendered into English by THEODORE PH. STEPHANIDES and GEORGE C. KATSIMBALIS. Pp. 76. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1926.

These selections from modern Greek poets are very welcome, for this poetry is very little known in England, though it possesses many features which should appeal to lovers of Greece. The renderings seem excellent, and display a real command of varied English. A small point which may be remarked is the too frequent use of 'ye,' and that often (from the standpoint of old English) incorrectly, since the translators use it indiscriminately both in the nominative and objective cases. The only other lapse we have noticed is 'like we' for 'as we.'

Palamas is a deeper poet than the others included in the selections. His earnest strivings to find adequate expression for his feelings often involve him in obscurity, and it is doubtful whether he will ever attain real popularity. His range is great, and his work (in parts) should appeal to all types of mind. The Hellenist will probably take greatest interest in his 'Fatherlands,' descriptive of various places in Greek lands, in portions of his rather fantastic 'Lays of the Gipsy' which deal with Constantinople and the revival of learning in the West, or again in 'The King's Flute,' in which Basil the Bulgar-slayer and his mother, the notorious Theophano, figure. The poems by miscellaneous writers will be found full of charm by those who know something of modern Greece. They conjure up memories of her smiling seas, her sailing-craft and fisher-folk, her gorgeous sunsets, her hills and olive-groves. In them is much of the eternal 'melancholy of the Greeks,' with death taking premature toll of what seems fairest and most promising; but there are occasional reminders of Greek joy in music, dance and song.

1. *Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius*. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Pp. xxxiv + 256. 1924.
2. *Greek Civilisation and Character*. By the same. Pp. xx + 236. 1924.
3. *Greek Social Life*. By F. A. WRIGHT. Pp. xvi + 246. 1925.
4. *Greek Literary Criticism*. By J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. xli + 224. 1924.
5. *Greek Ethical Thought*. By HILDA D. OAKELEY. Pp. xlii + 226. 1925.

Library of Greek Thought, published by J. M. Dent and Sons, London. 5s. each.

Josephus, in a passage quoted by Prof. Toynbee, says: 'Genuine research consists not in the mere rearrangement of material that is the property of others, but in the establishment of an original body of historical knowledge to justify a new collocation of words.' This genuine research in a wider sense, applying to other subjects besides history, is the aim of the *Hellenic Journal*, and for this reason compilations of the above kind, however excellent in themselves, do not call for a lengthy notice here. The aim of the series is 'to put before English readers, in an English translation, the most typical and the most important expressions of Greek thought in all the many fields of activity.' The scheme should have a restricted educational value, though it is often difficult to determine what extracts are 'most typical,' and the result is in some cases reminiscent of a patchwork quilt. The introductions vary in helpfulness. The 'general reader' may find those of Prof. Toynbee rather too clever for him, and we doubt whether his excerpts will greatly assist the reader to view history as 'a profoundly significant and profoundly moving repetition of human experience on the heroic scale.' Yet the reader will certainly find much interesting material in the selections which may tempt him to undertake a more connected course of reading, and it is satisfactory that later Greek historians, such as Procopius and Agathias, are represented. 'Greek Civilisation and Character' seems too ambitious a title for the extracts given in that volume, though it is explained in the Introduction that the volume is complementary to that on 'Historical Thought.' The reader might justifiably expect from the title to find a good deal relating to Greek literature and art. Nor is it easy to explain why two passages from Diodorus relating to the Italian social war are introduced to illustrate Greek character—unless it is that the writer was a Greek. It should be mentioned that most of the translations in these two volumes are by Prof. Toynbee and that they read well.

Mr. Wright's Introduction to the passages illustrating Greek social life is slight and sketchy. He confines his picture mainly to that of Athenian social life in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., but even so the impression left is that of a kaleidoscope rather than of a picture. The evidence furnished by archaeology and inscriptions cannot be safely neglected in a subject of this kind. Aristophanes, Xenophon and the Attic orators are the authors chiefly drawn upon for illustrative passages, and in the case of the last the translations are by the author.

We find more unity in Mr. Denniston's volume. He confines himself in the main to literary criticism in the comic poets and philosophical writers, and to that relating to the technique of oratory. Welcome extracts are given from the treatise 'On the Sublime.' The author rightly remarks that the bulk of the criticism relates to oratory, and that it is very conservative in character. Nearly all the translations are borrowed.

Miss Oakeley has given a pleasant sketch of Greek Ethical Thought, which she illustrates by passages for the most part very well known to scholars and reproduced largely in borrowed translations. Naturally passages from Plato and Aristotle occupy most of the space, but quotations from Epicurus and the Stoics show how Greek philosophy endeavoured to meet the needs of a world no longer bounded by the narrow confines of the *polis*. It may be said that these later developments, with their note of resignation, touch more nearly the modern complex world. The present age is not favourable to philosophy. Those who have wealth and leisure are absorbed for the most part in very unphilosophic pursuits; those who have to earn their living have little time for contemplation. Yet the Platonic ideals were never more needed than in these hurried times, and it is all to the good that some of the noblest thoughts of antiquity should be placed within easy reach of the mass of general readers.

Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus. By EINAR GJERSTAD. 8vo. Pp. viii + 342. Uppsala: Universitets Årsskrift, 1926.

This is an elaborate account of the author's exploration of prehistoric sites and tombs in Cyprus, and of his studies of the civilisation of the island down to the close of the Bronze Age. It is written in vigorous, if not always perfect English; but the writer would have done well to revise with specialist advice the terms employed in classifying and even in describing antiquities, since some of these are likely to be misunderstood when separated from their original context: 'White shaved ware,' for example (p. 181), does not quite express what is meant, odd though this fabric is. And perhaps it has resulted, from the same use of a foreign tongue, that Mr. Gjerstad has interpreted the loan of a quantity of unedited excavation-notes by Mr. Buxton and myself, as implying permission to print them in full, in advance of our own publication. He might also have acknowledged in his preface the explanations given by Mr. Buxton himself at Oxford.

To the older lists of prehistoric sites in Cyprus, Mr. Gjerstad has added greatly, and especially to our knowledge of early settlements, which are more difficult than tombs for the natives to recognise, and less attractive to them when found. But he is not quite original here. Ohnefalsch-Richter (now dead) had certainly recognised the Alambra sites as settlements when I visited them as early as 1894, and objects from the settlement-site at Kalopsida, also excavated in 1894, are in the Ashmolean Museum. But I was not in a position to excavate this site then, and should probably have spoiled it if I had tried, without the experience which is common property now. Quite the most valuable part of the book, therefore, is the record of excavation on three of these sites, and consequent discovery of stratified deposits sufficiently well marked and complementary to each other to provide that verification of the typology of the tomb-material already known, without which there is always a risk of misinterpretation; though this risk has been much diminished by the methods of 'sequence dating' elaborated first by Flinders Petrie; and though, in fact, with a few exceptions the typological classification (so far as it went) has stood the new test fairly well. The principal change is the separation of one fabric of the painted pottery, with a glaze-paint, usually very bright red, from the latest phases of the Middle Bronze Age, where Ohnefalsch-Richter (p. 263 *n.*) and the present writer independently had been inclined to place it (on the ground that its paint was 'lustrous,' and in this resembled that of Late Minoan pottery), and the assignment of it (p. 152) to a 'White painted II.' ware, quite early in this series. Even this, however, seems to result rather from comparison of forms and ornaments with those of certain stages of the older 'Red-ware,' than from either sequence-dating on stratigraphical evidence, though two fragments of it are mentioned among the pottery of the 'first inhabitation' of a house at Alambra; but as Mr. Gjerstad goes on to say that 'the same pottery as on the first floor level was found on the second,' his proof does not seem quite cogent. He also finds it closely accompanying his 'White painted III.' ware in the stratified site at Kalopsida (p. 269); but while it disappears before it (p. 271), it does not seem to begin much earlier, if at all.

More important is the refinement which the study of stratified material has permitted in the subdivision of the Cypriote Bronze Age. Each of the three main divisions, Early (= Red Polished Ware only), Middle (= Red Ware with White Painted Wares) and Late (= period of foreign fabrics as well), Mr. Gjerstad proposes to subdivide, Minoan-wise, into three subdivisions, representing changes of technique such as that discussed above. The justification for this transference of the Minoan '3 × 3' scheme to Cyprus is not quite obvious, except on the formal ground that everything must be either 'early' or 'middle' or 'late' in whatever style it represents. At all events the seven 'strata' on the Kalopsida site do not seem to tally with the proposed subdivisions; and the classification of the forms, and still more of the ornaments, of the 'white painted ware,' for example, though based on fresh and apparently careful observation, is not pressed home or fully correlated with the ninefold scheme.

Statistical analysis of other people's material has led to misconception before now—for example, Poulsen's analysis of the 'tomb-groups' at Enkomi, which were, in fact, only those objects which the finders thought worth removing from those tombs—and Mr.

Gjerstad presses the unpublished notes of the 'Lapathos 1913' material further than the present writer would be prepared to do. His reckoning of the frequency of bronzes (p. 275) is fallacious also, unless he can prove that the tombs which contain later varieties of pottery were *not* also in use for a greater number of burials, for if they were they would naturally collect more bronzes.

With these qualifications, however, Mr. Gjerstad's discussion of the available tomb-material in the light of his own discovery of three stratified sites, is a considerable step forward. That it does not exhaust his services to the subject is clear from his repeated references to other projected studies, especially of the numerous foreign fabrics which appear in the 'Late Cypriote' periods.

A large part of the book is occupied by a detailed classification of the fabrics of pottery, and this is copiously-illustrated, forming, in fact, a much-needed 'Formen-tafel' for future excavators. It is a pity, however, that the specimens illustrated are not identified by museum-number or tomb-group. Frequently they can be identified with certainty by anyone who knows the Cyprus Museum; but their value as type-specimens is greatly diminished by this omission, and by selecting most of them from so secluded a treasure-house as that Museum still is. In the classification of 'Miscellaneous' objects, the section on the bronze implements has the same defect; it is also uncorrelated with the pottery series except by occasional references to this or that period as a whole. But Mr. Gjerstad expects to deal with these classes of material more fully in another book.

The chapters on 'Relative' and 'Absolute' Chronology and on 'Foreign Relations' are constructive, on the basis of the fresh data already surveyed, and the analysis of available material. They raise some interesting questions. What, for instance, is the real relation between Red polished ware 'I.' and 'II.', when at Alambra Aspraji 'II.' occurs from top to bottom (3.50 m.) of the section (p. 264), but 'I.' only between 2.10 m. and 2.50 m.? There is surely some over-refinement here; and this impression is confirmed when we find 'I.' only represented by one single vessel, in the analysis of 42 tomb-groups tabulated on p. 265; and associated with 'II.' even in the two Arpera tombs separately described as 'earlier' on p. 266. Similarly, it seems unlikely that 'plain domestic ware' found in the proportion of 88 to 172 and 176 of the two commonest fabrics in the 'second stratum' at Kalopsida (p. 269; cf. p. 306) should be 'foreign' and specifically 'Syrian' pottery, even though it is wheel-made. But considering the state of the material—for the tomb-groups in the Cyprus Museum seem to have been redistributed typologically without sufficient precautions to identify permanently the objects belonging to each—the proposed subdivision of the Cypriote Bronze Age is a considerable advance, even if it requires some revision in detail.

The chapter on 'Foreign Relations' contains some careful thought on current problems of the diffusion of culture, and the conditions for proof of such a process. Mr. Gjerstad fully appreciates the difficulties which confront him, and makes even a modest allowance for those which beset his predecessors. On the question whether there was a 'Red-ware Culture' on the Syrian mainland he seems to have missed the tomb-group from Bethlehem in the British Museum; and he makes no use of the evidence derivable from the various pot-clays. In discussing the fabrics common to Cyprus and Syria, in the Late Cypriote period, too, he is as confident that the White-slip-ware in Syria is imported from Cyprus, as he has been earlier that Syrian wares were necessarily imported into Cyprus. Why certainly in one direction then, and in the other now? Only the clays themselves can decide. In dealing with the origin of the painted technique in Cyprus he seems to fall into the dogmatism which he deprecates in others, and his argument is hardly borne out by his own type specimens. More careful analysis of the ornamental repertoire is needed, an aspect of the matter on which Mr. Gjerstad has very little to say.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Gjerstad's 'Late Cypriote' period comes rather lower down in the series than the 'Late Minoan,' and includes the counterpart of what in the Aegean is sometimes called the 'Sub-Mycenaean' phase—Mr. Gjerstad suggests 'Late Helladic IV.' as a better label (p. 331 n.)—and the 'Philistine' phase of the mainland series.

Like the chapter on 'Foreign Relations,' that on 'Absolute Chronology' contains a very careful survey of the material; and if his analysis of the 'White-painted' ware into

several fabrics is accepted, it gives him better Egyptian synchronisms in the XIIth Dynasty than heretofore: with the beginning of this Dynasty, or the end of the XIth, he is inclined to equate 'Early Cypriote III.', though this does not quite agree with his own diagram of pot-fabrics on p. 273, which starts the 'White painted ware in 'Middle Cypriote I.' And the latter was evidently only a short phase transitional towards 'Middle Cypriote II.' which is equated with Senusret II. (1903-1887 B.C.). On the duration of periods earlier than this, Mr. Gjerstad shows reasonable caution.

Summarily, though the book (as the author admits) has been hastily completed, and contains some immature work and defects in detail, it is a serious contribution to the archaeology of Cyprus, and justifies expectation of a further instalment, in which the experience gained in the present one may be utilised.

J. L. M.

Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their relation to Greece from the earliest times down to the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. By STANLEY CASSON. Pp. xxii + 357: with 19 maps and 106 illustrations. Oxford University Press, 1926.

The regions that border Greece to the north have until lately been either inaccessible to students or accessible only under difficult conditions; and in consequence their topography and archaeology were for the most part very obscure, though many interesting problems in Hellenic studies were involved in them. Much has been done in recent years to contribute to the solution of these problems; and, though much still remains to be done, the time has come when a summary of the present state of our knowledge is most desirable. This need has been met by Mr. Casson, who has had exceptional opportunities for personal observation during his travels in Macedonia and the adjacent countries both during the Great War and before and after it. In particular, the excavations he and Mr. Heurtley, of the British School at Athens, have conducted in Macedonia have supplied valuable data. The mounds that are scattered throughout the district are most conveniently classified according to Mr. Wace's system, as tumuli, containing usually a built tomb of fourth-century or later date; flat table mounds, usually historical sites; and oval village mounds of pre-historic date, a variety of the latter having a kind of bump in the middle or at one end which still requires explanation. Mr. Casson's sketch maps, showing the grouping of these and other sites and finds, are most useful.

In the historical portion also the author has made full use of topographical and archaeological evidence, especially that of numismatics. A full bibliography and index, and a list of the accessible collections where finds from the whole region may be seen and studied, add greatly to the value of the book.

E. A. G.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Great Britain 2, British Museum 2. By A. H. SMITH and F. N. PRYCE. London, 1926.

Italy 1 and 2, Villa Giulia 1 and 2. By G. Q. GIGLIOLI. Milan and Rome, n.d.

Belgium 1, Brussels 1. By F. MAYENCE. Paris, 1926.

The second fascicule of the British Museum Corpus follows close on the first. The photography and reproduction are excellent; and the grey backgrounds preferable to the white, whether natural or induced, of the foreign fascicules. The black-figure vases are taken rather small, and there are few good shape-views in this section. The text is almost too laconic: true, we are referred to the catalogue; but we might at least expect to have the inscriptions in their original form and not merely transliterated. The Cypriot series has reached Hellenistic times and is now, I suppose, complete. III. *He*, Black-figure vases. The short bibliography at the beginning inserts Perrot, presumably because it is a consecutive account, and omits genuine contributions to the study: the b.f. articles in F.R. and Langlotz's *Zeitbestimmung* deserve a place in the briefest bibliography. Pl. VII., a pity to call these vases kylikes. Pl. VII., 4, the authors rightly query the interpretation of

these naked men with a goat as a tragic chorus: it is time this vase disappeared from literary text-books, especially as it can hardly be Attic. Pl. VIII., 2, the figures are named, but the subject not given. Pl. XVI., 7 and 8, I don't understand why these two cups should suddenly be South Italian and Laconian. IV. E a, r.f. vases of Campania and Paestum. The bibliography omits far the fullest and most important discussion of the Paestan vases, Zahn's in *F.R.* iii. pp. 178-207. Pl. I., 1, two spears, not one. Pl. II., 3, the object on the head is not a basket, but the big crown used by dancers at the Carneia, as in the great volute-krater in Tarento, or the pelike Naples 3231 (*A.Z.* 1869, Pl. XVII.: phot. Alinari 11,290). Pl. VI., 6, doubtful if a torch-race, since the torches are not racing-torches. Pl. VIII., 13; cf. also *Leves House Gems*, No. 62, where this vase is cited. Pl. VIII., 14, do not know in what sense the drawing is described as fine. Pl. IX., 2, why is Athena a statue? Pl. XI., 2, the name lecanē is not happy. Pl. XI., 17, see also *Anti Monumenti policlelei*, in *Mon. Linc.* xxvi. p. 534. A poor transliteration of the name Santia.

The text of the Villa Giulia fascicules does great credit to Dr. Giglioli; but the plates are a little disappointing. Whether the photographer or the collotyper is at fault, or both, I cannot say; but many of the pictures are indistinct, and some badly retouched. This is the odder when one remembers that the standard of Italian photography is high, and the standard of Italian book-production very respectable; and that Dr. Giglioli himself has published admirable photographs of some of these very vases in the periodical *Dedalo*. The Italian Corpus is paying particular attention, as is proper, to the Italian fabrics—Apulian, Campanian, Etruscan, and above all those Faliscan vases of which the Villa Giulia has a richer collection than any other museum. Dr. Giglioli has made a special study of the Faliscan fabric, and promises to embody his results in a book which will be eagerly awaited. III. H e, Attic b.f. vases. Pl. XI., 1, the thing hanging up is a petasos, isn't it, not a bag? Pl. III., 1, I do not care for the form Eurystheos which the author uses throughout. III. I. c-d, Attic r.f. vases; most of the vases figured here are assigned to their authors in my *Attische Vasenmaler*, which Dr. Giglioli has not been able to consult. Pl. I., the account of the Syriskos painter is not quite correct, for Hartwig's Spray painter and my Syriskos painter intersect but once—in the astragalos. Pl. V., the inscription on the pithos omitted. Pl. X., and in many other places, 'Hoppin accetta l'attribuzione . . .' or 'Hoppin (attribuito)': the proper formula is used by Dr. Giglioli himself elsewhere—'riporta . . .' Pl. XVI., 3, from a column-krater, not a volute-krater, as the neck-pattern would suffice to show. Pl. XVIII., the names are given by the Brygos cup in the Louvre, not by the Vivenzio vase; the characterisation of the Iliupersis painter is mine (*A.J.A.* 1916, pp. 152-3), not Hoppin's; and so is (Pl. XIX., 4) the identification of the Deepdene painter with the painter of the Oreibelos vase (*V.A.*, p. 195, No. 23). Pl. XX., 3, the date in Helbig is no doubt right—the vase is by the Achilles painter—and Paribenī's date a half-century out. Pl. XXIV., line 12, not a white line, but a reserved line. Pl. XXIX., 1, not altezza 23, but diametro. Pl. XXXIV., the relief in Turin published also by Schrader in *Jahreshefte* and in *Phidias*. Pl. XXXIV., 4, by the Sabouroff painter, like Pl. XXXV., 1 and 4, though omitted in my *Attische Vasenmaler*. Pl. XXXIV., 5, probably by the Eretria painter. Pl. XXXVIII., 1, by the same hand as the cup Villa Giulia 5238 (man with lyre: Providence painter?). White-ground vases III. J d—misprinted III. I d on the plate. Pl. I., 1-2, Sabouroff painter. Pl. I., 3-4, something has happened to the foot, either in the original or in the reproduction. IV. B n, Ionico-Etruscan b.f.: Endt, Pfuhl, and Waldhauer's recent article in *J.H.S.* might have been given a place in the Bibliography.

The first instalment of the Belgian Corpus will be welcomed by all those who know the not very large but very beautiful and very well exhibited collection in the Cinquantenaire. Mr. Mayence's text and Mr. Verstraeten's photographs are worthy of the collection. One or two general remarks before proceeding to particulars. First, the museum number is buried in the middle of the text, instead of being placed prominently at the beginning, as it is in all the Paris fascicules except the first. Secondly, some of the cup interiors are photographed not circular but gibbous. Thirdly, the cup-tondo might as well be set straight by the exergual line when there is one. Fourthly, the cut between 'severe r.f.' and 'free r.f. style' is made rather late—Polygnotos gets into the severe, while his contemporaries the

painters of the two vases in III. I *d*, Pl. I., are 'free style,' and so are even earlier artists like those on Pl. III. Fifthly, the nonsense inscriptions are not reproduced: yet they may be of help in classifying the vase.

Details. As far as I see, the Cypriot and Mycenaean sections do not call for comment. III. c, Corinthian: Mr. Mayence does not attempt to keep proto-Corinthian and Corinthian apart, although it would have been worth doing; that, and a subdivision of Corinthian into pale-ground and orange-slipped, for the distinction is not one of degree only. Pl. III., 2, has already been published by Schmidt in *Münchener Studien*, p. 270. III. H *d*, 'Attico-Corinthian.' Rumpf's recent article in the *Anzeiger* well deserves a mention in the Bibliography. The category is made to include the provincial Attic, or Atticising Boeotian class to which Pl. I, Nos. 3 and 4 belong, but they are better here than lumped with Corinthian as they are in some museums. III. H *e*, Attic b.f. I don't know why the cup Pl. I., 2, is singled out as Attico-Ionian. Pl. IV., 1, *b*, the warriors are presumably Achilles and Ajax, but at any rate the female figure is Athena. Pl. VIII., 1, the graffito is omitted. Pl. IX., 1 and 2 and Pl. X., 2, Ajax with the body of Achilles, on the analogy of inscribed vases, rather than Menelaos and Patroclus. Pl. XI., 1, the handles are modern, are they not? Pl. XIII., 4, the inscription is in red and not in the usual black: the whites of flesh and snake seemed to me retouched. Pl. XIV., 3, on the Polyzeos amphora see also Schmidt, *Archaische Kunst*, p. 96, and references there given. III. I. *c* and *d*, Attic r.f. Pl. I., 3, is the fillet really white and not red? Pl. II., 1, also *Att. Vas.*, p. 215, No. 53. Pl. III., 1, the warriors are not exercising with their shields, but raising the shield-arm after passing it through the armlet. Pl. IV., 2, the interpoint of the inscription is omitted—it has a certain interest because the cup is by a painter who loves interpoints. Pl. III., 3, enough of the pattern remains to show that the meander was broken by billet-spaces, which are almost confined to the Antiphon painter, his group, and his predecessor the Colmar painter. III. I *d*. Pl. I., 1, the vase is not, as stated, free from repaints. Pl. II., 2, of the two alternatives, drapery or shield, shield (in its cover and accompanied by a sword) is the correct one. Pl. III., 1, not by the Orleans painter, as I supposed in *Att. Vas.*, p. 270, but by the Amyone painter. III. J *b*, white-ground vases. Pl. I., 1, mentioned *Att. Vas.*, p. 317, No. 4. Pl. I., 2, is not one handle modern? Pl. IV., 3, the last word is, in our writing, not *Μηλανόπου* but *Μελανωποῦ*; the object in the field is a saccos. IV. D *b*, Apulian. Even the most summary bibliography should not omit Furtwängler's work, whether in F.R. or in his Berlin catalogue: his 1886 classification of the Italiote vases in Berlin is still far beyond most museums. Pl. I., 1, a pity to use 'amphore' for volute-krater, and 'amphore' in Pl. II., for panathenaic amphora, and elsewhere for neck-amphora. IV. D *c*. Gnathia Apulian. The Bibliography includes transcriptive work, yet omits Pagenstecher's contributions. Pl. II., 3, I have no note on this hydria, but it looks Attic, and even if it is not, it has nothing to do with 'Gnathia Apulian.'

J. D. B.

Griechisches Staatsrecht. Band I. **Sparta und seine Symmachie.** Mit 4 Exkursen. By ULRICH KAHRESTEDT. Pp. xii + 443. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922.

When Xerxes gave his opinion that Sparta suffered from the lack of central authority, Damaratos denied it: *ἔπειτι γὰρ σφι δεσπότης Νόμος*. This is *Staatsrecht*, or, as we should say, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution*. The connotation of these two phrases is not quite the same, ours implying something less statutory and explicit; and like ourselves, but in an exaggerated degree, the Spartans shunned formulas and preferred to leave room for interpretation. Whether or no Lycurgus (as we are told) forbade the use of written laws in Sparta, it is certain that, for the most part, their laws were not, in fact, written. Presumably (like the withholding of the Kalendar at Rome or the custom that N.C.O.'s do not attend lectures on military law) this was done to strengthen the executive, by giving it a more unbounded discretion, and it surely made the law in practice very elastic. One result, not envisaged by the lawgivers, was the appearance soon after 400 B.C. of a flock of pamphlets on the 'Constitution of Sparta,' all more or less tendencious and inaccurate. A remoter result—*pariunt desideria non traditas leges*—is the appearance of this book.

Kahrstedt has not, as the pamphleteers had, a thesis to prove for political purposes: yet he obeys an instinct no whit less imperious than political ambition—the desire to systematise knowledge. His method is suited to this: he does not start from his *data* but from his *desiderata*. His task is not to collect (as the industrious Meursius did) all the evidence, which could indeed be put in small space; but rather to go through a systematic *questionnaire*, and stressing precisely those points on which we are not explicitly informed, to constate and sometimes to fill up the gaps in our knowledge. This method is ambitious, and in competent hands will produce the most admirable results. But two things are needed: first, the questions put must be proper questions; secondly, the questioner must not overrate his evidence. Failing these two things, the method is no better, and no other, than that of the Hesiodic poets or Ephorus: whose over-sanguine accounts of, *e.g.*, the Dorian Conquest Kahrstedt so justly contemns.

This book answers well to neither test; and in consequence its conclusions are, I think, worthless, though as a collection of material it has great value. For the first point: Kahrstedt puts his questions with the assumption that Spartan Law is something like Roman Law, as self-conscious and as clearly defined. A good example is his treatment of the Greek word *Hegemonia*. In this word (which does, of course, frequently mean 'command in war') he sees a technical term, which without more ado he equates with *imperium* (p. 174), and he proceeds at once to look for the *pomerium* therein implied. His doctrine is this: the citizen's land = *urbs* (Stadt), the frontiers of Laconia = *pomerium* (p. 175). *Hegemonia* does not exist inside Laconia, but is assumed at the frontier, the sign of its assumption is the *Diabateria*, the frontier sacrifice. Unfortunately, he consistently regards Cleomenes' sacrifice to the River Erasinus (Hdt. 6. 76) as a frontier sacrifice: 'the *Diabateria* are offered before the frontier is crossed, *i.e.* without *Hegemonia*,' he says on p. 208, and quotes this passage. The Erasinus river is, of course, in the middle of Argolis (hence Cleomenes' jest, ἀγασθαι τοῦ Ἐρασίνου οὐ προδιδόντος τοὺς πολέμους): but Kahrstedt, treating it as a frontier, argues thus: when the sacrifice to Erasinus proved unpropitious, Cleomenes went by sea, first sacrificing a bull to the sea: this is clearly parallel to the Erasinus offering, *ergo* 'a sea-sacrifice is homogeneous with the *Diabateria*' (p. 176).

I do not know how impressive such reasoning is to those who do not test the evidence. The equation *Hegemonia* = *Imperium*, the assumption that a *Pomerium* must exist, are, of course, hypotheses, and, as we shall see, they will not stand. The Erasinus sacrifice, the sea sacrifice, the *Diabateria*, have this in common: they are preliminary to decisive action. This much they have in common with the Isthmus sacrifice (Hdt. 9. 19). There is nothing more in it. The *Diabateria* are offered to Zeus and Athena (Xen., *Resp. Lac.*, 13. 2), the Gods of the *Rhetra*, the native Gods whose element you were leaving: Erasinus and the Sea were the Gods on whose element you were entering. The place and occasion have in each case perfectly adequate religious motives: it is gratuitous to assume that any of them (it is *impossible* to assume that *each* of them) marks the assumption of this alleged *imperium*. Yet to Kahrstedt 'es ist undenkbar, an einer rechtlich irrelevanten Stelle die feierlichen Opfer vollziehen zu lassen.' The term 'unthinkable' is relative to the thinker.

However, the argument proceeds. Since an offering to the Sea is equivalent to *Diabateria*, Cythera is in a sense outside the frontier (p. 177). This doctrine is necessary, because Thucydides says a *Kytherodikes* was permanently stationed there with troops: such a 'Harmost' (so *I.G.* v. 937) must be supposed to have *Hegemonia*, and no one can have it inside the frontier. Kahrstedt puts all this with some reserve: for a scholiast on Pindar tells us that there were several Harmosts in Laconia, besides the *Kytherodikes*. Now the office of Harmost is, outside Laconia, 'hegemonic': yet Kahrstedt is compelled to conclude that these Harmosts have no *Hegemonia*, 'for if they had, the king had not, and he would therefore be of inferior rank: *was unmöglich ist*' (p. 178). Would it not have been better to say *Quod est absurdum* and abandon the whole doctrine of *Hegemonia*? or at least, the doctrine that it was assumed at the *Diabateria*? For *Hegemonia* has worn thin indeed if it is not implied in the command of troops, and Spartiate troops at that.

To save his *Pomerium*, then, Kahrstedt has left the Laconian Harmosts, and perhaps even the *Kytherodikes*, without military authority. Still stranger is his treatment of

Thuc. v. 54. 1, in which we are asked to believe that οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεῖ means 'Perioikoi only.' Further, Kahrstedt is inclined to assume (p. 175¹) that during the enemy occupation of Pylos a certain area west of Taygetus must have been militarised, so that Hegemonia could be exercised there.

All these shifts are to force the alleged technical sense of Hegemonia on to the Prokrustean bed of *imperium* and *pomerium*. Officers of H.M. army are instructed not to march troops through towns with bayonets fixed: no death penalty was, I believe, awarded by any court-martial sitting in England since 1914: Martial Law has never been proclaimed in England, though it has in Ireland and S. Africa. Where then is our Pomerium? The question is, I submit, improper.

But it is at the second test that Kahrstedt fails really badly: always he overrates his evidence. The *argumentum ex silentio* is used again and again: 'nowhere in all our sources is there the slightest trace' of the heir to the throne acting ambassador, or what not: as if we possessed a large juristic literature or a *Corpus Oratorum Spartanorum*, instead of the residue of a few tendentious pamphlets, a few anecdotes, and the history of one or two wars written by foreigners. It is due to this overrating (or at least mis-rating) of his evidence, that he perpetually suspects common words of bearing technical senses in lay writers. I have mentioned *Hegemonia*: the palmary example is his fantastic doctrine that, in Thucydides at least, Λακωνική = περιοικίς, Λάκων = περίοικος (*passim*: esp. pp. 6 and 22). It is easy to demonstrate that this is untrue: Kahrstedt himself allows that other writers are 'not so accurate' in this matter as Thucydides. But what does he mean by accurate? In the Attic tongue, which Thucydides endeavours to write, Λάκων means 'Laconian' without distinction of status: Λακωνίζω does not mean 'I have a passion for Perioikoi.' Is Thucydides an author likely to employ curious ciphers? The word 'Lakonike' occurs some twenty-five times in his work, 'Lakon' (which had clearly a rather conversational sound) only twice: not very much to generalise from. A good many times the part of 'Lakonike' referred to is Perioikis, for so was most of the coast, and Thucydides is describing naval operations. Most of the west coast, however, was not, and Kahrstedt (p. 5⁴) scolds Xenophon for speaking of Σφαγίαί τῆς Λακωνικῆς. One rubs one's eyes: Thuc. 4. 3. 1 clearly refers to the coast by Sphacteria: in 4. 12. 3 the Athenians who have occupied Pylos are fighting ἐκ γῆς τε καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς. But 5. 35. 7 is the most conclusive. There were no Helots in the Perioikis¹: those who 'had deserted from Lakonike' had deserted from Spartiate land.

His thesis was based on simple enumeration, and he has overlooked a negative instance. This is not easy to excuse, among so few instances: in a writer so well indexed as Thucydides one can verify all in ten minutes. Yet it is really harder to excuse the judgment which conceived such a thesis. I have not space to examine other alleged technical terms. A cardinal one is σύμμαχοι, which means, we hear, 'allies who do not dispose of their own booty'; and accordingly Boeotia is excluded, in spite of Thuc. 2. 9. 2, and many other passages. A lay word is assumed to be technical: it is assumed to cover an exactly homogeneous class: the differentia of that class is defined from random and inconclusive instances: when Thucydides uses the term, it proves nothing, in 'Αθ. πολ. 39. 2 it is proof positive, etc. *Lakonike* was used rightly by Thucydides *only* (see p. 115³): *Hegemonia* by Diodorus only! Conclusions reached by these methods may be right; but if they are, some special providence must guide the enquirer's footsteps.

Having defined his 'Symmarchy,' Kahrstedt proceeds to summarise the accessions and defections: careful and laborious work, as usual, which cannot be trusted. Kleonai 'was one of the ephemeral losses in the struggles of the seventies' (p. 29¹): she was, of course, lost for good, and fought against Sparta both at Tanagra and Mantinea. He tries to show that Elis was out of the League during the middle part of the fifth century: his argument leads him (unawares) to the position that Elis does not rejoin till *after* she has lost Lepreon (p. 29⁴), yet she claims in 421 that she entered the war as an ally *before* she lost it (Thuc. 5. 31. 5).

One more (p. 43): Dracontius, in Xen., *Anab.* 4. 8. 25, is called Σπαρτιάτης. Though

¹ So Kahrstedt certainly believes, e.g. p. 5 line 9 *et passim*: Beloch tries to prove the contrary (*G.G.*² III. i. 284) but operates with too many unknowns.

he had been banished while still a boy (and so, according to Plut., *Apoph. Lac.* Var. 54, lost his citizenship), Kahrstedt assumes he had been recalled and somehow reinstated, since Σπαρτιάτης must mean this. Why then did Xenophon rake up the old scandal? I cannot doubt, he is explaining why Dracontius is with the 10,000: the man is still an exile. The words mean 'Dracontius of Sparta,' not 'Dracontius the man with full citizen rights.' Kahrstedt says, 'No; for that could be expressed by Λακεδαιμόνιος.' If Mr. Lloyd George were banished to-morrow, I must not call him a Welshman, because (yes, *because*) the term 'Britisher' is available. Meanwhile I may continue to call Signor Nitti an Italian. The existence of two terms proves that both are technical. Kahrstedt has as sharp a nose for a technical term as Isaac Newton had for an arithmetical coincidence: as sharp, and as disastrous. 'On the subject of the eleventh horn of the beast seen by the prophet Daniel he (Newton) was more fantastic than Joan, because his imagination was not dramatic but mathematical, and therefore extraordinarily susceptible to numbers: indeed if all his works were lost except his chronology we should say that he was as mad as a hatter'.²

Where no technical terms are about, his sense of evidence is still faulty. I do not, as a matter of fact, accept his notions of the Dorian Migration and the origin of the Helots, but on such points scholars may differ with mutual respect. It is when he goes on to say (pp. 2, 57) that every man, woman and child in Laconia was Dorian by blood, and that the dialect evidence proves this *unwiderleglich*, that I demur more seriously. I am not prepared to-day to distinguish a Saxon from a Norman, or from a Huguenot refugee, or even from a Jew, by the way he talks, still less by the way he spells: and Herodotus may be wrong, but he is not nonsensical, when he says, 'the Cynurians are Ionians, but have been *turned into Dorians* by the combined pressure of Argos and Time.' Kahrstedt further insists strongly (pp. 41, 57, 62) that the Helots are not the result of conquest, and that we must look to the real facts of their origin to understand their status. And yet he allows (p. 58) that the Messenian Helots (and most Helots were Messenians) *were* helotised by conquest; and this stultifies the generalities on pp. 57 and 62.

The *Quellenregister* is excellent, and should be extremely valuable to any serious student. To read, e.g., a book of Diodorus with this at hand is to be able, when any question of Spartan *Staatsrecht* arises, to find a discussion which is at least provocative and confronts you with the other relevant passages. It is, so far as I can judge, astonishingly complete: I have only noted three omissions which seem to me serious:—

i. The entry in the Herodotean λέξεις, s.v. εἶρη, is very likely useless, but at least it makes us hesitate about accepting or interpreting Plutarch: and it is incidentally the corner-stone of Nilsson's important *Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens* in Klio XII. Account should have been taken of this on pp. 45 and 343.

ii. [Herodes] περὶ πολιτείας may not be quite the first-hand authority which Beloch and Meyer claim (yet see, e.g., this *Journal*, XLIV. p. 61²⁵). Nevertheless, at worst its evidence needs comparing with the authorities quoted, e.g. pp. 115 and 338; we cannot study the government of the Spartan empire c. 400 B.C. and take no count of it.

iii. Tyrtaeus does not appear in this *Quellenregister* at all. The new papyrus fragment (which was published by Wilamowitz four years before this book appeared) should have been noticed on pp. 70 and 279. Kahrstedt shows no consciousness that the Dorian *Phylai* had ever existed in Sparta: the fact that they did, and were the basis of the army, might have made him reconsider two points: (a) p. 307 he says the later *Phylai* have no connexion with the army (he nowhere notices Aristotle, fr. 541, *Mesoates Lochos*, and prefers Thucydides to Herodotus in the *Pitanates* controversy, not suspecting any change during the fifth century which may have lain at the root of this. The hypothesis that down to the Persian wars the five *Phylai* were regiments, would have saved him breaking his head over the *Agathoergoi*, p. 301—they are the senior *ex-hippeus* of each *Phyle*). (b) The fact that there was once a *Phyle* of *Dymanes* in Sparta might have prevented his using Hesychius' 'Δύμη· ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλὴ καὶ τόπος' in such a way that apparently ἐν Σπάρτῃ = ἐν Μεσσήνῃ (p. 19).

We have, then, a book of great industry and acumen, not one of whose conclusions

² Bernard Shaw, *Saint Joan*, p. xv. This estimate of Newton's 'Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Revised' is something over-severe.

can be trusted until the evidence has been verified. It will be noted, that two of his typically sanguine expectations, (*a*) to find a Pomerium, (*b*) to find in *Λακωνική* a technical term for Perioikis, have involved Kahrstedt in rather grave errors of fact. Erasinus is *not* a frontier river: Thucydides does *not* use *Λακωνική* as is alleged. It would be unfair to imply that such errors are very common, though the margins of my copy are filled with protests against the misrepresentation of passages referred to. Kahrstedt's most besetting sin is not carelessness: false references and misprints are very rare, as rare as in, *e.g.*, Busolt's *Griechische Geschichte*, and he improves on Busolt with his two admirable indexes. Not carelessness; but an over-sanguine mind. To expect that *Hegemonia* would be a technical term, and so exactly equal to *Imperium*; to expect to find in Thucydides (who is not fond of jargon) such an esoteric cipher as his alleged use of *Λακωνική* would certainly have been: these are what disable Kahrstedt's judgment. Any man may slip on a point of detail, and it is perhaps bad luck to be detected: with Kahrstedt, his sanguineness so warps his sense of what is likely, that one comes to feel, whether one can detect the error or no, that he is almost bound to be wrong.

H. T. W.-G.

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INDEX TO VOLUME XLVI

INDEX TO VOLUME XLVI

I.—INDEX OF SUBJECTS

A

ABBOT, George, Archbishop of Canterbury, 186
 Aegina, excavations, 241
 Aeneas Tacticus on *βάλανος*, 181
 Ales on Lydian coin, 40
 Alyattes, 39
 Amyklæ, excavations, 241
 Antiochus I, Syrian war of, 155
 Antipater, 216
 Aphidna, 16
 Argive inscription in British Museum, 256
 Argos, Heraeum, excavations, 226
 Aristotle, account of currency reform, 171;
 on Peisistratus, 173
 Arsinoë, marriage to Ptolemy II, 161
 Artemis and Iphigenia, group at Copenhagen, 215; Rospigliosi, 216
 Aspasia, Tomb of, 253
 Atalanta of Tegea, 216
 Athens, excavations, 243, 253; Lord Elgin at, 253. Acropolis Museum, 'Blue-beard,' 165; Nos. 669, 686 (Korai), 167. Epigraphical Museum, Epitaphs, 44, 46. National Museum, busts of Demosthenes, 73, 76; black-figured vases CC 1116, CC 1117, 56 ff.
 Attica, N.W. frontier, 1 ff.; excavations, 245 ff.

B

BABYLONIAN chronicle of Antiochus I, 155
 Balanos, Balanagra, 181
 Barrekub, stele of, 165
 Berlin, sculptures, 494 (girl with knuckle-bones), 214; 303 (bust of Demosthenes), 74; vases 2430 (Rhodian), 208
 Blois, b.f. vase at, 57
 Boeotia, excavations, 234; b.f. pottery, 54 ff.
 Boston, mounted Amazon, 214; early bronze statuette, 166
 British Museum, *see* London.
 Brussels, b.f. vases A 75 and A 2187, 57
 Burgon lebes (*see* London), 207
 Byzantine music, 259 ff.; Mutiny Act, 80 ff.

C

CALLICRATES, 158
 Canterbury, Archbishop Abbot of, 186
 Capua, Mithraeum, 47

Carchemish, relief from, 165
 Cesnola sculptures in New York, 163 ff.
 Church, Eastern, and Protestants, 185
 Coins, electrum, of Lydia, 36 ff.
 Colophon, 40
 Constantinople, Lydian coins, 37; printing press in, 198
Constitution of Athens, 171 ff.
 Cook, A. B., coin, 36
 Copenhagen, Artemis and Iphigenia, 215; Demosthenes, 74
 Corinth, excavations, 223
 Crete, excavations at Knossos, 236; at Mallia, 240
 Critopoulos, Metrophanes, 185 ff.
 Cumae, vase from, 205
 Cyclades, vase-painting in seventh century, 203 ff.
 Cyprus, early sculpture of, 163 ff.
 Cyrene, draped statue from, 217

D

DECELEIA, 15
 Delos, excavations, 238; Cycladic vases from, 202 ff.
 Demosthenes portraits, 72 ff.
 Dogs, Greek names of, 42
 Doukas, historian, 63
 Dresden, sculpture (396), 214; b.f. vase, 56
 Drymos, 7

E

ELEPHANTS of Antiochus I, 157
 Eleutherai, 10
 Elgin, Lord, at Athens, 252; gold objects deposited in British Museum, 255
 Enthronement, ritual, 47
 Epidauros, sculptures, 214
 Epitaphs, Attic, 44, 46; Neo-Phrygian, 23 ff.

F

FLORENCE, MS. (Laur. IX. 8), 80
 Fortunatus, epitaph, 46
 Frontier, N.W. of Attica, 1 ff.

G

GATES of Greek cities, 181
 Gems, portraits of Demosthenes—the Piombino amethyst, 74; Cabinet des Médailles agate cameo, 76

Gold objects from Tomb of Aspasia, 255
 Golden Fleece, 48, 50
 Gyges, conquest of Colophon, 41
 Gyphtocastro, 10

H

HAGNE, epitaph, 45
 Haliartos, excavations, 234
 Hecate cult, 50
 Heidelberg, b.f. vases in, 58
 Helladic pottery, Late, classification of, 114
 Heraeum, Argive, 226; Samian, 242
 Herodotus on Peisistratus, 173
 Hesychius, correction in, 42
 Hunt, Philip, in Athens, 253

I

INSCRIPTIONS, Argive on bronze lebes, 256;
 Attic, 44, 46; Ilium (O.G.I. 219), 155 ff.;
 Miletus, (*Delphinion* 139), 155 ff.; Neo-
 Phrygian, 22; Old-Phrygian, 26
 Iphigenia and Artemis, Copenhagen group,
 215

J

JAMES I of England, 193
 Jason, 48, 50

K

KALEDON, excavations, 246
 Knole, Demosthenes statue, 74
 Knossos, excavations, 236; medallion
 pithoi, 112; reliefs, 113
 Kyme, excavations, 249

L

LEYDEN, Cycladic vase, 206
 London, British Museum, Assyrian sculp-
 tures, 163, 167; Egyptian flute-player,
 165; Engraved shells, 179; Lydian coin,
 37; Mycenaean reliefs from Atreus tomb,
 113, 115; portrait of Demosthenes (1841),
 76; objects from Tomb of Aspasia, 253;
 Priene frieze, 213; vases—Burgon Lebes,
 207; Griffon jug (73·8·20·385), 204;
 Rhodian (60·2·1·32, 60·4·4·10, 61·4·25·48),
 208, (64·10·24·143), 211; b.f. lebes B 46,
 250
 Loucaris, Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople,
 185 ff.
 Lusieri, report to Lord Elgin, 253
 Lydian coins, 36; alphabet, 38

M

MACEDONIA, excavations, 232
 Magical tables, 48
 Medea, 48, 50
 Melainai, 8
 Melian vase-painting, 208
 Messene, excavations, 247
 Metaxas, Nicodemus, 196, 199

Metrophanes Critopoulos, Patriarch of
 Alexandria, in England, 185; at Oxford,
 187; with King James I, 193
 Midas-city, inscriptions, 26, 35
 Midea, excavations, 248
 Milan, musical handbook in, 219
 Miletus, in first Syrian war, 158
 Mithraeum at Capua, 47
 Modes in Byzantine Music, 221
 Munich, Lydian coin, 37; herm of Demos-
 thenes, 74; statue of girl (472), 214;
 vases (227, 228), 208, (2246), 57
 Music, Byzantine, 219
 Mycenae, Treasury of Atreus, 110 ff.;
 sculpture from, 113, 115; Tomb of
 Clytemnestra, 110; Mycenaean pottery,
 114
 Myconos, Cycladic vases in, 206, 210

N

NAPLES, bronze bust of Demosthenes, 76
 Naucratis, vase fragment, 211
 Neo-Phrygian epitaphs, 22
 New York, Metropolitan Museum, early
 Cypriote sculptures, 163 ff.
 Nike of Samothrace, 213

O

OINOE, 9
 Oropus, 2
 Oxford, MS. (Laud. Gr. 39), 80; bust of
 Demosthenes in Ashmolean Museum, 72

P

PALATIOCHORI, 13
 Pallene, 174
 Panakton, 6
 Papadike, 219
 Paris, Cab. des Médailles, agate cameo of
 Demosthenes, 76; Cycladic vase (26),
 205; Louvre, sculpture, Rampin head,
 166, 169; Demosthenes (1371), 77; Nike of
 Samothrace, 213; vases, Rhodian A 316,
 211; Ionic b.f., 251
 Peisistratus, dates, 173
 Pergamon, sculpture from, 213 ff.
 Petworth Demosthenes, 78
 Pherai, excavations, 246
 Phrantzes, historian, 65
 Phrygian language, 22 ff., 28 ff.
 Phyle, 4
 Piombino, amethyst portrait of Demos-
 thenes, 74
 Plakoto, 14
 Polyeuctos, statue of Demosthenes, 73, 78
 Priene frieze, 213
 Printing press in Constantinople, 196, 199
 Ptolemaeus, 160
 Ptolemy II, Syrian war of, 155

R

READING, b.f. vase at, 56
 Rhamnous, 19

Rhitsona, pottery from, 55 ff.

Rhodian vase-painting, 208

Ritual Thronosis, 47; Orphic, 50

Roe, Sir Thomas, 190, 199

Rome, Lateran torso, 216; Porta Maggiore basilica, 47, 48; Vatican Demosthenes, 74

Rospigliosi Artemis, 216

S

SAMOS, Heraeum, excavations, 242

Samothrace, Nike of, 213

Schimatari, b.f. pottery from, 54

Sculpture: Mycenaean reliefs, 113; from Senjirli, 164; from Carchemish, 165; Assyrian, 163, 167; early Cypriote, 163 ff.; from Cyrene, 217; from Epidaurus, 214; Lateran torso, 216; Nike of Samothrace, 213; from Pergamon, 212; from Tegea, 216; portraits of Demosthenes, 72 ff.

Shells, engraved, 179

Solon, currency reform, 171

Sparta, excavations, 227

Sphendale, 3

Stockholm, Cycladic vase in, 206

Stymphalos, excavations, 247

Syrian war, chronology of the first, 155

T

TABLE, in magic, 48

Tegea, sculptures from, 216

Thasos, excavations, 239

Thera, vases from, 205, 210

Thespieae, b.f. pottery from, 55

Thessaly, excavations, 246

Timotheus, sculptor, 214, 215

Tiryns, sculptured frieze from, 113

Tridacna Squamosa shells, 179

Turin, Rhodian jug in, 208

Tychon, St., 53

V

VARDAROVCI, excavations, 232

Vase-painting, Mycenaean from tombs at Mycenae, 111; Cycladic, 203; Linear Island Geometric, 204; Rhodian, 208, 252; Melian, 208; Argive Cycladic, 210; Ionic b.f. 251; Attic b.f., 51; Boeotian b.f., 54; archaic relief pithos from Sparta, 229

Y

YALE, vase (192), 57

II.—GREEK INDEX

- Ἄγνη, name, 45
 ἄθελον, 256
 ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατόν (in *Ath. Pol.*), 171
 ἄρκευθος, 51, n. 21

 βαλανάγρα and βάλανος, 181
 βρέκys, 33

 γεγαριτμενος (Phryg.), 24

 δεφένσωρ, 93

 ἑκατοντάρχος, 105
 ἐνκεχαρισμένος, 24
 ἐξκούβιτα, 103
 εὐτυχεῖτε, 45

 θερμαστήον, 182
 θρόνωσις, 47

 ἡγῆμονία in Sparta, 294
 ἡχήματα, 220

 καρκίνος, 181
 κέδρος, 51, n. 21
 κεφαλικῶς, 89
 κρόσσαι, 33

 Λάκων, Λακωνική, 295

 λεγεών, λεγιών, 96
 λεπιδωτός, 43

 Μουννυχίη, 52

 νικύρτας, 29
 νοίσιος, 29

 οἰουθβαν (Phryg.), 36
 ὀργάς, 12

 παγανός, 106
 πεις (Phryg.), 29
 περιουίς, 295
 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, 144
 πριεις (Phryg.), 27
 πυργηδόν, 277

 ῥάμνος, 51, n. 21

 σίφων, 183

 τοῦλδος, 92

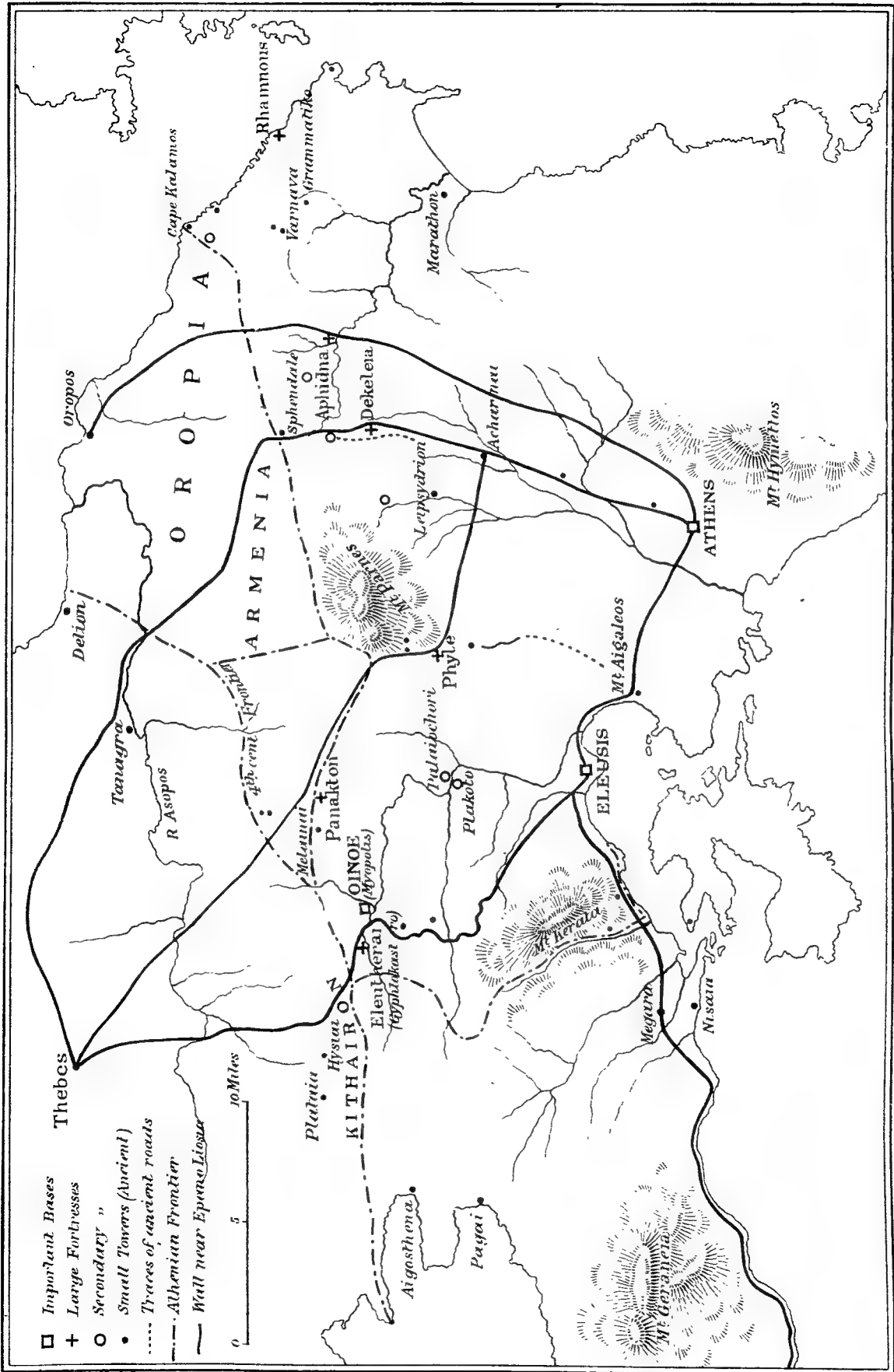
 φολιδωτός, 43
 φολίς, φόλυς, 42
 φορμορραφίς, 182
 φύσσατον, φούσσατον, 89

III.—BOOKS NOTICED

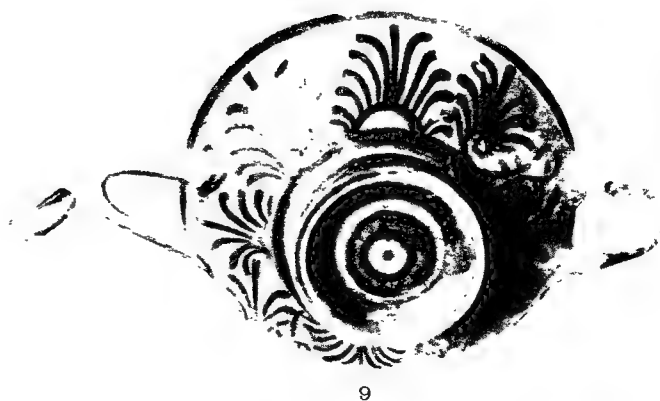
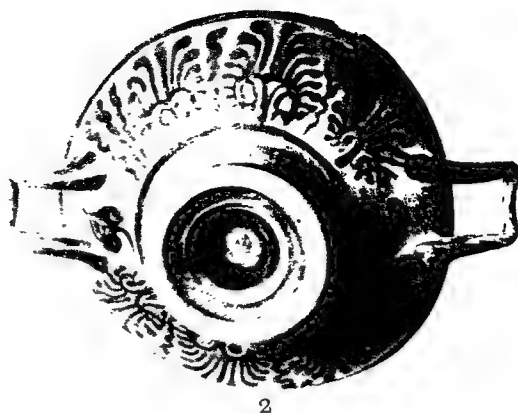
- ALLEN (T. W.), *Homer : The Origins and the Transmission*, 268
 Anastasiades (X.), Γ. Γενναδίου βίος, ἔργα, ἐπιστολαί, 276
 Arndt, *Festschrift Paul*, 138
 Autran (C.), *Introduction à l'étude critique du nom propre grec*, 136
- Baynes (N. H.), *Byzantine Empire*, 147
 Bell (E.), *Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean*, 138
 Beloch (K. J.), *Griech. Geschichte*, IV., 1, 267.
 Berve (H.), *Das Alexanderreich*, 283
 Bizos (M.) and Gernet (L.), *Lysias*, II., 275
 Breccia (E.), *Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine*, I., II., 270
 Brehier (E.), *Plotin*, 131
 van Buren (E. D.), *Greek Fictile Revetments*, 283
 Busolt (G.) and Swoboda (H.), *Griech. Staatskunde*, II., 140
 Butler (H. C.), *Sardis*, II., 1 (*The Temple of Artemis*), 145
- Calhoun (G. M.), *Business Life of Ancient Athens*, 273
Cambridge Ancient History, III., 280
 Casson (S.), *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, 291
 Cohen (R.) and Glotz (G.), *Histoire Grecque*, I., 124
 Contenau (G.), *Civilisation Phénicienne*, 270
 Cook (A. B.), *Zeus*, II., 121
 Cooper (L.), *An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy*, 148
 Cornford (F. M.), *Greek Religious Thought from Homer to the Age of Alexander*, 264
 Crexells (J.), *Plato, Diàlegs*, II., 126
- Denniston (J. D.), *Greek Literary Criticism*, 288
 Dobie (M. R.), see Glotz (G.) and Jardé (A.)
 Dölger (F.), *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, A 1, 2, 275
 Drachmann (A. B.), *Isaac Tzetzes de metris Pindaricis commentarius*, 123
 Driault (E.) and Lhéritier (M.), *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos Jours*, 132
 Dugas (C.), *La Céramique des Cyclades*, 282
 — *Greek Pottery*, (trans. W. A. Thorpe), 133
- Ehrenberg (V.), *Alexander und Aegypten*, 282
 Eitrem (S.), *Papyri Osloenses*, I., 131
 Engelmann (W.), *New Guide to Pompeii*, 125
 Eustratiades (S.) and Spyridon, *Catalogue of Greek MSS. in the Laura*, 146
- Frödin (O.), *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Asiné, 1922-24*, 297
- Gardiner (E. N.), *Olympia*, 134
 Gardner (D.), *The Tale of Troy*, 285
 Gardner (E. A.), *Art of Greece*, 147
 Gardner (P.), *New Chapters in Greek Art*, 284
 Geissler (P.), *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie*, 123
 Gerkan (A. v.), *Milet*, I., 8, *Kalabaktepe*, 267
 Gernet (L.) and Bizos (M.), *Lysias*, II., 275
 Giglioli (G. Q.), *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : Italy 1 and 2*, 291
 Gjerstad (E.), *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, 289
 Glotz (G.), *Ancient Greece at Work*, 272 (trans. M. R. Dobie)
 — and Cohen (R.), *Histoire grecque*, I., 124
 Grégoire (H.) and Parmentier (L.), *Euripide*, III., 152
- Halliday (W. R.), *Pagan Background of Early Christianity*, 130
 Hiller von Gaestringen (F.), *Historische griechische Epigramme*, 275
 Hoëg (C.), *Les Saracatsans*, I., 137; II., 265
 Hoernle (E. S.), *Choric Songs from Aeschylus*, 261
 Howald (E.), *Die Anfänge der europäischen Philosophie*, 279
- Immisch (O.), *Theophrasti Characteres*, 129
- Jardé (A.), *Les Céréales dans l'Antiquité grecque*, I., 148
 — *The Formation of the Greek People*, 273 (trans. M. R. Dobie)
 Jayne (W. A.), *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilisation*, 263
- Kahrstedt (U.), *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, I., *Sparta*, 293
 Karolides (P.), *Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, i-v., 132

- Katsimbalis (G. C.) and Stephanides (T.), *Poems by Kostas Palamas*, 287
 — *Modern Greek Poems*, 287
 Kaye (G. R.), *Index to the Annual Reports of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1902-1916*, 262
 Kolbe (W.), *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte*, 269
 Köster (A.), *Die Griechischen Terracotten*, 139
 Kromeyer-Veith, *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, 124
 Laskaris (M.), *Vizantiske Printseze u Srednjevekovnoj Srbiji*, 266
 Lechat (H.), *Sculptures grecques antiques*, 139
 Legrand (Ph. E.), *Théocrite*, 275
 Lesky (A.), *Alkestis*, 124
 Levi (A.), *Le Terrecotte figurate del Mus. Naz. di Napoli*, 145
 Lhéritier (M.) and Driault (E.), *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce*, 132
 Lobel (E.), *Σαπφούς μέλη*, 122
 Lohmeyer (E.), *Vom Begriff der Religiösen Gemeinschaft*, 128
 Loisel (G.), *Marc-Aurèle 'A moi-même'*, 275
 Lord (L. E.), *Aristophanes*, 261
 Lorimer (W. L.), *Some Notes on the Text of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo'*, 275
 Lunn (Sir H.), *Aegean Civilisations*, 148
 Mackail (J. W.), *Classical Studies*, 285
 Mackenzie (D. A.), *The Migration of Symbols*, 139
 Macurdy (G. H.), *Troy and Paeonia*, 276
 Mahr (A.), *Das vorgeschichtliche Hallstadt*, 285
 Marris (Sir W.), *The Odyssey of Homer*, 261
 Marshall (F. H.), *The Siege of Vienna, by Jeremias Cavacelas*, 125
 Masqueray (P.), *Sophocles*, II., 150
 Masson-Oursel (P.), *Comparative Philosophy*, 278
 Mayence (F.), *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Belgium I.*, 291
 Miller (M. M.) and Robinson (D. M.), *The Songs of Sappho*, 271
 Morgan (J. de), *L'Humanité Préhistorique*, 143
 — *La Préhistoire Orientale*, 141
 Oakeley (H. D.), *Greek Ethical Thought*, 288
 Olsson (B.), *Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*, 138
 Oppermann (H.), *Zeus Panamarios*, 127
 Otto (W. F.), *Die Altgriechische Gottesidee*, 297
 Papantonakes (G.), *Διπλωματική 'Ιστορία της Κρητικής επανάστασως του 1866*, 266
 Parmentier (L.) and Grégoire (H.), *Euripide*, III., 152
 Parry (R. St. J.), *Henry Jackson*, 284
 Perrett (W.), *Some Questions of Musical Theory*, 138
 Petch (J. A.), *The Old Oligarch*, 297
 Picard (C.), *Ephèse et Claros*, 262
 Post (L. A.), *Thirteen Epistles of Plato*, 129
 Postgate (J. P.), *A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek*, 258
 — *On Ancient Greek Accentuation*, 258
 Pottier (E.), *Le Dessin chez les Grecs*, 274
 Powell (J. U.), *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 286
 Pryce (F. N.) and Smith (A. H.), *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Gt. Britain, II.*, 291
 Reinach (T.), *La Musique grecque*, 268
 Renon (L.), *La Géographie de Ptolémée; L'Inde*, 126
 Riba (C.), *Xenophontis Memorabilia*, 126
 Richter (G. M. A.), *Ancient Furniture*, 274
 Rivaud (A.), *Platon, Timée, Critias*, 275
 Robin (L.), *Platon, Phédon*, 275
 Robinson (D. M.) and Miller (M. M.), *The Songs of Sappho*, 271
 Ross (W. D.), *The Works of Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea*, 278
 Sackur (W.), *Vitruv*, 280
 Salis (A. von), *Die Kunst des Altertums*, 148
 Sandstrom (O. P.), *Ethical Principles of Homeric Warfare*, 297
 Sargent (R. L.), *The Size of the Slave Population at Athens*, 125
 Schlumberger, *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave*, 134
 Schmidt (A.), *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum*, 126
 Schmidt (C.), *Coptica II, Pistis Sophia*, 154
 Schmidt (W.), *Aristides, Libri Rhetorici II.*, 275
 Schuchhardt (C.), *Arkona, Rethra, Vineta*, 274
 Schuchhardt (W. H.), *Die Meister des Grossen Frieses von Pergamon*, 152
 Scott (J. A.), *Homer and his Influence*, 261
 Scott (W.), *Hermetica*, II., 131
 Sikelianos (A.), *The Delphic Festival*, 297
 Smith (A. H.) and Pryce (F. N.), *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Gt. Britain, II.*, 291
 Spyridon and Eustratiades (S.), *Catalogue of the Greek MSS. of the Laura*, 146
 Stephanides (T. P.) and Katsimbalis (G. C.), *Poems by Kostas Palamas*, 287, *Modern Greek Poems*, 287
 Stocks (J. L.), *Aristotelianism*, 261
 Studniczka (Fr.), *Artemis und Iphigenie*, 144
 Swoboda (H.) and Busolt (G.), *Griechische Staatskunde*, 140
 Thorpe (W. A.), *see Dugas*.
 Toynbee (A. J.), *Greek Historical Thought*, 288
 — *Greek Civilisation and Character*, 288

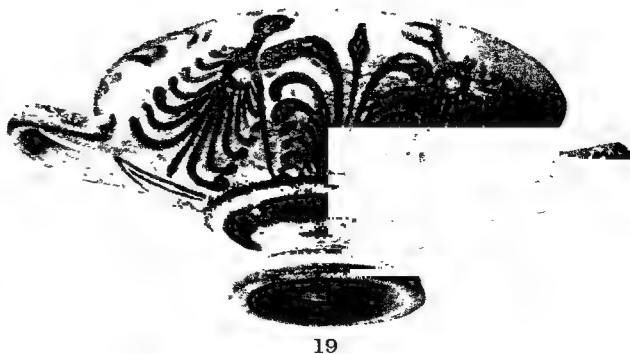
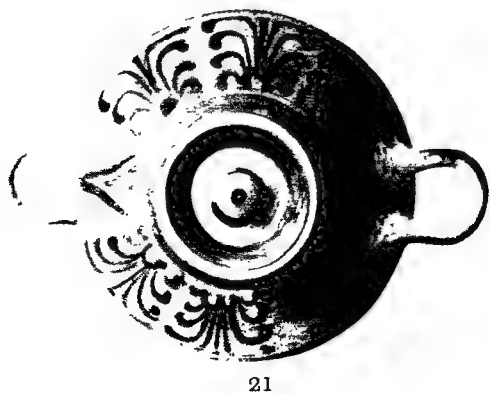
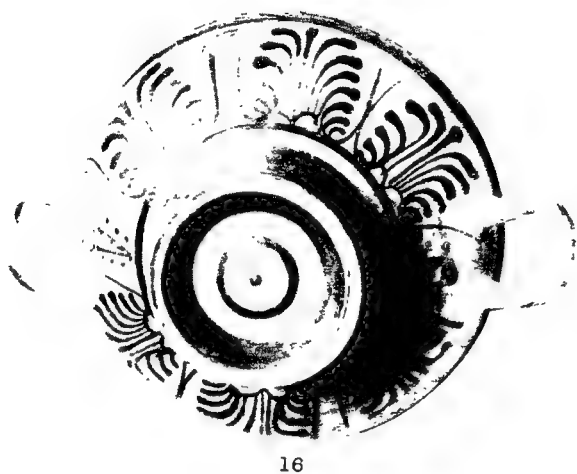
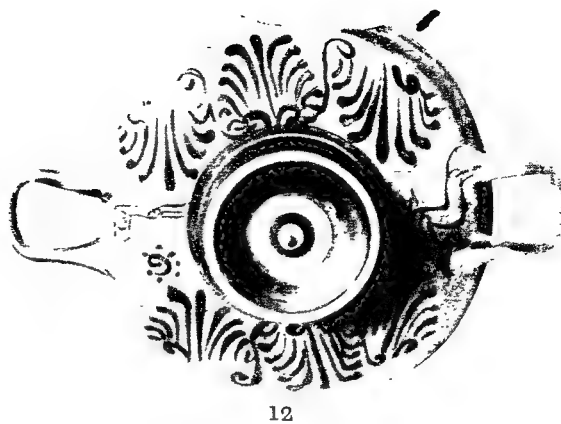
- Trannoy (A. I.), *Marc-Aurèle, Pensées*, 128
- Veith, *see* Kromeyer, 124
- Wiegand (T.), *Milet* 1-8, *see* A. von Gerkan.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (U. von), *Euripides, Ion*, 275
- Woess (F. von), *Das Asylwesen Aegyptens*, 143
- Wright (F. A.), *The Poets of the Greek Anthology*, 149
- Χρονικά, VI., 265
- Zielinski (T.), *La Religion de la Grèce Antique*, 264
- Zolotas (G. I.), *Ἱστορία τῆς χίου*, III. 1, 286 (edited by A. K. Sarou)



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE N.W. FRONTIER OF ATTICA.



BLACK-FIGURED CUPS AT SCHIMATARI.



BLACK-FIGURED CUPS AT SCHIMATARI.



28



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36

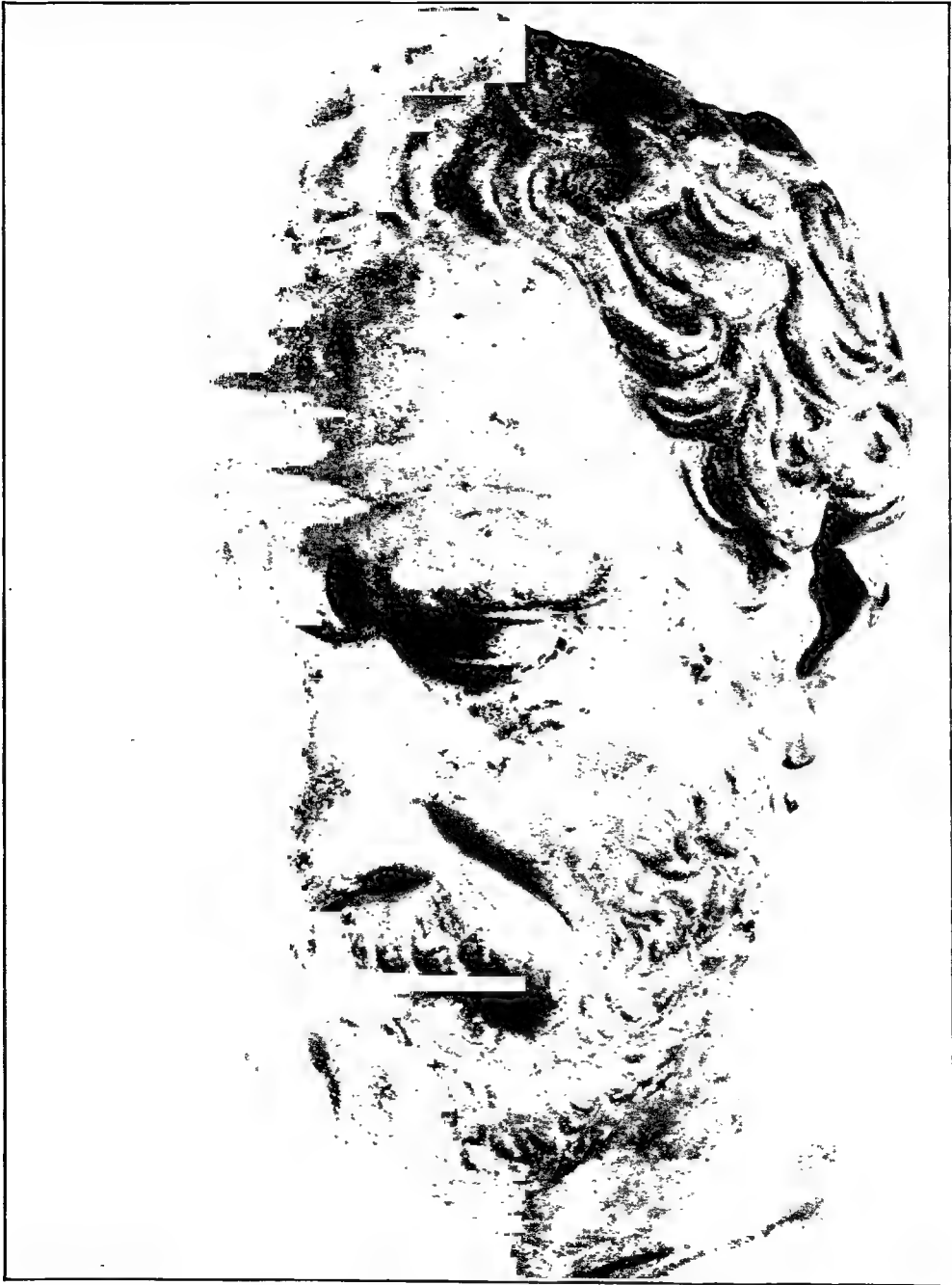


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38

BLACK-FIGURED CUPS AT SCHIMATARI.



MARBLE HEAD IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM.



1



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3



4

1. RELIEF FROM CARCHEMISH

2 STELE OF KING BARREKUB, FROM SENJIRLI

3 STELE FROM SENJIRLI

4 RELIEF OF SARGON OF ASSYRIA



1



2

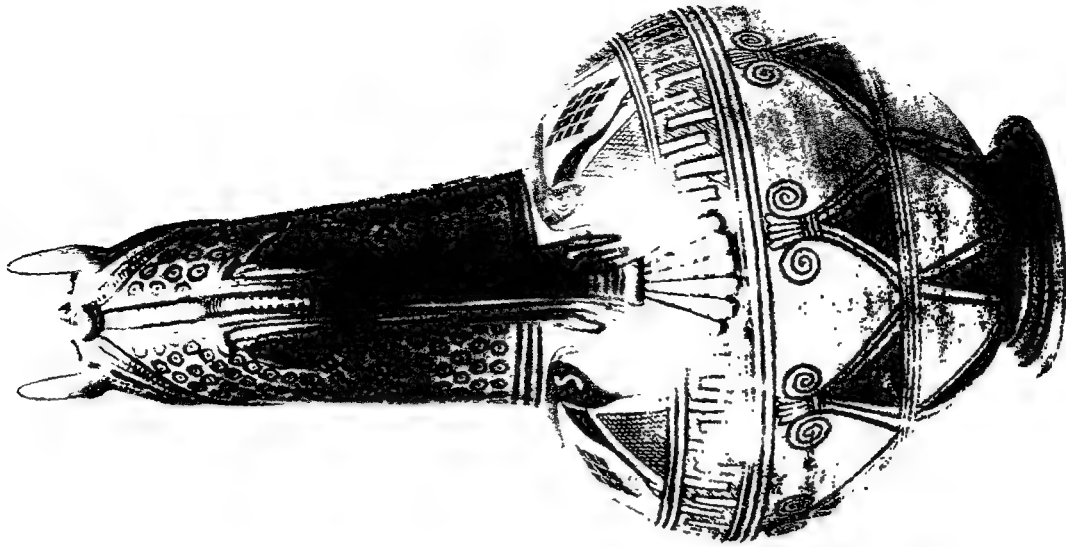


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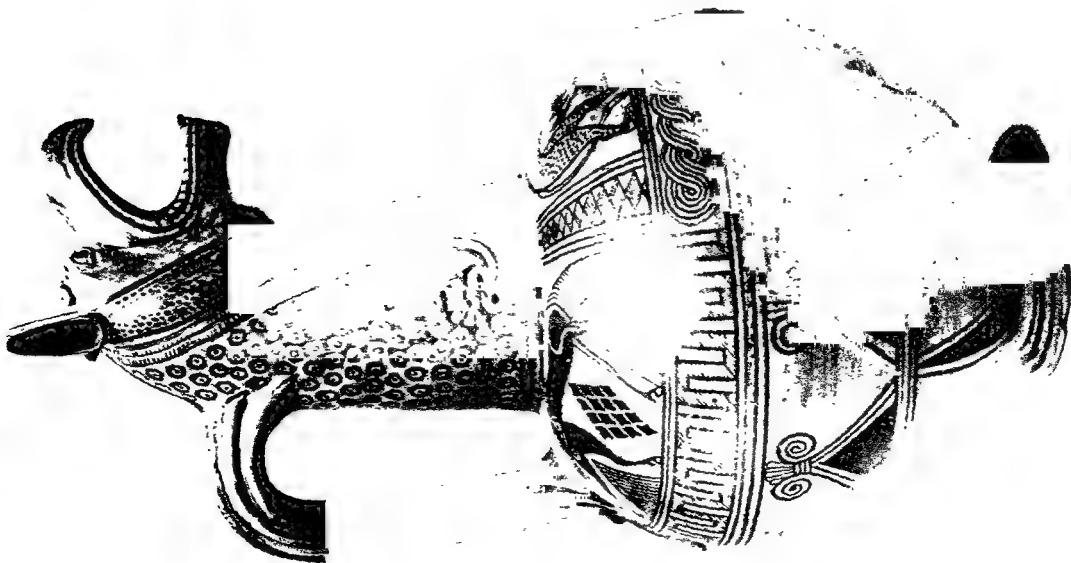
1 ASSYRIAN RELIEF FROM THE BARROCCO COLLECTION

2. CYPRIOTE STATUETTE IN NEW YORK

3 KORE OF ANTENOR, FROM THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS

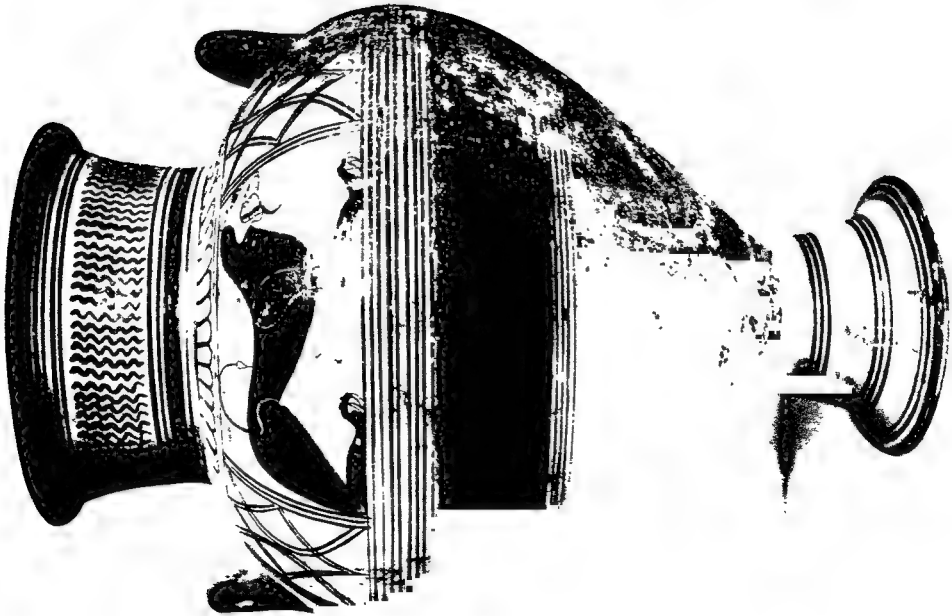


GRIFFON VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.





2. JUG IN TURIN



1. CRATER IN LEYDEN



Photo Courtois

CRATER IN THE CABINET DES MÉDAILLES, PARIS



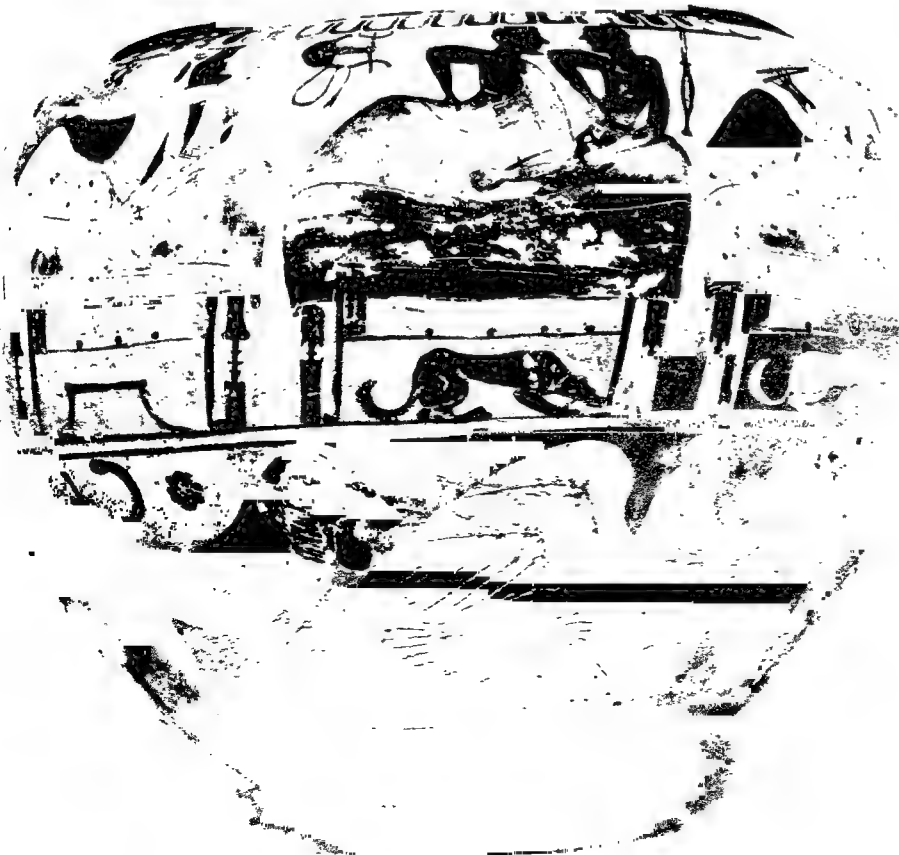
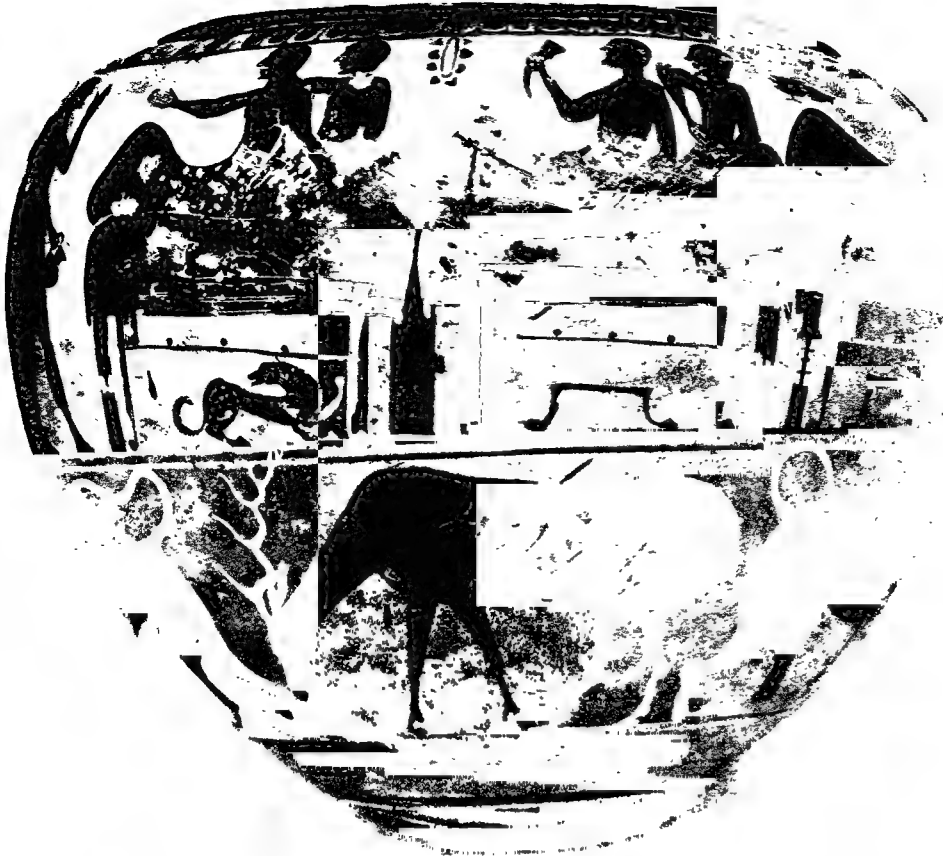
3 THE ATLANTA OF TEGEA



2 TORSO IN THE LATERAN MUSEUM



1. TORSO FROM PERGAMON





BLACK-FIGURED DINOS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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WITH the view of maintaining and encouraging the study of Greek, particularly among the young, in the national interest, the late Lord Cromer founded an Annual Prize, to be administered by the British Academy, for the best Essay on any subject connected with the language, history, art, literature, or philosophy of Ancient Greece.

The Prize, which is ordinarily a sum of £40, is awarded annually in March, under the following Rules :—

1. Competition is open to all British subjects of either sex who will be under twenty-six years of age on 31 December preceding the award.

2. Any such person desirous of competing must send in to the Secretary of the British Academy on or before 1 June of the year preceding the award the title of the subject proposed by him or her. The Academy may approve (with or without modification) or disapprove the subject; their decision will be intimated to the competitor as soon as possible.

3. Preference will be given, in approval of subjects proposed, to those which deal with aspects of the Greek genius and civilization of large and permanent significance over those which are of a minute or highly technical character.

4. Any Essay already published, or already in competition for another prize of the same nature, will be inadmissible. A candidate to whom the Prize has been awarded will not be eligible to compete for it again. But an Essay which has not received the Prize may be submitted again (with or without alteration) in a future year so long as the writer remains eligible under Rule 1.

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6. It is recommended that the Essays should not exceed 20,000 words, exclusive of notes. Notes should not run to an excessive length.

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President: PROFESSOR H. STUART JONES, D.LITT., F.R.A.

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51

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